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A HISTORY

OF

DELAWARE COUNTY

PENNSYLVANIA

AND ITS PEOPLE

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

JOHN W. JORDAN, LL. D.

Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

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ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I

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Foreword

It was the consensus of opinion of many native residents of Delaware county, Pennsylvania,—men deeply interested in its history and proud of the impress its people have ever made upon the character of the State and Nation—that the time had come when a comprehensive history of this remarkable region would prove an invaluable contribution to the literature not only of the county itself, but of the commonwealth, and of the country at large.

With this encouragement, and the assistance of unusually well informed antiquarians and annalists, the publishers undertook the present work, "A History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and Its People." This includes a comprehensive resumé of the history of the county, from its colonization down to the present day. The narrative down to 1862 is based upon the elaborate history of Dr. George Smith, published in that year. While not at all slighting the periods covered by that accomplished historian, due attention has been given in the present work, to the marvelous development of the county during the half century which has passed away since the appearance of his publication.

In each generation, and at every stage of progress, the people of Delaware county have had the services of men of the loftiest character and highest capability—in the arts of peace, in statesmanship, in affairs, and in letters. Nor have their accomplishments been bounded by their native field. Crossing the mountains, her sons have pushed their way into the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and to the Far West, building up new communities, creating new commonwealths, planting, wherever they went, the institutions of religion and education, leading into channels of thrift and enterprise all who gathered about them or into whose midst they came, and proving a power for ideal citizenship and good government.

The narrative, at once heroic and pathetic, is not only a noble heritage, but an inspiration to those of the present and of the future, giving emphasis to the pregnant words of Martineau: "To have had forefathers renowned for honorable deeds, to belong by nature to those who have bravely borne their part in life, and refreshed the world with mighty thoughts and healthy admiration. is a privilege which it were mean and self-willed to despise. It is as a security given for us of old, which it were falsehearted not to redeem; and in virtues bred of a noble stock, mellowed as they are by reverence, there is often a grace and ripeness wanting to self-made and brand-new excellence. Of like value to a people are heroic traditions, giving them a determinate character to sustain among the tribes of men, making them familiar with images of great and strenuous life, and kindling them with faith in glorious possibilities."

History proper, of necessity, is a narrative of what has been accomplished by people in the mass, and can take little note of individuals Here begins the mission of the annalist and investigator of the personal lives of those who have borne the heat and burden of the day, in tracing whence and from whom

they came, in portraying their deeds, showing the spirit by which they were actuated, and holding up their effort as an example to those who come afterward. The story of such achievements is a sacred trust committed to the people of the present, upon whom devolves the perpetuation of the record. The custodian of records who places in preservable and accessible form his knowledge concerning the useful men of preceding generations, and of their descendants who have lived lives of honor and usefulness, performs a public service in rendering honor to whom honor is due, and thereby inculcating the most valuable lessons of patriotism and good citizenship. This fact finds recognition in the warm welcome given in recent years to family and personal histories. Such are in constant and general demand, and are sought for in the great libraries by book, magazine and newspaper writers and by lecturers, from foreign lands, as well as from all portions of our own country. Such a work as the present one will possess an especial value for those who, out of a laudable pride, seek to trace their descent from those who battled for the making of the United States, and aided in bringing the Nation to its present pre-eminent position.

The publishers desire to express their special obligations to all who have aided them in their undertaking, and especially Dr. John W. Jordan, LL.D., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mr. Benjamin H. Smith, who furnished the text of the famous Delaware County History of 1862, from the pen of his revered father, Dr. George Smith; Isaac Sharpless, S. D., LL.D., president of Haverford College, for valuable services along educational lines; Mr. Morgan Bunting, of the Pennsylvania and Delaware County Historical Societies; Mr. V. Gilpin Robinson, for information as to the Bench and Bar; and to Dr. Daniel W. Jefferis for similar service with reference to the Medical profession.

In order to ensure greatest possible accuracy, all matter for the genealogical and personal pages of this work has been submitted in typewritten manuscript to the persons most interested, for correction. If in any case a sketch is incomplete or faulty, the shortcoming is ascribable to the paucity of data obtainable, or neglect of the person to whom submittal was made. It is believed that the present work, in spite of the occasional fault which attaches to such undertakings, will prove a real addition to the mass of annals concerning the people of Delaware county, and that, without it, much valuable information would be inaccessible to the general reader, or irretrievably lost, owing to the passing away of custodians of family records, and the consequent disappearance of material in their possession,

THE PUBLISHERS.

NOTE.—The old-time illustrations in the historical volumes are reproduced from Dr. George Smith's History, of 1862.

History of Delaware County

In giving an account of the first settlement by Europeans of any part of America, it has been customary with writers to precede their narratives by a detailed history not only of the events that were then transpiring in the Old World, but of every event that had occurred for a century or more previously, having the least possible bearing, upon the settlement in question. As the history of a district of country so limited in extent as that of Delaware County must derive its chief value from the number of local facts it may present, the transatlantic events that led to its settlement in common with that of larger districts of our country, will only be briefly adverted to.

More than a century had elapsed, from the time of the discovery of the Western Continent by the Cabots, before the noble river that forms the south-eastern boundary of our county, became known to Europeans. The first settlement of Virginia was commenced at Jamestown in 1607. Two years later, the celebrated English navigator Henry Hudson, after having made two unsuccessful voyages in the employ of London merchants, in search of a northern passage to the East Indies, entered the service of the Dutch East India Company, and, with the same object in view, made his celebrated voyage that resulted in the discovery of the great New York river, that most justly bears his name. Sailing from Amsterdam April 4th, 1609, in the "Half-Moon," he doubled North Cape with the object of reaching Nova Zembla. In this he was foiled by reason of the dense fogs and the large bodies of ice he encountered, when, changing his original plan, he directed his course with the view of discovering a north-west passage to China. He arrived off the banks of Newfoundland in July, and continuing his course westwardly, after some delay on account of dense fogs, entered Penobscot bay on the coast of Maine. Here Captain Hudson had friendly intercourse with the natives of the country, and after having repaired the damage his little vessel had sustained, he pursued his course southerly in search, it is said, of a passage to the Western Pacific ocean, which he had formerly learned from his friend, Captain John Smith, had an existence, "south of Virginia." Halting a second time at Cape Cod, he observed in possession of the Indians, who treated him kindly, "green tobacco and pipes, the bowls of which were made of clay, and the stems of red copper."

The voyage of the "Half-Moon" was again continued southwest along the coast until August 18, she arrived at the mouth of Chesapeake bay. If there was any truth in the rather improbable story that Hudson pursued this southwest course in search of a passage to the Pacific, south of Virginia, he certainly abandoned his plan; for, without much delay, he reversed his course,

making a more particular examination of the coast as he passed along. On August 28, 1609, in latitude 39° 5′ north, Hudson discovered "a great bay," which, after having made a very careful examination of the shoals and soundings at its mouth, he entered; but soon came to the over-cautious conclusion that "he that will thoroughly discover this great bay must have a small pinnace that must draw but four or five feet of water, to sound before him." To this great bay the name of Delaware has been given in honor of Lord De-la-ware, who is said to have entered it one year subsequently to the visit of Hudson.

The examination of the Delaware bay by Hudson was more after the manner of a careful navigator than that of a bold explorer in search of new lands, and scarcely extended beyond its mouth. It must have been very slight indeed, as we find that in further retracing his steps, he had described the high lands of Navesink on September 2d, four days after his entrance into the Delaware bay; and on the 4th of that month, after having rounded a low "Sandy Hook," he discovered "The Great North River of New Netherland"—a discovery that will transmit his name to the latest posterity.

Though an Englishman, Hudson was in the employ of the Dutch, and his visit to the Delaware is rendered important from the fact that on it principally if not wholly rested the claim of that government to the bay and river, so far as it was based on the ground of prior discovery. This claim is now fully conceded; for although the bay was known in Virginia by its present name as early 1612, no evidence exists of its discovery by Lord Delaware or any other Englishman prior to 1610, when it is said that navigator "touched at Delaware bay on his passage to Virginia."

An official Dutch document drawn up in 1644 claims that New Netherland "was visited by inhabitants of that country in 1598," and that "two little forts were built on the South and North rivers." Better authority is needed to support this claim, than the assertion of an interested party made nearly half a century subsequent to the event.

Though reasonable doubts may exist in respect to the visit of Lord Delaware to the Delaware bay, that bay in 1610 did actually receive a transient visit from Captain Samuel Argall, who probably was the first European that entered its waters after its discovery by Hudson.

The various names by which the Delaware river and bay have been known, are enumerated in Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania." By the Indians it was called, Pautaxat, Mariskitton and Makerish-kisken, Lenape Whittuck; by the Dutch, Zuyt or South river, Nassau river, Prince Hendrick river, and Charles river; by the Swedes, New Swedeland stream; by the English, Delaware. Heylin in his "Cosmography" calls its Arasapha. The bay has also been known as New Port May and Godyn's bay.

Six years now intervene before we have any further accounts of discoveries in "New Netherland," a country which, in the estimation of Their High Mightinesses, The States General of Holland, embraced the Delaware bay and river. On March 27, 1614, a general charter was granted securing the exclusive privilege of trade during four voyages, with "any new courses, havens,

countries or places," to the discoverer, and subjecting any persons who should act in violation thereof, to a forfeiture of their vessel, in addition to a heavy pecuniary penalty. Stimulated by this edict of the States General, the merchants of Amsterdam fitted out five vessels to engage in voyages, in pursuance of its provisions. Among them was the "Fortune," belonging to the city of Hoorn, commanded by Captain Cornelis Jacobson Mey. Captain Adrian Block commanded another vessel, which was unfortunately burnt upon his arrival at the mouth of the "Manhattan river." To repair this misfortune, Captain Block immediately engaged in the construction of a new vessel—a yacht, 44½ feet long, and 11½ feet wide. This craft was of but 16 tons burden, and was named the "Unrust" (Restless.) She was the first vessel built by Europeans in this country, and her construction, under the circumstance, savors more of a Yankee proceeding than any event in the history of New Netherland.

The "Fortune," commanded by Skipper Mey, alone proceeded southerly. The coast, with its numerous inlets and islands, was examined and mapped as he went along, until he reached the mouth of the Delaware bay, to the two proper capes of which he appropriated two of his names; calling the one Cornelis, the other Mey. To a cape still further south he gave the name of Hindlopen, after a town of Friesland. All the vessels except the "Restless" now returned to Holland, to make report of their discoveries, and to claim the exclusive privileges of trade, to which, under the general charter granted by the States General, their owners would be entitled. By an edict dated October 14, 1614, this monopoly of trade was granted to the united company of merchants of the cities of Amsterdam and Hoorn, by whose means the expedition had been fitted out. It was limited, however, to "newly discovered lands, situate in America, between New France and Virginia, whereof the sea coasts lie between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, now named New Netherland," and was to extend to four voyages, to be made within three years from January 1st. It will be seen that the Delaware bay is not included in this grant, a circumstance that would suggest that the discoveries in that quarter by Skipper Mey, had not been appreciated.

Captain Cornelis Hendrickson, who had been left in command of the American built vessel "Restless," now proceeded to make further explorations, and especially on the Delaware bay. It has even been said that this expedition explored the river as high up as the mouth of the Schuylkill, the discovery of which is credited to Captain Hendrickson. If this be correct, the crew of the "Restless" were the first civilized men who visited the territory now embraced within the limits of Delaware county.

It cannot be fairly inferred that the Schuylkill was one of the three rivers discoverer by Captain Hendrickson, and the original "Carte Figurative" found attached to the memorial of his employers, presented on the day before the report was made, furnishes almost conclusive evidence that the voyage of the "Restless" did not extend even to the mouth of the Delaware river. The refusal of the States General to grant the trading privileges to these applicants, which in justice could not be withheld from the discoverers of "any new

courses, havens, countries or places," furnishes additional proof that the discoveries made in the "Restless" did not go much beyond what had been previously made. If any knowledge of the Delaware or Schuylkill rivers was acquired on this occasion, it was probably obtained from the three persons belonging to the company, purchased from the Indians, or from the Indians themselves.

In anticipation of the formation of a Dutch West India Company, exclusive trading privileges were not again granted under the general charter of 1614, except in a few instances and to a very limited extent. The trade to New Netherland, regarded by the Dutch as extending beyond the Delaware, was thrown open, in a measure, to individual competition. This did not last long, for on June 3, 1621, the West India Company was incorporated. It did not, however, go into operation until 1623.

Thus far, trade, and new discoveries for the purpose of extending trade, appear to have wholly engrossed the attention of the Dutch. This year a proposition is made by the Directors of the New Netherland trading company, for the emigration to America of "a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language," then residing in Leyden, together with over four hundred families both out of Holland and England, whom he assured the petitioners, he had the means of inducing to accompany him thither. The petitioners also asked that two ships of war might be provisionally dispatched "for the preservation of the country's rights, and that the aforesaid minister and the four hundred families, might be taken under the protection of the government; alledging that his Majesty of Great Britain would be disposed to people the aforesaid lands with the English nation." After considerable delay this petition was rejected.

On September 28 of this year, and during the time that elapsed between the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company and the time it commenced its commercial operations, the States General granted certain parties permision to dispatch "two ships with all sorts of permitted merchandise, the one to the aforesaid New Netherland, and the other to the aforesaid New river, lying in latitude between eight and thirty and forty degrees, and to the small rivers thereon depending, to trade away and dispose of their old stock, which they have there, and afterwards bring back into this country their goods, cargoes, clerks and seamen, on condition that they must be home before July 1, 1622." The New river mentioned was undoubtedly the Delaware; and it might be inferred from the permission asked in respect to the old stock, &c., that a trading post had been established by the Dutch on the Delaware prior to this date. There are many facts to show that such a conclusion would be erroneous, and that the Dutch had no trading establishment on that river at this time.

At the instance of the British Government, Sir Dudley Carleton, their ambassador at the Hague, entered upon an investigation of certain charges made against the Hollanders of having left "a Colonie" at, and of "giving new names to several ports appertaining to that part of the countrie north of Vir-

ginia" called by them "New England." This preacher was the Rev. Mr. Robinson. Some of the families alluded to embarked at Delft in the "Mayflower" and "Speedwell," July 16, 1620, and though they were destined for the Hudson, they landed at Plymouth, and became the renowned Colony of Pilgrims.

In the prosecution of this investigation, which was rather of a private and informal character, the ambassador could not make "any more of the matter but that about fower or five years since, two particular companies of Amsterdam merchants began a trade into these parts between 40 and 45 degrees, to w^{ch} after their manner they gave their own names New Netherlands, a South and a North sea, a Texel, a blieland and the like; whither they have ever since continued to send shipps of 30 and 40 lasts, at the most to fetch furres, w^{ch} is all their trade; for the providing of w^{ch} they have certain factors there continually residents trading, wth savages, and at this present there is a ship at Amsterdam, bound for those parts, but I cannot learn of anie Colonie eyther already planted there by these people, or so much as intended." The letter of the ambassador communicating this information to the British government, is dated February 5, 1621. Sir Dudley gives as an additional reason why he arrived at the conclusion that the Dutch had not as yet planted a colony, that divers inhabitants of this country (Holland,) had been suiters to him to procure them "a place of habitation amongst his Ma^{ties} subjects in those parts," suggesting the improbability of these people desiring to mingle among strangers, and to be under their government, if they had settlements of their own. He did not fail, however, to present to the States General, on behalf of his government, a remonstrance against further commerce by the Dutch with the country in question, and to lay before their High Mightinesses the British claim thereto by right of first occupation, (*jurae primae occupationis.*)

This proceeding of the British government was intended to prevent their rights from being lost, rather than to enforce any immediate claim. It was so regarded by the Dutch government, and particularly so by the West India Company, which now, after having secured an amplification of their privileges and completed their preliminary arrangements, proceeded at once to carry out the very measures that had been so recently protested against by the British ambassador. They extended the commerce of the country by building up establishments with the view of securing its title to their government and its trade to themselves—the latter being always a paramount consideration with the company.

The West India Company having by virtue of their charter taken possession of the country, they dispatched the ship New Netherland with a number of people thereto, under the direction of Captains Cornelis Jacobson Mey and Adriaen Joriz Tienpont. Mey proceeded to the Delaware or South river, on the eastern bank of which, fifteen leagues from its mouth, he erected Fort Nassau, at a place called by the natives Techaacho,—supposed to be near the mouth of little Timber creek, in Gloucester county, New Jersey, and a short distance below the present town of Gloucester. There is some discrepancy as

to the precise date of the erection of this fort, but 1624 is specified in an official report on the condition of the country, made in 1644, and may be regarded as the best authority on the subject. The distinction, at all events, belongs to Captain Mey, of being the first European to establish a settlement on the Delaware, if the erection of this fort,—a mere trading post, abandoned from time to time, as occasion required—can be regarded as a settlement.

The seat of government of New Netherland was located at Manhattan Island, now the site of the city of New York, and the superior local officer of the government was styled a Director. Shortly after the commencement of the administration of its affairs by the West India Company, this office was conferred on Peter Minuit or Minewit, of Wesel, kingdom of Westphalia, who arrived at Manhattan Island in one of two ships dispatched by the Amsterdam department of the West India Company, in 1624. He was assisted in his government by a council of five members and a "Scout Fiscal," whose duties embraced those now usually performed by a sheriff and district attorney. The authority vested in the Director and his council was ample, being executive, legislative and judicial, and extended to the South as well as the North river. The records of the government or of the company give very little information in respect to the administration of Minuit. It lasted till 1632, and is supposed to have been generally successful. It is distinguished by no remarkable event except the purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians, in 1626. The title to this Island, now the site of the city of New York, and estimated to contain 22,000 acres, was acquired for the paltry sum of sixty guilders or $24. This purchase is important as probably indicating a period when the policy of the Dutch underwent a change; when from having been merely Indian traders, they began to contemplate a permanent settlement of the country.

The commencement of the directorship of Minuit is fixed by Wassenaer in his history of Europe (Amsterdam, 1621 to 1632,) in the year 1626, and he assigns him two predecessors in that office, viz: Willem Van Hulst, for the year 1625; and Cornelis Mey, for 1624. These men, in conjunction with Adriaen Joriz Tienpont, appear, however, to have been merely directors of an expedition, and it would seem that the government of the country, of which the territory embraced within the limits of our little county in the estimation of the Dutch constituted a part, commenced with the administration of Minuit.

It is a circumstance worthy of note that the party who erected Fort Nassau was accompanied by females. The fact is fully established by a deposition of Catelina Tricho, said to have been the first white woman at Albany, dated New York, February 14th, 1684-5. In another deposition of the same lady taken a few years afterwards (1688), she states that "two families and eight men" were sent to the Delaware. This effort at a settlement on the Delaware was soon abandoned—probably before the expiration of a single year; as Wassanaer, under date of 1625, says, "The fort at the South river is already vacated in order to strengthen the colony (at Manhattan.) For purposes of trade, only one yacht is sent there, in order to avoid expense." It is not remarkable

that this policy should have been adopted, as the whole colony at Manhattan at this period scarcely numbered two hundred souls. The fort was abandoned to the Indians, who did not fail to occupy it as their occasions required; and the country again passed into their possession as completely as it was on the day Hudson touched at the Capes.

Gustavus Adolphus, reigning monarch of Sweden, through whose wisdom and valor that nation had acquired an elevated standing among the governments of Europe, now sought to confer still further benefits upon his country by extending its commerce. Chiefly with this view, a charter was granted by him for a Swedish West India Company. This company, which was to go into operation May 1, 1627, and to continue twelve years, had every necessary power conferred upon it for the establishment of a colony, with the promised aid of the government to a very liberal extent. William Usselinex, a native of the low countries, represented as having spent much time in seeking out new ports and as being "the inventor in Holland of the West India Company," had counselled and advised the adoption of the measure, and was to have a share in its management.

While these proceedings were in progress, the war in Germany, in which Gustavus became so largely engaged, postponed for a time the project of Swedish colonization in America; and his death in 1632 would have led to a total abandonment of the scheme but for the persevering energy of his renowned minister Oxenstiern.

Seventeen years had now elapsed since the discovery of the country by Hudson, and but little had been accomplished towards making it a permanent home for civilized man. The whole population of Manhattan at this period was 270 souls, consisting chiefly of the officers and servants of the company with their families. But few others resided elsewhere on the Hudson, and, as has been shown, no permanent establishment of any kind was maintained on the Delaware. The trade of the country was, however, by no means inconsiderable, the Delaware contributing a fair proportion of it. The ship that carried to the Fatherland the news of the purchase of Manhattan from the Indians, was freighted with 7246 beaver skins, 853½ otter skins, 81 mink skins, 36 wild cat skins, and 34 rat skins, besides a considerable quantity of oak and hickory timber. But this was chiefly Indian trade—a trade that must necessarily diminish in proportion to the vigor with which it was prosecuted. Foreseeing this, and with the more prosperous colonies of the English on either side of them, the settlement of the country was determined upon by the Dutch as the only means by which it could be saved from passing into other hands, while its trade at the same time would be augmented.

With the view of promoting colonization, a plan not one step in advance of the prejudices of the times, was resolved upon. The privileged West India Company adopted articles termed "Freedoms and Exemptions to all such as shall plant colonies in New Netherland." Under this scheme the feudal tenure of lands was to be introduced into America south of Canada, where settlements on an analagous plan had already commenced. The wealthy im-

migrant who could in four years plant a colony of fifty souls would be a "Patroon," becoming the absolute owner of a vast tract of land which if situated only on one side of a river, might have a front of sixteen miles, but if on both sides, one half that front, and extending "so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit." The Patroon could hold courts of justice, and when the amount in litigation did not exceed $20, there was no appeal from his judgment. The company also agreed to use their endeavors for a time, "to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can, on conditions hereafter to be made." (Slaves were introduced into New Netherland as early as 1628. In a letter recently discovered dated at the Island of Manhattan, on the 11th of August of that year, from the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the writer says, "the Angola slaves are thievish, lazy and useless trash.")

Previous to the ratification of this document by the States General, or even by the West India Company, two of its Amsterdam directors, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blomaert, by their agents in this country, had purchased a large tract of land at the mouth of Delaware bay. This grant was confirmed to the purchasers by Peter Minuit, the Director, and his council, on the "Island Manahatas" July 16, 1630—the savage grantors being then and there present. The land embraced in the grant thus confirmed was "situate on the south side of the aforesaid bay of the South river, extending in length from C. Hinlopen off into the mouth of the aforesaid South river, about eight leagues and half a league in breadth into the interior, extending to a certain marsh or valley through which these limits can be clearly enough distinguished." Samuel Godyn had previously given notice of his intention to make the above purchase, and to occupy the bay of the South river as Patroon, on the conditions set forth in the "Freedoms and Exemptions." Meeting with David Pieterszen DeVries, of Hoorn, "a bold and skilful seaman" who had been "a master of artillery in the service of the United Provinces," he made him acquainted with the design of himself and associates, of forming a colony. The bay of the South river was held up to De Vries as a point at which a whale fishery could be profitably established, as Godyn represented that there were many whales which kept before the bay, and the oil at sixty guilders a hogshead, he thought, would realize a good profit. DeVries declining to accept a subordinate position in connection with the colony, he was at once admitted, on perfect equality into a company of Patroons who associated themselves together October 16, 1630. Besides Godyn, Bloemaert and DeVries, the members composing this patroonship were Killian Van Rensselaer, Jan DeLaet, Matthys Van Keulen, Nicholas Van Sittorigh, Harnick Koeck and Heyndrick Hamel, being all directors of the West India Company except De Vries. All of the expected advantages were to be equalized; and DeVries, who had charge of the establishment of the colony, dispatched from the Texel, December 12, 1630, a ship and a yacht for the South river, "with a number of people, and a large stock of cattle," the object being, "as well to carry on a whale fishery in that region, as to plant a colony for the cultivation of all sorts of grain, for which the country is very well adapted, and of tobacco."

De Vries did not accompany this expedition as has been supposed by most writers on the subject, but on the 20th of the month he learned that the yacht had been "taken by the Dunkirkers" before leaving the Texel, owing to the carelessness of the large ship which had sailed after the yacht. The large ship, which was commanded by a Captain Peter Heyes, of Edam, proceeded on the voyage alone, but failing in an important object of it, "the disembarking of a lot of people at Tortugas," returned to Holland in September, 1631. The ship conveyed the colony to the "South river in New Netherland," but was unsuccessful in the whale fishery, the captain alleging "that he arrived there too late in the year," though he brought home a sample of oil "from a dead whale found on the shore."

"Swanendael" (Valley of Swans,) was the name given to the tract of land purchased for the accommodation of the colony, and had its greatest length parallel with the shore of the bay. The date of the arrival of Captain Heyes with his colonists is not known; but allowing the usual time occupied in making a passage, from December 12, 1630, it may be arrived at with sufficient accuracy. On May 5, following, Skipper Heyes, (Heysen) and Gillis Hosset, Commissary of the ship "Walrus" (for that appears to have been the name of the ship that brought out the colony) purchased of the Indians, "the rightful owners," a tract of land sixteen English miles square at Cape May, and extending sixteen miles on the bay. This purchase was made for Bodyn and Bloemaert, and was duly reported and recorded at Manhattan June 3rd fol-tending sixteen miles on the bay. This purchase was made for Godyn and Bloemaert, and was duly reported and recorded at Manhattan, June 3rd, following. At the date of this writing, the "Walrus" was in the South river, but must have sailed very shortly afterwards, to arrive at Holland in September. A house "well beset with palisades in place of breastworks," had been erected on the north-west side of Hoornkil (Lewes creek,) a short distance from its mouth. It was called "Fort Optlandt," and appears to have served the colony, which consisted of thirty-two men, as a place of defence, a dwelling and a storehouse. This colony, the most unfortunate that settled on the bay or river, was left under the charge of Gillis Hosset or Osset.

On February 12, 1632, we are informed by De Vries than an agreement was again entered into "to equip a ship and a yacht for the whale fishery, in which much profit had not been realized." A second voyage was especially urged by Samuel Godyn, and, to render success more certain, it was resolved, says De Vries, "that I myself should go as patroon and as commander of the ship and yacht, and should endeavor to be there in December, in order to conduct the whale fishery during the winter, as whales come in the winter and remain till March." When this second whaling voyage had been determined upon, only the pecuniary disasters of the first were known to those concerned in it; but before sailing out of the Texel, the loss of their little fort and the destruction of the whole Colony was communicated to DeVries.

Leaving the Texel on May 24, and taking a very circuitous passage, De Vries did not enter the Delaware till December 5th. His first greeting was, "a

whale near the ship!" which made him anticipate "royal work—the whales so numerous—and the land so fine for cultivation." The explorations of the next day in the boat revealed to them the melancholy spectacle of the house of the former colony "almost burnt up," with the skulls and bones of their people, and the heads of the horses and cows which they had brought with them lying here and there about it; but no Indians were to be seen.

De Vries did not for a moment allow his presence of mind to forsake him. Being unable to punish the savages, he sought and obtained an interview with their chiefs, and at the cost of some duffels, bullets, hatchets and Nuremburg trinkets, ratified a treaty of peace with them. Some preparations were also made for the prosecution of the contemplated whale fishing.

In furtherance of the object of his voyage, De Vries sailed up the Delaware on January 1st, 1633, to obtain beans from the Indians. He encountered a whale on the first day, at the mouth of the river, and "two large whales near the yacht" on the following day, which made him wish for the sloop and the harpooners which were lying at Swanendael. On the 5th of the month the yacht arrived before "the little fort named Nassau." The fort was unoccupied except by Indians, who were assembled there to barter furs, but De Vries "was in want of Turkish beans and had no goods to exchange for peltries." He was advised by the Indians to enter Timmer kill, but was cautioned by an Indian woman not to enter the kill entirely. This woman, after having been bribed by the present of a cloth garment, discovered the fact that the crew of an English sloop had been murdered, who had gone into Count Ernest's river, and the story was confirmed by the appearance of some of the Indians dressed in English jackets. Thus placed on his guard, and by making the Indians believe that he had been made acquainted with their wicked designs through the agency of their own evil spirit, Manitoe, he was enabled to make a lasting peace with them, which was concluded with the usual Indian solemnities. Soon after this, some corn was obtained, and also some beavers.

On the 10th, at noon, they came to anchor at "Jaques Island," and on the day following, in the evening, "about half-a-mile above Minquas Kill," they saw a whale six or seven times, which surprised them, as it was "seven or eight miles (Dutch) into fresh water." On the 13th, they had arrived at the ship at Swanendael, where they were greeted by their friends, who in their absence had shot two whales which yielded but little oil.

On January 18, goods were placed in the yacht, which again sailed up the river, but was frozen up in Wyngaert's kill from January 19, till February 3rd. While here they shot wild turkeys weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds! When they reached Fort Nassau they found no Indians, the fort being evacuated, but as it had commenced to freeze again, and being apprehensive of danger, if frozen up where they were, they "hauled into a kill over against the fort," where they remained eight days before the ice broke. The Indians soon made their appearance in unusually large numbers, for it turned out that a war was raging between the "Minquas, who dwell among the English in Virginia," and the tribes on this river, one of which DeVries calls Armewamen,

and another Sankiekens. After having been subjected to very great danger from the Indians and floating ice, they returned again to the ship on the 20th, after an absence of a month. There was great rejoicing at their safe return by those left at Swanendael, as "they did not imagine that we had been frozen up in the river, as no pilot or astrologer could conceive, that in the latitude from the thirty-eighth and a half to the thirty-ninth, such rapid running rivers could freeze."

Still in pursuit of supplies, but partly to gratify a little vanity in being the first of his countrymen to visit that country, he set sail for Virginia on March 6th. Here he met with an exceedingly kind reception from the governor, but after informing his excellency that he came from South river, he was made acquainted with Lord Delaware's visit to the bay, and the English title thereto; whereupon our worthy captain duly set forth the Dutch claim to the country, resting it on the establishment of Fort Nassau. "It was strange to the governor that he should have such neighbours and never heard of them." The governor sent six goats by De Vries for the governor at Fort Amsterdam, and, after having purchased provisions, he returned to the whale fishery at Swanendael.

During his absence but seven whales had been caught, and they very poor ones, yielding but thirty-two cartels of oil. Seventeen had been struck, which went to show that the bay was frequented by those creatures, but their poorness seemed to satisfy De Vries that the business would not be profitable. On April 14, he sailed for Fort Amsterdam (New York) on his return to Europe, leaving no colony behind him, and the whole bay and river free from any European settlement.

As we go along it will be necessary to note the changes in the government to which the country embracing the territory now occupied by our little county was subjected. Director Minuit having been recalled, was succeeded by Wouter Van Twiller, who arrived at Fort Amsterdam in the spring of 1633 in one of the company's ships, with 104 soldiers, the first military force ever detailed for New Netherland. He was a near relative to the patroon, Van Rensselaer.

On April 10, 1633, Chancellor Oxenstiern revived the interest which had formerly existed in Sweden in respect to colonies, in signing, by authority of the crown, the proclamation that had been left unsigned by Gustavus Adolphus. The time for uniting with the company was extended to the first of the next year, and William Usselinex appointed the first Director. The trade in peltries at this time became very profitable, which induced the new Director to turn his attention to that species of trade on the Delaware. With the view of rendering it more secure to the West India Company, it is said he directed Arent Corsen, who had been appointed commissary at Fort Nassau, to purchase from the Indians a tract of land situated on the Schuylkill, which purchase was accordingly made during the year 1633. This is the first claim to land in our vicinity by virtue of a title acquired from the Indians.

The extreme jealousy of the West India Company lest any one should

share with them in the smallest degree the trade of New Netherland, led to fierce disputes with patroons still residing in Holland. The different interpretations put on the charter of the company, and on the privileges granted by them to the patroons, were well calculated to widen the breach between the parties. With the view of terminating these unpleasant quarrels, and it may have been partly on political considerations, the Directors of the company were authorized by the Assembly of XIX of the States General, to repurchase patroonships. Under this authority, the patroon owners of Swanendael, on February 7, 1635, retransferred all their right, title and interest in their lands on both sides of the bay, to the West India Company for the sum of 15,600 guilders, ($6,240.) All charters, maps and papers concerning the aforesaid colonies were to be delivered over to the purchasers. This transaction was well calculated to put an end to private enterprise on the Delaware river on Dutch account, and probably had that effect.

The British government never having recognized the claims of the Dutch to any part of North America, a party from the English colony on the Connecticut river, consisting of George Holmes, his hired man Thomas Hall, and about a dozen others, attempted to effect a settlement on the Delaware in 1635. Hall deserted his master, and the others, failing in an attack upon Fort Nassau, were captured by the garrison and sent to Manhattan. These Englishmen were not punished, but were permitted to settle in the vicinity of Fort Amsterdam, and are said to be the first English settlers among the Dutch on Manhattan. This Thomas Hall became a man of some distinction, as his name frequently appears in the Dutch records. Although this attack on the Dutch fort was unsuccessful, the fact that it was made by so small a party is evidence of the weakness of the garrison and of the small establishment kept on the Delaware by the company at this time, to protect its trade; nor is there any evidence that this force was kept there permanently.

Up to this period there is no reliable evidence that the Dutch had effected any permanent settlement on the Delaware; and, unless the unfortunate colonists at Swanendael be an exception, no one had adopted its shores as his home for life or as an abiding place for his posterity. From the period of the foray of Holmes and his Englishmen till about the time of the arrival of the Swedes in 1638, the doings of the Dutch on our river remain very much in the dark for want of authentic documents on the subject during that period. A report made to the States General in April of that year, "on the condition of the colony of New Netherland," furnishes rather conclusive evidence that nothing of the kind had been attempted. Even the present occupancy of the river is not claimed, as will be seen by the following question and answer extracted from that document:

"Are these limits, (limits including the Delaware,) in the possession, at the present time, of the West India Company, and the inhabitants of this country?" Answer: "We occupy Mauritius, or the North river; where there are two forts, Orange and Amsterdam; and there is moreover one house built by the company, and that is most of the population."

The house here spoken of, in the opinion of Dr. O'Callaghan, the very best authority on the subject, was the "House of Good Hope," built by the Dutch on the Connecticut river.

The charter of the Swedish West India Company having been completed it was printed in Hamburg in 1635. It was not, however, till 1637 that any active operations connected with the establishment of a colony on the Delaware were commenced. The name of William Usselinex, the projector not only of the Swedish Company but also that of the Dutch and who had been named in the proclamation of Oxenstiern as the "first director," no longer appears.

Arrangements having been fully made for planting a Swedish colony (on the Delaware), the expedition for its establishment was placed under the charge of Peter Minuit, who had served the Dutch West India Company as their first Director, and who no doubt had a practical acquaintance with the river. The squadron consisted of but two ships the "Key of Kalmar," a man-of-war, and the "Griffin," a tender. They sailed from Gottenburg very late in 1637 or early in 1638, both vessels "being well stored with provisions, ammunition and goods proper for commerce with the Indians, and donations for them." The first notice of the arrival of the expedition on our coast is contained in a letter written from Jamestown, in Virginia, by Jerome Hawley, treasurer of that colony, dated May 8th, 1638. The date of arrival is not given, but it was subsequent to March 20th, of that year, and at least ten days prior to date of his letter. Minuit refused to exhibit his commission to the authorities of Virginia except upon condition of free trade in tobacco to be carried to Sweden, which was refused as being "contrary to his Majesty's instructions," but he freely proclaimed the fact that "he held it from the young queen of Sweden," and that "it was signed by eight of the chief lords" of that government. During the ten days the ship remained at Jamestown, to refresh with wood and water, Minuit also made known "that both himself and another ship of his company were bound for Delaware Bay," which, in the language of the letter, "is the confines of Virginia and New England, and there they pretend to make a plantation and to plant tobacco, which the Dutch do also already on the Hudson river, which is the very next river northward from Delaware bay."

Minuit having sailed from Jamestown previous to May 8, the date of the treasurer's letter, the time of his arrival in the Delaware may be estimated with sufficient accuracy. There are still other facts that will narrow down the period during which he must have arrived.

Van Twiller had been succeeded as Director-general of New Netherland by William Kieft, who arrived at Fort Amsterdam on March 28 of this year. As early as April 28, this new and vigilant Director had been made acquainted with the arrival of the Swedes on the Delaware, as on that day he addressed a communication to the directors of the West India Company advising them of the movements of Minuit, a notice of which he had received from Peter Mey, the assistant commissary at Fort Nassau. One of the Swedish vessels

had sailed past the fort, had dropped down again, had been prevented from going up a second time, and had been visited officially by Mey for the purpose of seeing Minuit's license, previous to sending a notice to Kieft of the arrival of the strangers. These transactions, with the time required for a messenger to reach the seat of government, must have occupied at least a week; besides, it is fair to presume that the Swedes had been in the Delaware several days before the Dutch assistant commissary had become aware of their presence. As they could not have left Jamestown before April 1st, the time of their arrival in the bay could not vary more than a few days from the middle of that month.

Sailing up the bay, Minuit first landed at "Paradise Point," now known as "Mispillon Point," a short distance above the site that had been occupied by the unfortunate colony of De Vries and his co-patroons. The next place at which he cast anchor was off the mouth of the Minquas river, which in honor of the young Queen of Sweden he named Christina. On this stream, about two and a half miles from its mouth, Minuit effected a landing at a point then favorable for that purpose, and now known as "The Rocks." Here, after having purchased the land from the Indians, he erected a fort or trading house, upon which he also bestowed the name of the Swedish sovereign.

Immediately upon receiving notice of the arrival of the Swedes on the Delaware, Director-general Kieft dispatched Jan Jansen, clerk of Fort Amsterdam, to keep a watch over their doings, with instructions, in case Minuit intended to do anything to the disadvantage of the Dutch, "to protest against him in due form." This duty was faithfully performed but, failing to have the desired effect, Director Kieft caused the commander of the Swedes to be served with a protest under his own hand. Minuit being aware of the weakness of the Dutch at Manhattan, and of the disinclination that government would have at that time to have a misunderstanding with her Swedish Majesty, had but little regard for these paper missiles, but proceeded on with the erection of his fort, which was soon completed, when he heartily engaged in the trade of the country, a business he had learned in the service of the Dutch. Before the end of July both vessels had departed for Sweden well freighted with furs. This rapid progress of the Swedish colony, which was doubtless owing to the intelligence and experience of the commander, became so alarming to the Dutch Governor at Manhattan that he at once advised the West India Company in respect to it, by a letter dated July 31, 1638, of which the following is an extract: "Minuyt erected a fort on the South river, five leagues from ours; attracted all the peltries to himself by means of liberal gifts; departed thence with two attendant ships, leaving 24 men in the fort, provided with all sorts of goods and provisions, had posts set up with these letters, C. R. S., &c."

From this letter it might be inferred that Commander Minuit returned to Sweden with the ships. Acrelius, however, gives us to understand that he did not, but remained and "did great service to the Swedish colony," and dur-

ing three years protected this small fort which the Dutch never attempted;" and that "after some years he died at this place."

A most important act performed by Minuit was the purchase from the Indians of the whole western shore of the Delaware, to the falls, near the present site of Trenton. Besides giving the Swedes some show of an equitable title to the country against the legal claim set up by the Dutch, it enabled the Swedish settlers to occupy their lands in a manner much more satisfactory to the natives. It is but fair to state, that this purchase by the Swedes was called in question by the Dutch authorities of Manhattan at a subsequent period, on the flimsy testimony of certain Indians, procured in a very questionable manner. These Indians denied "that the Swedes or any other nation had bought lands of them as right owners" except a "small patch" embracing Christina fort. These savages, of whom Mattehoorn was one, claimed to be the "great chiefs and proprietors of the lands, both by ownership and descent, and appointment of the Minquas and river Indians."

There is still other evidence of this early Swedish purchase. Captain Israel Helm, who was a justice of Upland court, informed the Rev. Mr. Rudman of the purchase, to the extent that has been mentioned, and that the "old people" had informed him that they often had seen there "fixed stakes and marks." "The purchase was formerly stated in writing, under which the Indians placed their marks." This was seen by Mr. Helm when at Stockholm.

This digression, to establish the Swedish purchase from the natives, will be excused, as it was the first effort of civilized man to extinguish the Indian title to the district of country that is to claim our particular attention. It will be seen that it embraced Swanendael, for which the Dutch had already acquired the Indian title, and also the lands about the Schuylkill, to which, on account of prior purchase, they set up a rather doubtful claim. The lands within the limits of our county were free from any counter claim on this account; and it follows that to the wise policy of the Swedes we are really indebted for the extinguishment of the Indian title to our lands,—a policy first introduced by the Dutch as a matter of expediency, and subsequently adopted by William Penn on the score of strict justice to the natives. But it cannot be contended that, in accordance with national law, this purchase from the natives gave to the Swedish government any legal claim to the country. They had no legal right to make purchases from the Indians. To the Dutch, as discoverers of the river, belonged the right of preemption, or, if any doubt existed on this point, it would be in favor of the English. As against the Swedes, the Dutch claim rested not only on discovery, but the exercise of preemption and occupancy.

The Rev. Reorus Torkillus accompanied the Swedish expedition and remained with the colony at Christina as its pastor, where he died about five years afterwards. The Dutch, who had a small garrison at Fort Nassau at the time of the arrival of the Swedes, continued to maintain it there, as well for the purposes of trade as to keep a strict watch on the movements of the new comers, of which Director Kieft was kept constantly advised. It is from

his rather ill tempered communications to the West India Company that we have the little that is known in respect to the Christina colony for the next two years.

In 1639 they had so much interfered with the Dutch trade on the river as to reduce it to "a small amount," and "by underselling had depressed and continue still to keep down the market." Up to October of that year the Dutch trade had "fallen short full 30,000 (beavers)," but hopes were entertained "that they must soon move off, if not reinforced." The location of Fort Christina was not very favorable to health, and it is probable that the despondency incident to ill-health had something to do with the projected removal of the colony. That it did not happen was owing to the timely arrival of fresh settlers, we learn from a letter of Director Kieft, dated the last of May, 1640, of which the following is an extract. "The Swedes in the South river were resolved to move off and to come here. A day before their departure a ship arrived with a reinforcement." The same in substance is repeated in another letter from the Dutch Director, dated October 15, following. This timely arrival at once revived the confidence of the colony, and blasted the hopes of the Dutch.

On January 24th, 1640, a passport was granted by the Swedish government to "Captain Jacob Powellson, with the vessel under his command, named 'Fredenburg,' laden with men, cattle, and other things necessary for the cultivation of the country; (who) designs departing from Holland to America or the West Indies, and there establishing himself in the country called New Sweden." Passports for other vessels connected with the Hochhanmer settlement or patroonship were granted in blank at the same time, and an agent named Jost De Bogardt was appointed, who accompanied the expedition.

Peter Hollander, a Swede, appointed to succeed Peter Minuit as governor of New Sweden, arrived in the first of the vessels that brought out the Dutch colony, or, what is more probable, came in one of the vessels sent shortly afterwards for the relief and reinforcement of the colony at Christina. His administration continued but one year and a half, when he returned to occupy a military post in his native country. (A more full account of the founding of New Sweden will be found in the Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. iii, p. 269.)

Since the unsuccessful effort of George Holmes and his small company in 1635, we have no notice of any attempt by the English to make a settlement on our river till about this period. Their operations, even now, are involved in much uncertainty. Mr. Samuel Hazard, whose investigations have thrown so much light on the early settlements on the Delaware, after diligent search among the ancient records of New England "can collect but little definite information on the subject," except that several attempts at settlement were made. In a Dutch document descriptive of New Netherland, published in 1649, the efforts of the English "at divers times and places to annex this South river," is adverted to. According to this authority they had previously to that time been prevented from making actual settlements "by divers protests and

by being expelled by force, well knowing if they but once happened to settle there, the river would be lost, or cause considerable trouble."

In the records of the United Colonies evidence exists that an effort was made in 1640 to plant a colony from New Haven. A Captain Turner, agent for New Haven, made a large purchase "on both sides of Delaware bay and river." Besides trade, the object of the purchase "was for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity."

In the year 1641, against the anxious admonition of Director General Kieft, a company of emigrants from New Haven proceeded to the Delaware in a barque fitted out by a Mr. Lamberton, and placed under the command of Robert Cogswell. Notwithstanding the purchases of land made the previous year, these emigrants made others, and located themselves on Varkenskill, near the present town of Salem, New Jersey, in direct violation of a promise made by the captain of their vessel to Director Kieft. New England history and records establish the fact that such a settlement had been commenced on the Delaware; but the actual existence of English settlers at the locality mentioned is first officially noticed in the instructions of John Printz, the third governor of New Sweden. The instructions, which are drawn up with ability and with a very correct knowledge of the river, are dated at Stockholm, August 15, 1642. They left it to the discretion of the Governor either to attract these English families (numbering about sixty persons) under the authority of the crown of Sweden, or what the government thought better, to secure their removal. To effect the latter alternative, the governor had the sanction of his sovereign "to work underhand as much as possible, with good manners and with success."

In another attempt by the English to make a settlement on the Delaware, they did not even keep at a respectful distance from other settlements, "but had the audacity to land in the South river," opposite Fort Nassau, "where they made a beginning of settling on the Schuylkill, without any commission of a potentate." This intrusion, in the estimation of the Dutch, was an affair of "ominous consequence" that might eventually result in the ruin of their trade on the South river.

No time was to be lost in getting rid of these dangerous rivals; and, in consequence of a resolution of the authorities of New Amsterdam that this was to be done, "in the best manner possible," two yachts were placed under the charge of Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, with particular instructions for that object. These instructions were promptly carried out in respect to those located on the Schuylkill, who, it appears, were only a company of traders, and their whole establishment a single trading house. This house was burnt, and those in charge of it subjected to indignities and losses by the attacking party. Smith, in his "History of New York," supposes these English intruders to have come from Maryland, but this is not credited by Bozman, the historian of that province, because "no Maryland records have been found that mention any such an attempt from that quarter."

The English colony on Salem creek was also got rid of. In effecting its

removal, the Swedes have the credit of lending a helping hand to the Dutch. The only measures in which the Dutch and Swedes could unite harmoniously in carrying out, were such as would keep the English from gaining a footing on the river.

Our narrative has now reached a period in which the citizens of Delaware county will feel a local and more direct interest. The government of New Sweden, and substantially that of the whole river, now passed into the hands of John Printz, who established his seat of government within the limits of our county. This was the first settlement made by civilized man within its limits, and the first permanent settlement within the bounds of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of which any record exists.

The new governor was a military man, and held a commission as lieutenant-colonel of cavalry. His instructions, dated at Stockholm, August 15, 1642, are very carefully prepared, with a full knowledge both of the geography and the condition of the country. They enjoin upon him to see that neither violence nor injustice was done nor permitted to be done to the Indians, and that, in order to secure their trade and goodwill, he should "furnish them with the things they require at lower prices than those they receive from the Dutch of Fort Nassau, or from the English, their neighbors." If he felt able to protect himself in Fort Christina he was to engage the people to give themselves to agriculture with zeal, "especially sowing enough grain to support the people under his orders;" after which his attention was to be given "to the culture of tobacco." Besides the cattle and sheep sent out, he was at liberty to purchase others from his English neighbours, and, "before all," he was to direct his attention to the sheep, "in order to have a good species," so that a considerable portion of good wool might in future be sent to the mother country. The trade in peltries was to be supported in a good condition, and the manufacture of salt, the culture of the grape, and the raising of silk-worms suggested. Metals and minerals were to be sought after, and how fisheries may be established "with profit" was to be inquired into, "as according to report they may, at certain times of the year, establish the whale fisheries in Godyn's bay and its neighborhood."

Whatever regarded police, government, and the administration of justice, was to be done "in the name of her Majesty and of the crown of Sweden." From necessity it was not possible to give "perfect and detailed instructions," but much was left to the discretion of the governor. Great offenders might be punished "with imprisonment and other proportionate punishments, and even with death," but not otherwise "than according to the ordinances and legal forms, and after having sufficiently considered and examined the affair with the most noted persons, such as the most prudent assessors of justice that he can find and consult in the country." The Dutch colonists sent over two years before and settled below Fort Christina, were to be permitted to exercise the reformed religion—all others were to be subject to the Augsburg Confession, and the ceremonies of the Swedish church. Thus it will be seen that the settle-

ment of our county commenced with an established religion, though it cannot be said that conformity to it was ever rigorously exacted.

As mentioned, the Swedes based their claim to the country wholly upon their purchases made from the Indians, followed by occupation. The extent of that claim is estimated at thirty German miles in length—its width in the interior, as had been stipulated and decreed in the contracts with the savages, "that the subjects of her Majesty and the members of the Navigation Company, might take up as much land as they wished."

The Swedish Dutch colony is referred to in the instructions to Printz, as subject immediately to Commander Jost De Bogardt, but the governor is enjoined to see that the stipulated conditions under which the settlement was made, are complied with, and their removal to a greater distance from Fort Christina is suggested.

Previous to the issuing of these instructions to Governor Printz, the two vessels, the "Stoork" and the "Renown," which were to bear him and his fellow adventurers to New Sweden, had sailed from Stockholm for Gottenburg to complete their equipments. According to the Rev. John Campanius, who accompanied the expedition, they sailed from Gottenburg on November 1st, 1642, and after a tedious voyage by way of Antigua arrived at Fort Christina on February 15, 1643, having experienced a severe snow storm off the Hooern kill, from which one of the vessels sustained great damage.

The energetic character of the new governor is abundantly evinced during his administration; and, could his acts always have been tempered by prudence, his success would have been greater. The expedition under his command was the most formidable that had entered the Delaware, and it required him but a very short time to give the Swedish establishment on the river a very imposing aspect. His instructions required that the river might "be shut" or "commanded." For this purpose, the position of Fort Christina at once determined its insufficiency. The bold shore of the island of Tennaconk (Tinicum,) then extending further into the river than it now does, was wisely selected as the site for a new fortress; for while by its position it commanded the river, its proximity to Fort Nassau enabled the governor more readily to control the operations of the Dutch. Its insular position also rendered it more secure from attacks by the Indians.

Besides the fort, named New Gottenburg, Governor Printz "caused to be built there a mansion for himself and family which was very handsome; there was a fine orchard, a pleasure house, and other conveniences. He called it Printz Hall." The dilapidated remains of what was said to be the chimney of this mansion were standing within the recollection of the author, and up to this time one of the small foreign made bricks, of a pale yellow color of which it was partly constructed, may be occasionally picked up in the vicinity. Its site was a short distance above the present Tinicum Hotel, and on the opposite side of the road. The fort, we are told by Hudde, was built of groenen logs, the one on the other, and "was pretty strong." Groenen has been translated hemlock, but as that timber did not grow within any convenient distance, and that

of a kind much better fitted for the purpose was at hand, there is evidently a mistake either in the translation or in the statement of Hudde.

This vigilant governor did not feel satisfied that he had quite "shut the river" by the erection of Fort Gottenburg; for before the expiration of eight months from the day of his arrival, he had completed another fortress near the mouth of Salem creek, which he called Elfsborg or Elsinborg, and on which were mounted eight brass twelve-pounders.

Upon the arrival of Governor Printz, the only European population on the river were the few persons occupying the Dutch Fort Nassau, the Swedish colony at Christina, and the Dutch patroon colony established by the Swedish government at one or more points lower down. How many persons accompanied the governor is not known, but the number, though not large, was probably greater than the whole previous population of the river. He brought with him his wife and one daughter, and probably other members of his family; a lieutenant-governor and secretary, a chaplain and surgeon (barber,) besides twenty-four regular soldiers, with officers sufficient for a much large force. These, with ample military stores and provisions for the garrison, and a large stock of goods suitable for Indian traffic, which is known to have constituted part of the freight of the two vessels, would leave little space for actual settlers, their household goods and implements of husbandry. Still a considerable number of settlers accompanied the expedition, who doubtless fixed their places of abode within a convenient distance of the newly erected forts. It was the first successful colony planted within the limits of Pennsylvania.

We are told by Campanius that "on this island [Tinicum] the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations." From the limited extent of the island this could not have continued long in respect to the plantations. In 1645, when Andreas Hudde, the Dutch commissary on the Delaware, made his examination of the river preparatory to making his report to the government, there were on the same side of the river with Fort Christina and about two [Dutch] miles higher up, "some plantations" which, in the language of the report, "are continued nearly a mile; but few houses only are built, and these at considerable distances from each other. The farthest of these is not far from Tinnekonk. * * * Farther on, at the same side, till you come to the Schuylkill, being about two miles, there is not a single plantation, neither at Tinnekonk, because near the river nothing is to be met but underwood and valley lands." This report, from such a close and accurate observer as Hudde, renders it certain that the immigrants who accompanied Printz, as they spread themselves from Tinicum, at first for a time, continued within the bounds of what is now Delaware county. The points on the river where no marsh or flats intervene between the water and the shore, were doubtless the locations first occupied by these settlers. Chester, Marcus Hook, and one or two points above and below, may therefore claim a priority of settlement to any part of the county of Philadelphia, and after Tinicum, of any part of the commonwealth.

It is not easy at this time to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in re-

spect to the social and domestic condition of the settlers on the Delaware at the time of the arrival of Governor Printz, and for a short time afterwards. The Swedes were of three classes: "The company's servants, who were employed by them in various capacities; those who came to the country 'to better their fortunes,' and who, by way of distinction, were called freemen; and a third class, consisting of vagabonds and malefactors," who "were to remain in slavery and were employed in digging earth, throwing up trenches, and erecting walls and other fortifications."

Fort Nassau was merely a military establishment to maintain a trading post. It is not known that any actual settlement had been made at that point previous to the arrival of Governor Printz, or for some time afterwards. The fort was occupied by the soldiers and servants of the Dutch West India Company, and there is reason to believe that at times some of the latter were negro slaves.

But little is known of the early doings of the settlement of Hollanders under Swedish authority on the river and bay below Christina. As has been before observed, this colony had its origin in the bitter feuds that existed between the patroons and the West India Company. The chief element in this controversy was the amount of trade which should be enjoyed by the patroons, which the company seemed determined to wholly monopolize. As the trading privileges contained in the Swedish grant to these Hollanders are strikingly liberal, it is reasonable to conclude that trade at first constituted their chief employment.

In respect to domestic animals, goats were probably first introduced. In the investigation of charges brought against Governor Van Twiller in 1639, a witness mentions "twenty-four to thirty goats" as being in his custody at Forts Hope and Nassau. The careful and prudent Minuit had no doubt supplied his settlement at Christina with both cattle and sheep. In the grant to the colony of Hollanders it was provided that they should take "two or three vessels with men and cattle," and as the English settlers at Vrakens kill (Salem) came from New England, they were doubtless well supplied with domestic animals, which were probably left on the river when they abandoned their new home.

Prior to this period, but very few females of European birth had resided on the Delaware. There was not one in the ill-fated colony at Swanendael, by her supplication for mercy, to stay the hand of savage cruelty. The affidavit of Dame Catelina Tricho, before referred to, establishes the fact that on at least one occasion four females accompanied their husbands to Fort Nassau; but, as the fort was soon abandoned, and only occupied occasionally up to the arrival of Printz, their residence here could only have been temporary. There is also some evidence that the colony at Christina did not consist exclusively of the male sex. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus, the Swedish priest who accompanied Minuit, we are informed by Campanius, took a wife there by whom he had one child previous to his death February 23d, 1643. It is not to be supposed that Mrs. Torkillus was the sole representative of her sex in that colony; nor would it be reasonable to conclude that the colony of Jost

De Bogardt had omitted to introduce an item so necessary to its prosperity and permanency. Still, the number of European females on the river prior to the arrival of Governor Printz, must have been very few, and, even with the addition brought by him, the number must have been disproportionately small compared with the other sex.

Tobacco and maize and probably beans were Indian productions of the river prior to the arrival of the Dutch or Swedes. Wheat, rye and buckwheat, with a number of garden vegetables, had become articles of culture at this period. But the immigrant settlers had none of the luxuries, and but few of the comforts of civilized life. Where woman was so nearly excluded, but few could feel that they had a home even in name.

In respect to religion, there is nothing on record except that the Rev. Mr. Torkillus officiated as clergyman at a church built within the walls of Fort Christina, up to the period of his death.

The river is generally spoken of as healthful; but it would appear that great sickness and mortality prevailed among the settlers in 1642. Winthrop attributes the dissolution of the English "plantation," that is, the settlement at Salem creek, to the sickness that prevailed that year. He says "the same sickness and mortality befell the Swedes settled on the same river." The despondency with which the early colonists were usually seized, was well calculated to increase the mortality of any serious disease that might happen to prevail.

Up to this period, notwithstanding the repeated sales of large tracts of land that had been made to the Dutch and Swedes by the Indians, the country remained substantially one unbroken forest, and was almost as much in possession of the savages as when Cornelis Mey first sailed up the river. They had received but little compensation for their lands, but as yet they had the same use of them as they had heretofore enjoyed—not dreaming that the enjoyment of these lands by the white man was eventually to result in the total exclusion of their race. The time has now arrived for dispelling this delusion. The traffic that necessarily made the savage a party, is gradually to give place to the culture of the soil, that renders his presence a nuisance.

Before resuming our narrative it may not be amiss briefly to advert to the Indian tribes that occupied the river when first visited by Europeans. These tribes, collectively, have been designated Leni Lenape, or Delaware Indians. They had once been a more powerful and warlike nation, but had been conquered by those more northern and western assemblages of Red Men known in history as the "Five Nations." Not only were they a conquered people, but, on the condition of still being permitted to occupy their lands, they had subjected themselves to a kind of vassalage that excluded them from engaging in war, and, according to Indian ideas of such matters, they were placed on a footing with women. They remained in this degraded condition until the last remnant of the nation had left the shores of the Delaware. The Leni Lenape were not exclusively confined to the shores of the Delaware. They occupied most of New Jersey and the whole valley of the Schuylkill. The northern portion of this large district was occupied by a division of the nation called Minsi,

or Muncys. The Nanticokes, a rather warlike independent nation, occupied the eastern shore of the Chesapeake.

The Delaware Indians enjoyed the advantage of a general exemption from the horrors of savage warfare, as a guaranteed protection was an incident to their vassalage; but they were frequently subjected to the intrusions of parties of the Five Nations, who occupied portions of the Lenape country as their occasions required. The Minquas, whose name was borne by the Christina river, was among the warlike tribes that most frequently visited the Delaware for trade. Campanius located them twelve (Swedish) miles from New Sweden, "on a mountain very difficult to climb." He also describes them as a very warlike tribe, who had forced the Delaware Indians, who were not so warlike, to be afraid of them "and made them subjects and tributary to them so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them." The Minquas Indians, as a tribe, belonged to the Five Nations. They resided upon the Conestoga, but their visits to the Delaware for purposes of trade or to fish were frequent.

It will thus be seen that the early settlers on the Delaware had two classes of Indians very different in character to deal with; the one a constant inhabitant of the country, whose presence was familiar to them and caused no uneasiness; the other, an occasional visitor whose stay amongst them, when the object of it was not well understood, excited apprehensions for their safety. The Lenape lived in small tribes, generally occupying the tributaries of the Delaware. Each tribe was frequently known to the settlers by the Indian name of the stream it occupied.

Governor Printz possessed many qualifications that fitted him for the position he occupied. His plans were laid with good judgment, and were executed with energy. He managed the trade of the river with the natives so as to monopolize nearly the whole; and while the jealousy of the Dutch on this account was excessive, he succeeded in avoiding an open rupture with that government. But he was imperious and haughty and sometimes gave offence, especially in personal interviews, when a milder course would have better befitted the occasion.

Though the Swedes had erected a fort on the Jersey side of the river, they never placed so high an estimate on their title to the land on that side as to that on the western shore. As a consequence, most of their settlements were at first made on this side of the Delaware, up which and the Schuylkill they were gradually extended. These rivers and our numerous tide-water creeks constituted the highways of the Swedish settlers, and it was in close proximity with these streams their habitations were erected.

Campanius informs us that in the beginning of Governor Printz's administration "there came a great number of criminals who were sent over from Sweden. When the European inhabitants perceived it they would not suffer them to set their foot on shore, but they were all obliged to return, so that a great many of them perished on the voyage." The same author says that it "was after this forbidden, under a penalty, to send any more criminals to

America, lest Almighty God should let his vengeance fall on the ships and goods, and the virtuous people that were on board." This part of the statement is not strictly correct, for reliable evidence exists that an individual was sentenced to be transported to New Sweden nearly ten years subsequently.

The settlement of the country proceeded very slowly under the Swedish dynasty, while trade was pushed to an extent never before known upon the river. This was a source of great annoyance to the Dutch, as the trade of the river was lost to them in proportion as it was acquired by the Swedes. In the language of Van der Donk, they "would regret to lose such a jewel by the devices and hands of a few strangers."

It is by no means wonderful, that the Dutch should become alarmed at the progress the Swedes were making in securing the trade of the river, for during the year 1644 they freighted two of their vessels, the "Key of Calmar" and the "Fame," with cargoes that included 2,127 packages of beaver and 70,421 pounds of tobacco. This shipment of tobacco would indicate that this noxious plant was cultivated to a considerable extent on the river at that early period.

The Swedes mill, known to have been the first mill erected in Pennsylvania, was probably built this year, though it possibly might have been erected during the year 1643. It was located on Cobb's creek, immediately above the bridge, near the Blue Bell tavern. From the holes in the rocks at the point mentioned, the mill must have occupied a position partly over the stream, and was doubtless driven by a tub-wheel, which required but little gearing. Karakung, as given by Campanius, was the Indian name of Cobb's creek. This mill, which the governor "caused to be erected," he says, "was a fine mill which ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late; it was the first that was seen in the country. There was no fort near it, but only a strong house, built of hickory, and inhabited by freemen."

The jealousy of the Dutch on account of the progress made by the Swedes, induced their Governor (Kieft) to send an agent to the Delaware to keep a watch on the procedures of Governor Printz, and to resist his supposed innovations. The person selected was Andreas Hudde, whose report, though incomplete, was made at different dates. That part of it from which the two following paragraphs have been taken, was made November 1st, 1645. As it will be seen, the Swedes mill was then erected, and was erected by Governor Printz, who arrived in the country in 1642, the date of its erection can hardly vary from the time above mentioned.

"In regard to this Schuylkill, these are lands purchased and possessed by the Company. He (Governor Printz,) employed the Company's carpenter, and constructed there a fort on a very convenient spot on an island near the borders of the kill, which is from the west side secured by another creek, and from the south, south-east, and east side with valley lands. It lays about the distance of a gun-shot in the kill. On the south side of this kill, on the same island, beautiful corn is raised. This fort cannot, in any manner whatever, obtain any control on the river, but it has the command over the whole creek; while this kill or creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river is of little value."

"At a little distance from this fort was a creek to the farthest distant wood, which place is named Kinsessing by the savages, which was before a certain and invariable resort for trade with the Minquas, but which is now opposed by the Swedes, having there built a strong house. About a half a mile further in the woods, Governor Printz constructed a mill on a kill which runs into the sea [river] not far to the south of Matinnekonk, and on this kill a strong building just by the path which leads to the Minquas; and this place is called by the savages Kakarikonk, so that no access to the Minquas is left open; and he, too, controls nearly all the trade of the savages on the river, as the greatest part of them go a hunting in that neighborhood, which they are not able to do without passing by his residence."

The above extracts have been introduced not only because they exhibit the means resorted to by the Swedes to secure the whole trade of the river, but because they contain all that the Dutch Commissary Hudde relates on the subject of the location of the Swedish fort on the Schuylkill; in respect to which Mr. Ferris, in his "History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware," has fallen into a very serious error—an error the correction of which has been rendered more important from the fact that the opinion of Mr. Ferris has been relied upon by subsequent writers, on account of his supposed "local knowledge." Mr. Ferris locates this fort on a cluster of rocks, once a very small island in the Schuylkill above Bartram's Garden, but now connected with the shore by marsh meadow. As the island on which the fort was erected "lays about the distance of a gunshot within the kill," it became necessary for our author to remove the mouth of the Schuylkill to a point a short distance below the site of the Bartram Garden, because the water at high tide was over 'the great meadows," extending from thence "in a southerly course to the Delaware." Even if the real mouth of the Schuylkill had been mistaken by Hudde, the "cluster of rocks" fixed on by Mr. Ferris would entirely fail to meet his description of the island upon which the Swedish fort was erected. This island, from the west, was "secured by another creek," and "on the same island beautiful corn was raised." While these facts could not possibly apply to the site designated by Mr. Ferris, they, as well as the other facts mentioned by Hudde, exactly fit the island then, as now, at the real mouth of the Schuylkill. The location of the fort was undoubtedly upon what is now known as Province island; and, as it could not in "any manner whatever obtain any control on the river," but had "the command over the whole creek" or kill, its exact site must have been near the western abutment of Penrose Ferry bridge, or perhaps a little lower down. "At a little distance from this fort was a creek to the farthest distant wood, which place is named Kinsessing by the savages." This is designated "Minquas creek" on the "map of the first settlements, &c.," and is still known in the neighborhood under the corrupted name of Minkus. That the name assigned to this creek on the map is the one it bore in very early times, is confirmed by a conveyance of Marsh meadow bordering on it, by Lasse Cock to James Hunt, bearing date 3rd mo. 27, 1685, in which that name is applied to it, and is conclusive in establishing its identity with the creek referred to by Hudde. This being established, there will be but very little difficulty in fixing approximately the site of the "strong house" built by the

Swedes. This creek for some distance borders on the fast land, and as the remainder of its course was through grounds overflowed or partially overflowed at every high tide, there is no room to doubt that the "strong house" occupied some point on this margin of fast land. "About half a [Dutch] mile further in the woods, Governor Printz had constructed a mill, &c." This distance accords very nearly with the location assigned to the "strong house" of the persevering and avaricious Swedes.

Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, who had held the office of commissary at the Dutch Fort Nassau, on account of improper conduct was recalled, and Hudde appointed in his stead, who proved himself a more efficient officer in resisting Swedish aggressions, at least with paper missiles. He repaired the fort, which he found in a dilapidated and destitute condition.

The accidental destruction of Fort Gottenburg by fire happened December 5, 1645. This circumstance is not mentioned by Campanius, though it must have occurred while his grandfather resided there. It was doubtless soon again rebuilt, as the seat of government of New Sweden was continued at Tinicum.

The first controversy in which Commissary Hudde was engaged was on account of the arrival of a shallop or sloop from Manhattan under the command of Juriaen Blancke, a private trader, who was ordered by the commissary to the Schuylkill, "near the right, and to await there for the Minquas." When arrived there he was peremptorily "commanded to leave the spot at once, as belonging to the Swedish crown." This Commander Blancke at first refused to do, and referred the matter to Hudde, who conducted a rather angry controversy with the governor, which not being likely to result in obtaining permission for him to remain in the Schuylkill, at the spot he desired to occupy, and being a private person whose expenses and losses would not be borne by the company, he wisely took his departure; not however by reason of any order from the commissary. What is remarkable, a Swedish priest most probably Campanius, took a part in the negotiation.

It may be inferred from the proceedings in this controversy that an arrangement had been entered into between the Swedes and the Dutch about the trade of the Schuylkill. To a query propounded by Printz: "On the Schuylkill, in what manner the property of it is ascertained and understood; what and how far are extended its limits?" Hudde answers, "That the acts relative to the division of the limits are at the Manhattans, where he (Printz) may obtain correct information." Also, in the letter of the governor to Blancke, directing him to leave, this language occurs: "Directly leave that spot with your trading vessel in the Schuylkill, seek the spot where usually sloops are accustomed to trade—which shall not be prohibited; neither do I desire that my subjects shall be admitted there, from respect and friendship for the commander and his commissions as long as you are remaining and trading in the Schuylkill, or that they would obstruct your interests." It is evident that it was the particular place that Blancke was in, that he was commanded to leave,

and not the kill. The letter of Governor Printz is dated at "Tinnekonk" June 20th, 1646.

Following on July 12th, the particulars of this event were communicated by Hudde to Governor Kieft at Manhattan, together with a plan for continuing the trade with the Minquas, and in the meantime he received instructions to inquire about certain minerals in the country in pursuance of which he visited Sankikans, which was the Indian name for the Falls of the Delaware at Trenton, but he was arrested in his upward progress by an Indian sachem, who confided in the truth of a story alleged to have been gotten up by Governor Printz, that the Dutch "had an intention to build a house near the Great Falls, and that in the vessels which were expected, 250 men would arrive, which would be sent hither from the Manhattans, and would kill all the savages below on the river, etc.!" It was manifestly the interest of the Dutch at this time to have an establishment higher up the river in order to secure its trade, and it is much more reasonable to believe that something of the kind was contemplated by them, than that the whole story was the malicious invention of the Swedish governor.

Under instructions received September 7th of this year, "to purchase some land from the savages, which was situated on the west shore about a mile (Dutch) distant from Fort Nassau on the north," we find the vigilant commissary busily engaged on the very next day in taking possession of the coveted spot, by erecting the company's arms upon it. This Christian method of acquiring title to Indian lands, by taking possession in advance of the purchase, is to be excused in the present instance on account of the proprietor not being "at home." On the 25th of the same month, however, the purchase was completed, in evidence of which the original proprietor aided in placing the arms of the company on a pole, which was fixed in the ground on the limits. This purchase included a portion of the grounds now occupied by the city of Philadelphia, as it also certainly did some of the lands that had been purchased by the Swedes upon their first arrival in the country, and of course this transaction became a bone of contention between the two governments. The planting of a Dutch settlement on the western shore of the Delaware was now the policy of the authorities at Manhattan. Upon certain Dutch freemen making preparations to build on their newly acquired possessions, the Swedish commissary, Henry Huygen, removed the emblem of Dutch sovereignty, that had been set up by Hudde with the assent of his savage grantor, using at the same time the very insulting remark "that although it had been the colors of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted, he would have thrown these too under his feet." In one of the conflicts between the parties, a Swedish sergeant behaved himself so much "against all good order and decency," that Commissary Hudde felt it to be his duty to arrest him and keep him "in the guard house some time," besides giving him a severe reproof. This event elicited from Governor Printz a sharp protest, directed to Hudde, in which he reminds him "to discontinue the injuries of which he has been guilty against the Royal Majesty of Sweden," and accuses him of "gross conduct" on account of his "secret and

unlawful purchase of land from the savages," alleging that in making it "he betrayed his conviction of the justice, equity and antiquity of his pretensive claims, of which he so loudly boasted." This protest is dated N. Gottenburg, September 30, 1646, O. S., and was delivered by Oloff Stille and Moens Flom, two Swedish freemen.

On October 22, the reply of Hudde was sent to the governor. It is rather pacific in its tone. He assures the Governor that he purchased the land of "the real owner," and if he (the sachem) had sold the land previously to his Honor, then he had imposed most shamefully upon him. He protests "that he performed everything and endeavoured to employ all means by which a good correspondence and mutual harmony might be promoted," and closes with these words, "I will confide, that it is your Honor's intention, to act in the same manner—at least from the consideration that we who are christians will not place ourselves as a stumbling block, or laughing stock to those savage heathens which I trust, that shall remain so, as it is by your affectionate friend." This affectionate epistle was received in a rather gruff manner by the governor, who threw it towards one of his attendants, saying, "there, take care of it." This is reported by Hudde's sergeant, who acted as messenger on the occasion, and as the governor was engaged with "some Englishmen just arrived from New England," the statement may be credited; but no credit can be given to his tale that the governor took a gun down from the wall "with the intention of shooting him."

Hudde also complained that Printz had forbid his subjects (as he called them,) "to enter into any transactions" with the Dutch. This non-intercourse policy does not appear to have been very strictly enforced, for in less than a year we find Hudde and his wife at the governor's table—the fact being reported to show the rough and vulgar expressions his excellency was capable of using in the presence of a lady.

Nor were the Dutch annoyed alone by the Swedes. A letter from President Eaton, of New Haven, to Governor Kieft, dated August 12, 1646, O. S., complains of "injuries and outrages" to the persons and estates of the English, received at Manhattaes, Delaware river, &c. Since the removal of the English colony from Salem creek, there is no account of that people being present in the river except those in conference with Governor Printz, above mentioned, and a trading vessel from Boston in 1644, four of whose crew were inhumanly murdered by the Indians, and the others—a man and a boy—carried off by them. These, through the instrumentality of Governor Printz, were procured from their captors and sent to Boston—the man to be tried for his life on the charge of having betrayed the vessel into the hands of the Indians.

It is not very creditable to the Rev. John Campanius, who accompanied Governor Printz to America, that he has not furnished a better account of the progress of ecclesiastical affairs during his residence. He was no doubt much occupied in learning the language of the Indians, into which he translated Luther's catechism. This work was partly accomplished during the six years

he resided in New Sweden. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus dying about the time of the arrival of Campanius, the latter no doubt officiated at Christina as well as at New Gottenburg. During the year 1646 a church was erected at the seat of government at Tinicum, which was consecrated to divine services September 4, and also its burying place, by the pastor. "The first corpse that was buried there was that of Catharine, daughter of Andrew Hanson. She was buried October 28, same year, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude." The site of the burying place, and doubtless that of the church also, was close on the margin of the river, and is now occupied by a part of its bed between the Lazaretto and Tinicum Hotel, but nearer the latter. It is not many years since human bones were seen protruding from the undermined and receding bank of the river.

The younger Campanius relates that "the Indians were frequent visitors at my grandfather's house. When for the first time he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence of which, my grandfather's life, and that of the other priests, were for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians, who daily came to him and asked him many questions." Campanius availed himself of these opportunities to make his savage visitors understand there was one self-existing God; to acquaint them with the doctrine of the Trinity; the creation of the world and of man; original sin; together with the doctrines and miracles of Christianity generally. If we are to credit his grandson, whose statements are not the most reliable, he was so successful in his instructions "that many of those barbarians were converted to the Christian faith, or at least acquired so much knowledge of it that they were ready to exclaim, as Captain John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that, so far as the cannons and guns of the Christians exceeded the bows and arrows of the Indians in shooting, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians."

Governor Kieft having been recalled, the administration of affairs upon Dutch account on our river passed into the hands of Peter Stuyvesant, his successor, a man of great energy, intelligence and bravery, but possessed of a will characteristic of his countrymen. His administration commenced May 27, 1647, and continued till 1664, when the American interests of the Dutch passed into the hands of the English.

The bickerings between the Swedes and Dutch were continued, and during the early part of the administration of the new director general the latter in their claims for redress, were not more successful than they had been under his less worthy predecessor.

If the evidence of Commissary Hudde is to be relied upon, the annoyances practised by the Swedes towards the Dutch were unceasing and unendurable. In the absence of Swedish authority on the subject, without ques-

tioning the general truthfulness of the commissary's statements, it would be unjust to give too ready an ear to his suspicions; to admit the correctness of his conclusions without some grains of allowance; or to believe that all the aggressions of which he complains, were without provocation on the part of his people. Hudde accuses Governor Printz with conniving at the abuse of the company's subjects—freemen as well as servants—"when arriving at the place where he resides, * * * so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised," and he seems to attribute similar treatment from the savages to these examples, and particularly a surprise mediated by the Armewsick savages on May 12, 1647, at noon, which "was rendered void by God's mercy and correct information, and through a misunderstanding amongst them." He accuses the governor with closing the river, "so that no vessel can enter it on any account, except with his previous consent;" with vilifying their High Mightinesses; treating as frivolous and insignificant the commissions granted by the Director-general, &c.

However unsatisfactory the proceedings of Printz were to the Dutch, they met the hearty approval of his own government. In a letter sent home by him in February of this year, he gave full information "of the nature and actual condition of New Sweden, as also respecting the progress of cultivation and the construction of dwellings in that country." This information was "infinitely agreeable" to her Majesty's government, and although she "had remarked with particular satisfaction the zeal, skill and activity" with which he had filled his station as Commander, (for so he is styled in the letter,) and gave him assurances that "his zealous and faithful services" should be held in remembrance and rewarded with all her royal favor, yet she declined for the present to confer on him "certain lands and occupations" for which he had made a particular request in his letter. She "was well disposed to grant him what was just," but the cautious government of Sweden required that the business should first be examined in the "chamber of finance," and that it should be ascertained that the lands he asked "had not been given away or were not required for the cavalry or soldiers." Printzdorp, hereafter to be mentioned, was probably granted in response to the letter of the governor.

On August 17, Hudde delivered to Governor Printz a protest which he had received from Director General Stuyvesant, and, having obtained permission to visit Manhattan, he carried back with him the reply of the Swedish governor. These documents do not appear to be on record.

The ship "Swan," which had accompanied Printz, arrived a second time during the year 1647, bringing more people. Three other vessels are mentioned as arriving during the administration of Printz—the "Black Cat," the "Key" and the "Lamb."

On January 20, 1648, the government of Sweden issued letters patent in favor of the South Company, "for the State of New Sweden and the payment of those in their employ, granting one third of the excises of the crown upon all confiscated tobacco, besides fines and forfeitures, and provided that in case the revenue from this source should be insufficient to furnish the necessary

sum for the annual support of the State of New Sweden," the deficit was to be made up from the other resources of the crown. In addition, all merchandise from Holland transported to New Sweden and not landed in Sweden to be sold, was to be free from payment of duty, as were also tobacco and furs sent from New Sweden to the mother country. This was a wise stroke of policy on the part of the Swedish government, as it secured the regular payment of wages to the persons in their employ, and at the same time gave the colony commercial advantages as favorable as could be desired.

A Swedish bark in going up the river, in violation of an understanding between the two governments, neglected to show her colors in passing Fort Nassau. This Hudde regarded as a national insult, and sent eight men in pursuit, which proved unsuccessful. The testy commissary was not disposed to allow the affair to pass unnoticed, particularly as the offending skipper on his return had aggravated his offense by telling Hudde that his act was intended as a personal insult. The result was a formal protest to Governor Printz, which, if it had no other effect, it gave reason to suspect that the representative of New Netherland, on "the South river," was disposed to make the most out of a very small matter.

Governor Printz was generally successful in the execution of every scheme in which he engaged, but this year Stuyvesant was advised that he (the governor) was tampering with the Minquas, and endeavouring to obtain their consent to the erection of a Swedish trading post in their country. Either the Dutch governor was misinformed, or Printz had overestimated his influence with this distant savage nation, for no such trading post was ever established.

During the winter the Swedes had been engaged in bringing together a large quantity of logs, and had already carried a great number of them to the Schuylkill. This made Hudde apprehensive "that the governor had an intention to construct some buildings near the place where the vessels are now usually laying at anchor;" and he says, "as these, trading as before, had been driven from Kinsessing, and we cannot otherwise approach the large woods to trade with the Minquas, by which consequently the trade being lost to us, the possession of the river, as I well observed before, would deserve very little consideration." In case the Swedes went on with the building and took possession of some yet unoccupied places, Hudde humbly proposed "to take possession of the tract of land nearest to him, in the name of the Company." It happened very opportunely for the commissary, and affords him some excuse for his subsequent proceedings, which otherwise might have been considered as an act of aggression, "that on the fourth day of the same month some sachems came to him from the savages of Passayonk, who asked him why he did not build on the Schuylkill; that the Swedes had already there some buildings constructed." Circumstances sometimes almost miraculously adapt themselves to our wishes, or we might suspect that Hudde had some instrumentality in bringing about this kind invitation of the Passayonk savages for the Dutch to occupy their lands.

Having received "correct information with regard to the anticipation by

the Swede and particularly so with regard to some places of the highest importance," he directly prepared himself to build near the place, and on the 27th "went thither with the most necessary timber, calling then without delay for the sachems, and stating to them that at present he came there with the intention to build on that spot which they had granted him." Upon this representation the sachems sent a message to the Swedes "who lived there already, and commanded them to depart from thence, insinuating that they had taken possession of that spot in a clandestine way, and against their will, and that they had made a cession for the present to Hudde; that he too should build there; on which two of the principal sachems, as Maarte Hoock and Wissementes, planted there with their own hands the colors of the Prince of Orange, and ordered that I should fire a gun three times as a mark that I had taken possession." After this ceremony and waste of powder, the house was raised in the presence of the chiefs, but towards evening the Swedish commissary, Huygens, with seven or eight men, arrived there, to question Hudde "by whose permission or order he had raised that house." Hudde replied, "by order of his masters, and with the previous consent of the savages." The Swede demanded documentary evidence that he was acting by authority of his masters, "and not on letters of some freemen." This Hudde agreed to produce, after Huygens had delivered to him the like authority for making such a demand.

The sachems now interceded and delivered a rather sharp reprimand to Hendrick Huygens and his company. They informed them that they should grant the Dutch "that tract of land, and that they would settle there;" and asked, "by whose orders they (the Swedes) did erect buildings there? If it was not enough that they were already in possession of Matennekonk, the Schuylkill, Kinsessing, Kakanken, Upland, and other places possessed by the Swedes, all of which they had stolen from them? that Mennewit, now about eleven years past, had no more than six small tracts of lands, upon Paghaghacking, purchased to plant there some tobacco, of which the natives, in gratitude, should enjoy the half of the produce; . . . that they, (the Swedes,) arrived only lately on the river, and had taken already so much land from them, which they actually settled, while they, [the Dutch] pointing to them, never had taken from them any land, although they had dwelt here and conversed with them more than thirty years." Hudde continued the work—"surrounding the house with palisades because the Swedes had destroyed before, the house, which the company possessed on the Schuylkill, and built a fort in its place, and they might do the same here." "While we were thus at work," continues Hudde, "arrives Maens Klingo, lieutenant at the fort on the Schuylkill, with twenty-four men fully armed, with charged muskets, and bearing maces, marching in ranks. He asked if we intended to finish that work, and if we would proceed with it? To which I answered, what was commenced must be finished, too; upon which he commanded that his men should lay down their muskets and each of them should take his axe in his

hand and cut down every tree that stood around or near the house—destroying even the fruit trees that I had planted there."

This House of Contention afterwards became what was well known as "Fort Bevers Rheede," though the fact is not directly stated by Hudde. As permission for its erection was obtained from the Passayunk Indians, the site of this fort must have been at some point on the east bank of the Schuylkill, now in the first ward of the city of Philadelphia, and within the limits of the former township of Passayunk. An approximate location has been assigned to this fort on "the map of the early settlements," after taking into consideration the suitableness of location in connection with the facts above stated.

It will be observed, that in the harangue of the Passayunk Savage, Upland is mentioned as a Swedish settlement. This is the first notice of that town under its Swedish name, on record; but doubtless one or more of the plantations observed by Hudde in November, 1645, was at that place. It may also be inferred from that harangue that up to this time the Dutch had not made, what the speaker considered, an actual settlement.

It is now observable that the Dutch became more anxious to acquire an Indian title to the lands on our river, and particularly to those lands that had been granted by the savages to the Swedes. With this object, a committee of the high-council at Fort Amsterdam, consisting of Vice-director Dinclage and the Hon. La Montagne, were commissioned to proceed to the South river, where they arrived June 7th, and on the 10th obtained a confirmation in writing of a transfer said to have been formerly made to Arent Corson. By a reference thereto, it will be seen that the savage grantors claim to be "sachems over the district of country called Armenverius." This country on the Dutch map is located on the Jersey side of the river, in the vicinity of Fort Nassau, and not at all likely to include "the Schuylkill and adjoining lands." Passayunk embraced the eastern shore of the Schuylkill from its mouth some distance upwards, and is given by Campanius as one of the "principal towns or places" of the Indians, on the river; and Hudde himself, but a little over a month previously, had recognized the authority of its sachems to make a grant for the erection of a trading post on their lands, while it will be seen that these same sachems are not among those who joined in this pretended conveyance, or rather confirmation without consideration, of a previous conveyance to Arent Corson, of the same lands, by the same parties, part of the purchase money for which, was still due! A late writer has very properly remarked that "the readiness which the natives manifested to part with their territory was equalled only by their willingness to sell it again to any who might choose to purchase it." He might have added, as applicable to this period in the history of our river, that there was no lack of these purchasers at second hand.

After the Hon. Committee of the Dutch Council had concluded their purchase and had taken public and lawful possession, they "with a becoming suite sailed for Tinnekonk," where they met with a very cold reception from Com-

missary Huygen and Papegoya, the son-in-law of Governor Printz, who kept them standing in a constant rain about half an hour. After being admitted to an audience "they delivered, among others, their Solemn protest against the aforesaid Printz, against his illegal possession of the Schuylkill." Governor Printz promised to give his answer before their departure, of which Hudde has made no note.

Places of settlement on the Schuylkill were now assigned to several freemen. On July 2nd, one of the number commenced to build, but was prevented by the son-in-law of the governor, who caused to be pulled down and burnt what he had raised, and adding insult to injury, threatened "that if he there came again, he would carry off with him a good drubbing." Hudde records similar proceedings, though not so violent, on the part of the Swedes, towards one Thomas Braes, who attempted to settle and build at a place named by them "New Holm." This is probably the same occurrence mentioned by Acrelius as happening in 1646, in which Thomas Broen was the person desiring to build. If so, "New Holm" was located in the neighborhood of Mantua creek, in New Jersey. Printz offered Broen permission to build under Swedish jurisdiction, which he refused.

Commissary Hudde being temporarily absent on a visit to his superiors at Fort Amsterdam, Governor Printz erected a building about 30 feet long and 20 wide, immediately in front of the new Dutch Fort Beversreede, on the Schuylkill, "so that the vessels that came to anchor under the fort could discover said fort with difficulty." The back gable of the house was only twelve feet from the gate of the fort, and on the outer side of it. Alexander Boyer, who had charge of the interests of the Dutch during Hudde's absence, very properly regarded the building of this house by Governor Printz, as intended more to insult his "lords and masters than to reap for himself any real advantage from it," because, he said, "the ground in the same range with our fort is large enough to admit twenty similar buildings."

Boyer also reports two Swedes as having been murdered by the Maquas —the first instance on record of Swedish blood having been shed by the Indians.

Hudde returned October 5th with a few freemen to whom had been delivered letters patent to settle and build on the Schuylkill. He says he "was directly informed that the Swedes placed his best hope on the country of the Minquas against the bargain concluded by us," and "to prevent similar frivolous pretentions, and to shew that the contract was by no means broken by the honorable committee," he addressed a note to Hendrick Huygens, intended to be shown to the Governor, of which the following is an extract: "Honorable and obliging good friend, accept my cordial salutation. It was with deep regret that I was informed on my return, that our fugitives can find no residence in the Minquas country, against the good intentions indeed of our Director-general, who will not permit that anything shall be undertaken by his subjects against our contract, but expects that similar conduct shall be holden from both sides."

It is evident from the foregoing extracts from Hudde, as has been before suggested, that a contract existed between the Swedes and the Dutch that contained some specifications in respect to the trade and occupancy of the Schuylkill; and it is but reasonable to conclude that the harsh conduct of Governor Printz towards the Dutch on that river resulted from a belief that their acts were in violation of that contract. It may also be inferred that the Minquas maintained a kind of ownership over the country about the mouth of the Schuylkill, as in my apprehension the allusion to their country in the quoted language of Hudde, had no reference to the usual place of residence of that powerful tribe of savages, which will be shown hereafter was on the Susquehanna. This ownership might have been for the purposes of trade or fishing, and to serve their convenience during their periodical visits. Whatever it was, Hudde was evidently apprehensive, that the late act of the committee of the Dutch Council might be regarded with disfavor by these savages. In a subsequent negotiation with the Dutch, in which some of the same sachems who confirmed "the Schuylkill and adjoining lands" to the honorable committee, participated, when asked whether "they were chiefs and proprietors of the lands situate on the west side of this river, at present partly incorporated and settled by the Swede?" replied that they "were great chiefs and proprietors of the lands, both by ownership and descent, and by appointment of Minquas and river Indians."

The Schuylkill river was not the highway by which the Minquas reached the trading mart near its mouth, or at Kinsessing, as might be inferred from the language of some writers. Their route passed diagonally over the whole extent of Delaware county, entering Philadelphia at the head of tide water on Cobb's creek, near the site of the Swede's mill; doubtless a branch of the usually travelled path to their more southern trading post at Fort Christina.

The land assigned to the freemen who accompanied Hudde on his return, was located on the Schuylkill, at a place then known as "Mast-makers Corner," "Point," or "Hook." In their efforts to occupy and build on these lands, they met with the same determined opposition from the Swedes that others had experienced. The officers to whom this work of demolition was assigned, did not hesitate to avow that they were acting under the special instructions of Governor Printz. The exact position of Mast-makers Corner is not known. It was on the east side of the Schuylkill, and probably but a very short distance from the Dutch Fort Beversreede. An account of these harsh proceedings on the part of the Swedes, forwarded to Fort Amsterdam by Hudde on November 7, closes the often cited report of that vigilant functionary.

Two days later, Adrian Van Tiedhoven, "clerk of the court on the South river," also reported sundry of the Swedish outrages above noted, but he arrives at the conclusion that these cannot cause much injury to the Dutch trade with the Indians. He, however, regards commerce here as "nearly spoiled;" as he says, "we are compelled to give two fathoms white, and one of black seawant (wampum) for one beaver; one fathom of cloth for two beavers; every fathom of seawant amounts to three ells, sometimes one-sixteenth less,

so that in my opinion this barter is too much against us, as the Indians always take the largest and tallest among them to trade with us."

The Swedish priest Campanius, after residing in the country six years, "sailed from Elfsborg in New Sweden," May 18, 1648. Rev. Lawrence Charles Lokenius succeeded Campanius and for a time had charge of the churches at Tinicum and Christina. After a time he gave up the former, but kept the latter till his death in 1688. Rev. Israel Holgh was also a minister here in the time of Governor Printz, but soon returned to his native country.

The disagreements between the Swedes and the Dutch are still continued, giving rise to a mutual hatred and jealousy. Stuyvesant, in a letter to Hudde, complains of the encroachment of the Swedes—fears they will not stop, but admits that he does not know "what he shall apply as a remedy." Even plans by the Swedes are suggested, to interfere with the Dutch to and on the North river. Each party agrees to pursue the policy of obtaining additional grants of lands from the Indians, as the one most likely to strengthen its claims upon the river. As yet the Swedes maintain their ascendency.

As Campanius, the elder, left New Sweden in 1648, and it is probable that most of the descriptions of settlements, &c., in the work of his grandson were derived from him, it may not be amiss at this time to notice some of them that have not already claimed our attention:

"Mecoponacka, or Upland, was an unfortified place, but some houses were built there. It was situated between Fort Christina and New Gottenburg, but nearer the latter. There was a fort built there some time after its settlement. It is good even land along the river shore.

"Passayunk was given by the crown to the Commandant Swen Schute. At that place there was a fort called Korsholm. After Governor Printz's departure for Sweden, it was abandoned by the Swedes, and afterwards burnt and destroyed by the Indians.

"Manayunk, or Schuylkill, was a handsome little fort, built of logs filled up with sand and stones, and surrounded with palisades cut very sharp at the top. It was at the distance of four German miles east of Christina. It was mounted with great guns as well as the other forts. Those forts were all situated on the water side.

"Chinsessing was called the New Fort. It was not properly a fort, but substantial log houses, built of good strong hard hickory, two stories high, which was sufficient to secure the people from the Indians. But what signifies a fort without God's assistance? In that settlement there dwelt five freemen, who cultivated the land and lived very well.

"Karakung, otherwise called Water Mill stream, is a fine stream, very convenient for water mills: the Governor caused one to be erected there. It was a fine mill which ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late; it was the first that was seen in that country. There was no fort near it but only a strong dwelling house, built of hickory, and inhabited by freemen.

"Chammassungh, or Finland. This place was inhabited by Finns, who had strong houses but no fort. It lies at the distance of two German miles east of Christina by water; and by land, it is distant two long Swedish miles.

"Techoherassi, Olof Stille's place, was a small plantation, which was built by Swedish freemen, who gave it that name. They were frequently visited by Indians as it was on the river shore, and surrounded with water like a small island." The Indians named Olof on account of his thick black beard. This place was near the mouth of Ridley creek."

The troubles of Governor Stuyvesant were not alone with the Swedes. He was constantly embroiled with his own people, and his New England neighbors gave him much trouble. His correspondence with the English, in which several transactions on the Delaware come under review, evinces much ability, while his domestic feuds show him to have been self-willed and arbitrary.

Governor Stuyvesant had been advised by the Directors of the West India Company of their intention to apply to the Queen of Sweden for the establishment of limits between the Swedes and Dutch on the South river. This may have been in part the inducement for the visit of his excellency to the Delaware, which happened this year. Upon his first arrival it does not appear that he had a personal interview with Governor Printz—as their negotiations are said to have been conducted by means of "letters and messengers." After communicating to the governor the rights of the West India Company by reason of first discovery, possession and purchases from the Indians, "which included the Schuylkill district," he demanded him "to show in like manner, by similar evidence, what lands there had been purchased by him or his, and were consequently conveyed to them by the natives and proprietors." "The result was only a simple writing, wherein the aforesaid governor designated the Swedish limits wide and broad enough," alleging, that the deeds of the purchase were "in the chancery at Stockholm." This allegation Stuyvesant regarded as a mere subterfuge and destitute of truth. He endeavored to sustain this serious charge against Printz by adducing the fact that he (Printz) then, "for the first time, had tried to buy from a certain sachem or Indian chief named Waspangzewan, such lands as he already occupied, and insisted, were included within his limits." The fact relied on by Stuyvesant proves nothing—it being more likely that the offer to purchase was to get rid of a troublesome claim, than to liquidate a just one. This is rendered more probable by the fact that before Stuyvesant left the river, the Indian sachem who refused to sell to the Swedes made a "free donation and gift" of the same lands to the Dutch.

This occurred July 30th. On the 9th of that month the very singular and rather suspicious negotiation was conducted, by which the Dutch pretend to have extinguished the Indian title to the land from Christina kill to Bompgens hook, before adverted to. This was also a "free gift," except that one of the ceding sachems made a condition "that when anything was the matter with his gun it shall be repaired;" and also, that when he came empty among the Dutch, they were to give him some maize. The grantors in this case were Amattehoorn, Pemenatta and Sinques—who, although they claim to be the right owners of the west bank of the river from the Schuylkill downwards, declined selling the lands between that river and Christina, to the Dutch. They, however, do admit, that the Swedes did purchase the lands they occupy, but deny that it was from the right owners, which they now claim to be. No deed was executed at this conference, that ceremony having been postponed for four years, when another grantor named Ackehoorn joins in a regular In-

dian conveyance for the same premises—the consideration being as usual, duffels, kettles, guns, powder, &c. What is remarkable in this deed, the right of fishing and hunting is reserved to the Indians.

That the Swedes were the first to purchase from the Indians the lands included within the bounds of Delaware county, has already been shown. The object of Governor Stuyvesant, was to make it appear that the Swedish title was imperfect, because their purchase was not made from the rightful owners. Of this he brings no proof but the testimony of the adverse claimants, who themselves refuse to sell to him this particular part of their dominions.

Since the arrival of the Swedes, the names of the Indian sachems who were owners or who set up a claim of ownership to the country embracing Delaware County, are—Siscohoka, Mechekyralames, Kyckesycken (Live Turkey,) Amattehoorn or Mattehoorn, Pemenatta, Sinques, Wappingzewan and possibly Aquahoorn. These are given on Dutch authority. It will be seen hereafter that the dominions of a chief named Naaman, may have extended within our limits.

During General Stuyvesant's detention on the Delaware, a petition for indemnity on account of injuries sustained at the hands of the Swedes at different times and by sundry persons, was presented to his Excellency. Several of these have been noticed already; but, in addition, a garden had been made back of Fort Beversreede, which was at once destroyed and the fence burnt by order of Printz. Also two persons had commenced the erection of buildings on the Island of Harommuny, or Aharommuny, "west of the Swedes' plantation," —one having "laid the ground timbers and set up the ties"—the other had "brought his clap-boards." In the first instance the timbers were cut into fire wood, and in the second the building was forcibly prevented, by the deputies of the Governor, Huygens and Papegoya, "fully armed." No clue is given to the location of this Island Aharommuny, except that it was "west of the Swedes plantation." This expression could not have applied to Tinicum, because there was no island west of it.. It must refer to the Swedish fort on the Schuylkill, and assuming that to be the case, I have assigned the above name on the map of early settlements to the island situate next westerly from that on which the Swedish fort is located, and at present occupied by farm buildings. This island was confirmed to Peter Kock, October 1st, 1669.

Having acquired an Indian title to the west bank of the river below Christina kill, Governor Stuyvesant at once determined to erect another fort, "for the greater security of the company's jurisdiction, and the protection of its people," and to raze Fort Nassau, which "lay too high up and too inconvenient a distance." The new fort, which was called Casimir, was erected on "a tolerably suitable spot" about a league from the Swedish Fort Christina. Its site was within the limits of the present town of New Castle. Governor Printz protested against the erection of this new fort, but appears afterwards to have been reconciled to the measure, as before Stuyvesant took his departure from the river "he had divers verbal conferences with Johan Printz, the Swedish governor, and they mutually promised not to commit any hostile or

vexatious acts against one another, but to maintain together all neighborly friendship and correspondence, as good friends and allies are bound to do."

The doings of Stuyvesant on the Delaware were wholly upon his own responsibility, not having given to the West India Company "so much as a hint of his intentions." The news was unexpected to the directors, and they declined to give any opinion on the subject until they "had heard the complaints of the Swedish governor to his queen, and ascertained at her court how these have been received."

The erection of Fort Casimir rendered the Swedish Fort Elsinborg useless for the purpose of its original design. If any acts of submission were now required from Dutch vessels in passing that fort, the same would be exacted from Swedish vessels in passing Fort Casimir. Elsinborg was therefore abandoned, as it does not appear to have been a place of trade. The Swedes allege that it had become untenable from the great number of mosquitos, and gave it the nickname of "Myggenborg or Musquito Fort."

Governor Printz having been accustomed to an active military life, became wearied of his present position and requested permission to return to Sweden, at the same time soliciting a speedy reinforcement, in order to be prepared for the more threatening aspect that the affairs of the river had lately assumed. Not waiting for the arrival of his successor, he sailed for his native country during the present year, leaving the government in charge of his son-in-law, John Papegoya. Some writers have placed his departure in 1652, but this is disproved by a trading commission issued by him from Fort Christina, October 1st, 1653.

In Sweden, three persons had been convicted, each of killing an elk on the Island D'Auland. Two of them were sentenced to run the gauntlet, each three times,—the third "to be sent to New Sweden." This is perhaps the last Swedish criminal sent to New Sweden.

On August 20, of this year, Queen Christina granted to Captain John Amundson Besh, and to his wife and to his heirs and their heirs, "a tract of land in New Sweden extending to Upland kill." This grant has been supposed to embrace the present site of Marcus Hook, but this is not probable. On the same day another grant was made by her Swedish Majesty to the "brave and courageous Lieutenant Swen Schute" and to his wife and to his heirs, "a tract of country in New Sweden, viz., Mockorhulteykyl, as far as the river, together with the small island belonging thereto, viz., the island Karinge and Kinsessing, comprehending also Passuming." To those acquainted with this region of country it will not be difficult to give the above grant an approximate position, but I have not met with anything that enabled me with any degree of certainty to decide upon the island embraced in the grant.

It is a remarkable fact that on October 6th, just about the time Governor Printz sailed for Sweden, Director-general Stuyvesant wrote to the directors of the West India Company that "the Swedes on the South river would be well inclined to repair among us, in case we will take them under our safeguard;" adding "that hitherto and until we receive further information from

your honors, we decline their proposal, inasmuch as we know not whether it would be well or ill received." It will be remembered that a colony of Hollanders, before the arrival of Printz, had settled under Swedish jurisdiction in the neighborhood of the place where the Dutch had erected their new Fort Casimir. From these such a proposition may have been received; but it is highly improbable that the regular Swedish settlers on the river participated in making it.

In November of this year, the Swedish College of Commerce granted to John Amundson a commission as a captain in the navy. He was about to embark on board of a galliot belonging to the South Company for New Sweden, and when arrived there, part of his duty was to consist in superintending carefully "the construction of vessels, in order that they may be faithfully built." This is the same person to whom the grant of land "extending to Upland kill" was made, Besh or Besk, in the name of the grantee, being the place of his residence. The appointment of this officer would indicate that the Swedish government designed to establish the business of building ships in New Sweden. The land granted to Captain Amundson was at a point on the river well adapted to that business, and was probably selected with that view.

The letter from the Queen, granting Governor Printz leave to return to Sweden, is dated December 12th, when it may be supposed he had already embarked. He was urged to delay his departure until "the best arrangements could be made in regard to his successor." It has been said that Printz became unpopular "by the exercise of a too rigid authority." This letter is conclusive that he possessed the entire confidence of his government. The commission of John Rysingh, the successor of Printz, bears the same date with the above letter. Both documents show that the government contemplated the continuance of Printz in the country for some time longer, during which period Rysingh would act as his aid. But the interval between the departure of the old governor and the arrival of the new one, during which the burden of the government devolved on Papegoya, must have been brief—not exceeding five or six months.

The semi-romantic claim and settlement of Sir Edmund Plowden, or Ployden (although its vague boundaries probably included the district now embraced within the limits of Delaware county) has not been noticed in its proper order of time, because it has little or no historical value in connection with the early settlements on the Delaware. To show, however, that the "Earl Palatine of New Albion" had a real existence and was not a myth, we give the following extract, from "The Representation of New Netherland:" "We cannot omit to say," (remarks the author, Vander Donck) "that there has been here (at Manhattan) both in the time of Director Kieft and that of General Stuyvesant, a certain Englishman who called himself Sir Edward Plowden, with the title of Earl Palatine of New Albion, who claimed that the land on the west side of the North river to Virginia was his by gift of King James of England; but he said he did not wish to have any strife with the Dutch, though he was very much piqued at the Swedish governor, John

Printz, at the South river, on account of some affront given him, too long to relate. He said that when an opportunity should offer, he would go there and take possession of the river." It is presumed the "opportunity" never did offer, and the reader, in consequence, can only imagine the character of the threatened exploit. The grant was not made, however, by King James as mentioned in the extract, but it was obtained in the reign of King Charles I., (1634) from the deputy-general or viceroy of Ireland.

The commercial privileges were as liberal as could be desired, and in this respect were in striking contrast with those of the Dutch. The purchase and cultivation of land was encouraged—the purchases to be made "either from the company or the savages," and, "in respect to the lands thus purchased, subjects recognizing the jurisdiction of the crown of Sweden" were to enjoy "all franchises and allodial privileges, themselves, and their descendants forever."

In consideration of the very faithful and zealous services that Rysingh had rendered and was still disposed to render, her Majesty granted "to him and his wife, and to their legitimate male heirs and their descendants, as much land in the West Indies and New Sweden as he shall be able to cultivate with 20 to 30 peasants; ceding to him the aforesaid country with all its dependencies, with all, &c., ... to enjoy, employ and keep the same, in the same manner and with the same franchises as our nobles, and as a perpetual property." This royal grant was located on the river a short distance below New Castle.

Arriving in new Sweden towards the end of May, 1654, on board of the government ship "Aren" (Eagle), Rysingh commenced his administration by capturing the Dutch Fort Casimir, in direct violation of his instructions. There is some variation in the accounts given of this transaction, which it will not be necessary to notice. Gerit Bicker was in command of the fort, and seeing a strange sail in the distance, dispatched Secretary Van Tienhoven and others "to ascertain the particulars." The messengers did not return till the next day, and then only two hours in advance of the Swedish ship, which they reported to be full of people, with a new governor, who made known to them his intention to take the fort, "as it stood on ground belonging to the Swedish crown." Bicker was urged to give orders to defend the fort, but declined because "there was no powder." Soon after a boat's crew consisting of twenty or thirty Swedish soldiers landed under the command of the former lieutenant of Governor Printz, Swen Schute, who were welcomed by Bicker "as friends." Escorted by him, the Swedes passed immediately into the fort, took possession, and stripped the few Dutch soldiers by whom it was garrisoned of their military equipments, even of "their side arms." Bicker seems to have stood paralyzed while these proceedings were in progress, and it was not till Van Tienhoven made the suggestion that he and two others were deputed to demand from Governor Rysingh his authority for taking forcible possession of Fort Casimir. The governor claimed "to act by orders of her Majesty in Sweden," and he further informed the embassy that when complaints had been made by the Swedish Ambassador to the States General in respect to the building of

the fort, they referred him to the West India Company, who in their turn denied giving any authority for its erection, and had further told the Swedish Ambassador "that if our people are in your way there, drive them off." The truthfulness of the reply of Rysingh is in a measure corroborated by a letter from the Company to Governor Stuyvesant on the subject of the erection of the fort before referred to; from which it may reasonably be supposed that a correspondence between them and the Swedish Ambassador would ensue, and that the company was disposed to make concessions to the Swedish crown. This correspondence may have resulted in additional orders to Rysingh, subsequent to the issuing of his general instructions, in which the capture of the fort was authorized. It is not, however, to be supposed that such orders would afford any palliation or excuse for the rash and unsoldierlike manner in which the capture was effected. Rysingh was not a soldier, and it does not appear that Amundson, commissioned as his military colleague, accompanied him, or was ever in the country.

The exploit of capturing Fort Casimir happened on Trinity Sunday, and in commemoration of that circumstance, the captors changed the name of the fortress to Trefalldigheet, or Trinity Fort. News of the event was duly communicated to Governor Stuyvesant, both by Rysingh and Bicker,—their statements, of course, varying somewhat in the details of the transaction. Three or four of the Dutch soldiers, including Bicker, remained on the river, who, with nearly all the Dutch freemen residing there, took an oath of fidelity to the Swedish governor. The depositions of Van Tienhoven and the eight or ten soldiers who returned to New Amsterdam, place the conduct of Bicker in a very unfavorable light. His behavior served as an invitation to a small body of men to capture the fort, who probably had only been detailed to make a formal demand for its surrender, preliminary to the usual negotiations in such cases. But the "brave and courageous Lieutenant Swen Schute," who commanded the Swedes, was not the man to allow so favorable an opportunity to pass unimproved, for he was never more in his element than when administering a lesson of humility to the Dutch.

With the capture of Fort Casimir, the authority of the Dutch on the river, for the time being, was suspended. The engineer, Peter Lindstroom, who came to the country with Rysingh, caused this fort to be greatly strengthened. He also laid out the town of Christina back of the fort of that name, and constructed a map of New Sweden. There also arrived with Rysingh several officers, some troops and a clergyman, and all the Dutch accounts mention that he was accompanied by a large number of people. We are informed by Acrelius, that Papegoya soon went home, and that Rysingh assumed the title of Director-general.

On June 17, a great convocation of Indians, including ten sachems, was held at Printz Hall, on Tinicum, at which "it was offered on behalf of the Queen of Sweden to renew the ancient league of friendship that subsisted between them and the Swedes, who had purchased from them the lands they occupied. The Indians complained that the Swedes had brought much evil up-

on them, for many of them had died since their coming into the country," whereupon considerable presents were distributed among the Indians, which brought about a conference among themselves. The result was a speech from one of their chiefs, Naaman, in which he rebuked his companions for having spoken evil of the Swedes and done them an injury, and told them he hoped they would do so no more, for the Swedes were very good people.

"Look," said he, pointing to the presents, "and see what they have brought to us, for which they desire our friendship." So saying he stroked himself three times, down his arm, which among the Indians was a token of friendship; afterwards he thanked the Swedes on behalf of his people for the presents they had received, and said that friendship should be observed more strictly between them than it had been before; that the Swedes and the Indians had been in Governor Printz's time as one body and one heart (striking his breast as he spoke), and that thenceforward they should be as one head; in token of which he took hold of his head with both hands, and made a motion as if he were tying a knot, and then he made this comparison;—that as the calabash was round without any crack, so they should be a compact body without any fissure; and that if any one should attempt to do any harm to the Indians, the Swedes should immediately inform them of it, and, on the other hand, the Indians would give immediate notice to the Christians of any plot against them, even if it were in the middle of the night. On this they were answered that that would be, indeed, a true and lasting friendship, if every one would agree to it; on which they gave a general shout in token of consent. Immediately on this, the great guns were fired, which pleased them extremely; and they said, Poo, hoo, hoo; mokirick picon; that is to say, "hear and believe, the great guns are fired." Then they were treated with wine and brandy. Another of the Indians then stood up and spoke and admonished all in general, that they should keep the league and friendship which had been made with the Christians, and in no manner to violate the same, nor do them any injury, or their hogs or cattle, and if any one should be guilty of such violation they should be severely punished as an example to others. The Indians then advised that some Swedes should be settled at Passyunk, where there lived a great number of Indians, that they might be watched and punished if they did any mischief. They also expressed a wish that the title to the lands which the Swedes had purchased should be confirmed; on which the copies of the agreements (for the originals had been sent to Stockholm) were read to them word for word. When those who had signed the deeds heard their names, they appeared to rejoice; but when the names were read of those who were dead, they hung their heads in sorrow. Then there were set upon the floor in the great hall two large kettles, and many other vessels filled the sappaun, which is a kind of hasty pudding made of maize or Indian corn, which grows there in great abundance. The sachems sat by themselves; the other Indians all fed heartily and were satisfied."

This proceeding, copied nearly entire from Campanius, is highly characteristic of such transactions with the Indians. Other treaties with the aborigines may have been held within our limits, but this is the only one the recorded proceedings of which have come down to us. It is conclusive that the Swedes had purchased from the Indians the lands then occupied by them; and the fact that one of the principal chiefs, Naaman, who was a party to this transaction, resided on the creek that bears his name, renders it almost equally conclusive that the former purchase of the Swedes had been made from "the right owners," the pretension set up by the Dutch to the contrary notwithstanding. The treaty thus so solemnly made between the Swedes and In-

dians, we are informed by Campanius, "has ever since been faithfully observed by both sides."

The war between England and Holland having been concluded, and the Dutch having been driven from the Delaware, a favorable opportunity was presented to the New Englanders to renew their claims on the river. These were pressed on the ground of purchases made from the Indians, and gave rise to a correspondence between Governor Rysingh and the Commissioners of the United Colonies which it will not be necessary to notice.

A Swedish vessel, called the "Golden Shark," by accident or design, was piloted into the Raritan river. The vessel was immediately seized by Governor Stuyvesant, who regarded this as a fair opportunity to force the Swedes to restore Fort Casimir. The event gave rise to considerable correspondence, which did not result in a restoration either of the fort or the vessel.

The affairs of the Swedes on the Delaware were now approaching a crisis, but nothing had occurred to arouse the suspicions of the home government. The triumph of Rysingh was regarded as a reconquest of usurped territory, and no other means to reclaim it by the Dutch were apprehended beyond the usual one of protest. This was a fatal delusion; for at the close of 1654, while estimates were being made in Sweden for the support of their colony during the ensuing year on a peace basis, an armament was being fitted out in Holland, not only sufficient to replace "matters on the Delaware in their former position," but to drive "the Swedes from every side of the river."

In the spring of 1655, five armed vessels well equipped were forwarded to Stuyvesant, with a *carte blanche* to charter others. The armament when completed at New Amsterdam consisted of seven vessels, and from six to seven hundred men. The greatest caution was used in providing against every contingency, in fitting it out, and a day of thanksgiving and prayer was observed before the sailing of the expedition; which happened on Sunday, September 4th, "after sermon." It was commanded by Governor Stuyvesant in person, and arrived in the bay of South river the next day about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The deserted Swedish Fort Elsingborg was visited on the following day, but it was not till Friday that the expedition reached Fort Trinity or Casimir. This fortress was under the immediate command of Swen Schute, while Governor Rysingh in person had charge of Christina. To prevent communication between the two forts, Stuyvesant had landed fifty men. The demand made by the Dutch was "a direct restitution of their own property," to which Commander Schute, after having had an interview with Stuyvesant, reluctantly yielded on the following day, upon very favorable terms of capitulation. For the reduction of Fort Christina a bloodless siege of fourteen days was required. As a matter of necessity it yielded to an immensely superior force, September 25th, on even more favorable terms than had been granted to the garrison of Fort Trinity. Agreeable to special instructions from the home government, an offer was made to restore the possession of Fort Christina to Governor Rysingh, but he declined the offer, preferring to abide by the articles of capitulation.

The magnificent scale on which the expedition was got up by Stuyvesant for the capture of these inconsiderable forts, with the slow caution observed by him in conducting the siege of Fort Christina, borders on the ridiculous, and has afforded an ample field for the satire of the veritable Knickerbocker. His ignorance of the weak condition of the enemy will, in a measure defend him from the shafts of ridicule, but it will be difficult to find an excuse for the acts of wantonness his soldiers were permitted to exercise towards the peaceable inhabitants of the country. If the official report of Rysingh is to be relied upon, "they killed their cattle, goats, swine and poultry, broke open houses, pillaged the people, without the sconce, of their property, and higher up the river they plundered many and stripped them to the skin. At New Gottenburg they robbed Mr. Papegoya's wife of all she had, with many others, who had collected their property there." Nor does Rysingh fail to remind Stuyvesant of these unjustifiable acts. "His men," he says, "acted as if they had been on the lands of their inveterate enemy," as, for example, the plundering of "Tennakong, Upland, Finlandt, Printzdorp, and several other places, * * * not to say a word of what was done in Fort Christina, where women were violently torn from their houses, whole buildings destroyed, and they dragged from them, yea, the oxen, cows, swine and other creatures, were butchered day after day; even the horses were not spared, but wantonly shot, the plantations destroyed, and the whole country left so desolate, that scarce any means are remaining for the subsistence of the inhabitants." He also tells him, "your men took away at Tennekong, in an uncouth manner, all the cordage and sails of a new vessel, and then they went to the magazine, and without demanding the keys entered it alone, broke the boards of the church, and so took away the cordage and sails."

Campanius says "the Dutch proceeded to destroy New Gottenburg, laying waste all the houses and plantations without the fort, killing the cattle and plundering the inhabitants of everything that they could lay their hands on." A late writer (Ferris) concludes that "this is unquestionably erroneous," and assigns two reasons for his opinion. First, "the Dutch had no motive for such destructive cruelty, the country being now theirs by a formal surrender, and they were bound by their treaty at Christina," &c. Second, "that the church at Tinicum was standing twelve years afterwards, and Printz Hall at the commencement of the present century." But the writer has failed to observe that the depredations were committed during the siege of Fort Christina and not after its surrender and the conclusion of the treaty; and that a fair construction of the language of Campanius will not warrant the inference that any building except the fort was actually destroyed.

The Dutch were not, however, permitted to practice these cruelties towards the Swedes with impunity. Even before the return of the fleet to New Amsterdam, to use the language of Governor Stuyvesant, "it pleased God to temper this our victory with such an unfortunate and unexpected accident as New Netherland never witnessed, inasmuch as in less than three days over forty of our nation were massacred by the barbarous natives; about one hun-

dred, mostly women and children, taken prisoners; boweries and some plantations burnt and laid in ashes, and in and with them over 12,000 schepels of grain yet unthrashed." With one-half of the force taken to the Delaware, the conquest of the Swedes would have been equally certain and far more creditable to the conquerors, while the other half could have guarded their own people against such a dreadful calamity.

By the terms of capitulation of Fort Christina, all the Swedes and Finns who desired to remain in the country were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the States General of the United Netherlands—even those who intended to leave, but who were obliged to remain for a time to dispose of their lands and settle up their business, (for which one year and six weeks were allowed,) were not exempted from taking the oath, to be binding so long as they remained. Thus ended Swedish sovereignty on the continent of America. Deriving its only title from the savages, which is not recognized by the law of nations, no very protracted endurance could have been anticipated for the colony as a dependency of Sweden; but its sudden downfall was manifestly the direct result of the rash, unjustifiable and unauthorized acts of Governor Rysingh in capturing Fort Casimir.

The hardships of the Swedes, though they were not protracted under the Dutch government, did not terminate with the capture of their forts. We are informed by Acrelius that "the flower of their troops were picked out and sent to New Amsterdam under the pretext of their free choice, the men were forcibly carried on board the ships. The women were ill treated in their houses, the goods pillaged, and the cattle killed."

But little has come down to us in respect to the domestic administration of affairs in the Swedish colony. The administration of justice was doubtless conducted by means of a military tribunal of which the governor was the head. Printz felt himself disqualified for the performance of the duties of a judge, and in a dispatch to the Swedish West India Company, dated February 20, 1647, he makes known his difficulty in this wise: "Again, I have several times solicited to obtain a learned and able man. 1st, To administer justice and attend to the law business, sometimes very intricate cases occurring, in which it is difficult, and never ought to be for one and the same person to appear in court as plaintiff as well as judge." . . . As the seat of government was located at Tinicum from the commencement of the administration of Governor Printz, it may be concluded that the seat of justice was also located there.

Mrs. Papegoya, the daughter of Governor Printz, it will have been seen, did not return to Sweden with her husband. For many years she continued to reside at Tinicum, rather in poverty than affluence. Tinicum is no longer mentioned as a fortified place, and if the fort was not destroyed by the Dutch as mentioned by Campanius, it was suffered by them to go into decay.

The government of the Dutch on the river was established by the appointment of John Paul Jaquet as vice-director and commander-in-chief, and Andreas Hudde as secretary and surveyor, and keeper of the keys of the fort, &c. The council was to consist of the vice-director, Hudde, Elmerhuysen

Klein, and two sergeants, in purely military affairs; in matters purely civil, or between freemen and the company's servants, two of the most expert freemen were to be substituted for the two sergeants. The instructions given Jaquet show a want of confidence in the Swedes. "Good notice" was to be taken of their behaviour, and in case any of them were found to be not well affected they were required to depart, "with all imaginable civility," and, if possible to be sent to New Amsterdam; and no Swede living in the country was to remain in the fort all night. The seat of government was established at Fort Casimir—provision having been made for extending the town, which took the name of New Amstel.

"In granting lands, care was to be taken that a community of 16 or 20 persons reside together. The rent to be 12 stivers per morgen, per annum; but permission to plant was only to be granted, on taking an oath to assist the fort, or to be transported in case they refuse the oath." "The free persons of the Swedish nation residing on the second corner above Fort Cassimer," solicit counsel "that they may remain on their lands, as they have no inclination to change their abode, neither to build in the new village," claiming the promise made to them by Stuyvesant. Their petition was granted until the expiration of the year and six weeks, mentioned in the capitulation.

As evidence that the Swedish government had been kept in ignorance of the intended conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch, was the arrival March 24, 1656, of the Swedish ship "Mercury," with 130 souls on board, intended as a reinforcement to the colony. They were forbidden to pass the fort, but a party of Indians joined the crew and conducted the ship up the river, the Dutch not venturing to fire a gun against them. The "Mercury" was allowed to pass the fort owing to the number of Indians on board, the Dutch feeling no disposition to provoke their animosity. The passengers of the "Mercury" were landed contrary to the direct orders, sent at considerable trouble from New Amsterdam, but the captain and crew of the vessel were exonerated from all censure, the responsibility resting with the Indians and resident Swedes. Among the passengers was Mr. Papegoya, the son-in-law of Governor Printz, who wrote to Governor Stuyvesant immediately upon his arrival. There were also two clergymen on board, one of whom, named Matthias, who continued to reside in the country during two years. Andres Bengston was also a passenger, who was still living in this country in 1703. Much negotiation was occasioned in consequence of the arrival of the "Mercury," and though the Dutch government never yielded its assent to the landing of the immigrant passengers, they all did land, and probably most of them remained in the country. The vessel was allowed to proceed to New Amsterdam and discharge her cargo at a reduced duty, and to take in provision for her return voyage.

The conquest of New Sweden was not quietly acquiesced in by the home government. Their minister protested against the outrage and claimed restitution, but this claim was disregarded, the Dutch being well aware that nothing more serious than paper missiles could be resorted to, the Swedes at that time being engaged in a war with Poland. The Directors of the West India

Company did not hesitate to communicate to Stuyvesant their approbation, in general, of his conduct.

After Governor Printz left the country, his plantation at Tinicum seems to have been very much neglected, and for a time wholly abandoned. The interference of Commander Jaquet to prevent his daughter, Mrs. Papegoya, from resuming the possession of the property, gave this lady occasion to memorialize the Director-general. She says:

"It is, without doubt, well known to the Director-general, that our late lord governor, my highly revered lord and father, prepared a farm, partly cultivated by freemen, who are returned to Sweden, and surrendered it to him, and partly cleared by his orders, and cultivated for several years; and this was granted by the King (Queen?), and by the present royal majesty was confirmed, but which now since three years, being abandoned, was again covered with bushes, and the dwelling-house nearly destroyed by the Indians, and so I have been obliged to repair it, by three Finns, and to sow its fields, when, unexpectedly, I was forbidden by the present commander, to take possession of it again; wherefore I am compelled to inform the Director-general of this event, with humble supplication that it may please him graciously, and from the friendship between him and my lord and father, to favor me with this possession, as I am confident his honor will do; and solicit further that my people may remain unmolested at Printzdorp, and continue to cultivate its soil; and that his Honor, &c., may be pleased to grant me, for my greater security, letters patent for that spot, and so too for Tinnakonk. I hope that my lord and father will acknowledge it as a mark of great friendship, and as far as it is in his power, be remunerated with thankfulness; with which I recommend the Director-general to the protection of God Almighty. Dated at Tinnakonk August 3, 1656. The Director General's humble servant, ARMGARD PRINTZ."

"The suppliant is permitted, agreeably to the capitulation, to take possession of the lands of her lord and father in Printzdorf, and to use it to her best advantage," was the response of the Director-general.

The Dutch West India Company had become greatly embarrassed by the large amount of their debts, which had been increased by the aid afforded by the city of Amsterdam towards the conquest of the Swedes on the Delaware. To liquidate this debt, that part of the South river extending from the west side of Christina kill to the mouth of the bay, "and so far as the Minquas land extended," was, after much negotiation, transferred to that city, with the company's rights and privileges, and subject to conditions agreed upon by the contracting parties. These conditions with a slight modification were ratified by the States General, August 16, 1656—the colony thus established taking the name of Nieuer Amstel.

As the jurisdiction of the City's Colony, as thus established, did not extend over the district claiming our particular attention, the doings within it will only be briefly noticed. The government of the colony was organized by the establishment of a board of commissioners to reside in the city of Amsterdam; forty soldiers were enlisted and placed under the command of Captain Martin Krygier, and Lieutenant Alexander D'Hinoyossa; and 150 emigrants, freemen and boors, were forthwith dispatched, in three vessels, to settle in the new colony. Jacob Alrichs accompanied the expedition as Director of New Am-

stel. Alrichs assumed the government of the colony towards the close of April, 1657, when Hudde was appointed to the command at Fort Christina, (the name of which was changed to Altona,) and also of New Gottenburg.

Over the Swedes and Finns, who were exclusively the inhabitants of the river above the Colony of the City of Amsterdam, Goeran Vandyck had been appointed with the title of schout fiscal, and under him Anders Jurgen. Goeran Vandyck, the schout, suggested to Stuyvesant the necessity of concentrating the Swedish inhabitants, and procured from him a proclamation inviting them to assemble in one settlement either at Upland, Passayunk, Finland, Kingsessing or where they pleased. The invitation was not accepted. The appointment of "one Jurgin the Finn, on Crooked Kill," as court messenger, is mentioned.

Andries Hudde, who held a military command under the Company, was also provisionally engaged in the New Amstel Colony as clerk in "the dispatch of law suits and occurring differences;" and as he understood "somewhat of surveying," he was also employed in that capacity.

Evert Pieterson, who held the office of schoolmaster, comforter of the sick and setter of the psalms, in the City Colony, writes to the commissioners that upon his arrival in April he found but twenty families in New Amstel, all Swedes except five or six families. He appears to have been a man of observation, and suggests our black walnut timber for making gun-stocks, requests that inquiries be made of the gunsmiths in respect to its value, and in what shape it should be cut. In August he had a school of twenty-five children. This is the first school established on the river of which we have any account.

Director Alrichs not only communicated with the commissioners of Amsterdam City, but also with Stuyvesant. He advises that seventy-five men be sent to Altona, thereby showing that he was under some apprehensions on account of the Swedes.

The winter of 1657 was remarkable for its severity. "The Delaware was frozen over in one night, so that a deer could run over it, which, as the Indians relate, had not happened within the memory of man."

In the spring of 1658, a vessel which had taken in hickory wood at Altona that was cut by Stuyvesant's orders, completed her cargo with rye straw at Tinicum.

The affairs of the South river, in the opinion of Governor Stuyvesant and his council, "required to be examined into," and "some regulations" also becoming necessary among the Swedes, his excellency in person, accompanied by Mr. Tonneman, repaired to the river, and May 8th, in this year visited Tinicum. Here they were met by the schout, or sheriff, Vandyck; Olof Stille, Mathys Hanson, Pieter Rambo and Pieter Cock, magistrates; Swen Schute, captain; Andries D'Albo, lieutenant; and Jacob Swenson, ensign. After renewing their oath of allegiance to "the high and mighty lords, the States General of the United Netherlands and lords directors of the general privileged West India Company with the director general and council already appointed, or in time being," these Swedish officials presented their petition asking that a

court messenger might be appointed for executions; for free access to the soldiers of Altona, in case they wish their aid for the execution of resolves; that no person shall leave their limits without the knowledge of the magistrates, much less male and female servants, &c. Some subsidies were also asked for. The Director-general thought the jailor could perform the duties of court messenger, as he is now employed by the sheriff and commissioners to make summons, arrests and executions. Free access to the soldiers was granted, if solicited by the sheriff. No person was to leave without the consent of the commissary, first obtained of the Director-general and council, and subsidies were allowed "when they can be obtained with least incumbrance to the Swedish nation." Those who had not taken the oath of allegiance were required to do so.

It is probable that the above named petitioners, except Vandyck, constituted what remained of an organized government at the close of the Swedish authority on the river. The articles of capitulation are silent in respect to a continuance of Swedish officers in power, but it would appear that those who remained in the country and took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch government, continued to exercise their functions, in which they seem to have been officially recognized by the Director-general at the meeting at Tinicum. Unfortunately, no record of their official acts has been preserved.

After the Director-general returned to New Amsterdam, he reported to the Council that the Swedes, after taking the oath of allegiance, desired that in the case of a difference between the crown of Sweden and the Netherlands in Europe, that they might occupy the position of neutrals, which was agreed to. The military officers mentioned at the meeting at Tinicum were at the same time elected to their respective offices.

The summer of 1658 was a season of great sickness and mortality at New Amstel and surrounding country. In a letter from Alrichs to the commissioners of the City Colony, dated October 10, of this year, he speaks of "two parcels of the best land on the river on the west bank, the first of which," he says, "is above Marietens hook, about two leagues along the river and 4 leagues into the interior; the second on a guess, about 3 leagues along the same including Schuylkill, Passajonck, Quinsessingh, right excellent land, the grants or deeds whereof signed in original by Queen Christina, I have seen; they remain here." He also expresses the belief that "the proprietors, as they style themselves, or those who hold the ground briefs," would willingly dispose of these lands for a trifle, according to their value or worth.

The prosperous commencement of the City Colony was soon followed by evils that almost threatened its dissolution. Sickness, a scarcity of provisions and failure of crops, followed by a severe winter, spread dismay and discontent among the people. The arrival of additional settlers not properly supplied with provisions, greatly increased the prevailing distress. In the midst of this general gloom, news arrived that the burgomasters of Amsterdam had changed the conditions on which the colonists had agreed to emigrate, making them less favorable to the emigrants. Discontent was increased, and many of the inhab-

itants deserted to Maryland, carrying with them the news of the distressed condition of the colony. News of a threatened invasion by the English reached the ears of the colonists, and added to the general feeling of insecurity. In the midst of this anxiety and alarm, commissioners from Maryland arrived with a letter from Governor Fendal and instructions to command the Dutch to leave, or to acknowledge themselves subjects of Lord Baltimore. An immediate answer was demanded, but at length Col. Utie, the head of the Maryland commission, granted a delay of three weeks in order that Alrichs and Beekman might confer with their superiors. Upon being advised of the visit of the Maryland commissioners, Governor Stuyvesant forwarded a reinforcement of sixty soldiers with Capt. Krygier and Secretary Van Ruyven to regulate matters on the South river. He also sent Augustine Heemans and Resolved Waldron as ambassadors to Maryland, with instructions to remonstrate against Col. Utie's proceedings, and to negotiate a treaty for the mutual rendition of fugitives. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors in Maryland a protracted conference ensued, in which the Dutch title to the lands on the Delaware river and bay was defended with considerable ability.

The land from Bombay Hook to Cape Henlopen was secured by purchase from the savages, and a fort erected at Hoern kill as a further security against the English claim. It was attached to the district of New Amstel.

Alrichs had become unpopular from the exercise of a too rigid authority. The clashing of interests between the city and the Company, taken in connection with the adverse circumstances with which he was surrounded, rendered his position one of great difficulty. But death relieved him from his troubles towards the close of the year; his wife departed this life at its commencement. Previous to his death, Alrichs nominated Alexander D'Hinoyossa as his successor, and Gerit Van Gezel as secretary.

The Burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam soon discovered that their colony of New Amstel would be attended with more expense and trouble than profit, and entered into negotiations with the company for a re-transfer of the same to them. Trade was the prime object of the company, and as the City Colony served as a defence to the southern border of New Netherland without diminishing their commercial advantages, the negotiation, of course, was a failure.

In September, 1659, Alrichs says there are 110 houses in New Amstel, 16 or 17 more on land belonging to the Dutch, and 13 or 14 belonging to the Swedes. In a proposition to tax the Swedes and Finns within the jurisdiction of the West India Company, towards the close of 1659, the number of their families is estimated at 200. By estimating five persons to each family at the close of this year, the whole European population of the river would amount to 1,700.

The Burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam failing to get rid of their American colony, made a new loan and showed a disposition to act with more vigor in promoting the interests of the colonists. A year, however, was allowed to pass away before the inhabitants of New Amstel felt the invigorat-

ing effects of this change in the policy of their rulers. They were even in a state of uncertainty during the most of the year 1660, whether arrangements had not been made for their re-transfer to the Company. As a consequence, many disorders ensued, among which jangling and quarreling among the officials were the most prominent. As a means of averting the evils with which the colony was surrounded, days of public thanksgiving were occasionally observed, but this year the ungodly council of New Amstel commanded that "a fast and prayer day should be holden on the first Monday of each month."

Sheriff Vandyck estimates the number of men in the "Swedish and Finnish nation" capable of bearing arms, at 130. Some of them were allowed to be enlisted as soldiers, while at the very same time an order from Stuyvesant was in force to collect them all into one or two villages. Preparatory to carrying this unjust and unreasonable order into execution, Beekman spent a few days amongst the Swedes and Finns, and found that different settlements could not converse with each other, "for want of a knowledge of their reciprocal language." There was a difference of opinion between the settlers about Aroumerk and those of Keneses, as to which was the more eligible for the proposed Swedish village. It was argued against the latter "that there was no defence whatever, neither a place for safe retreat, as considerable underwood and many streams must be passed;" and in favor of Aroumerk, that "there is a pretty large kill, which might be chosen to cover a retreat or prepare for defence." Besides, "at Arounderyk they might cultivate their fields on the other side of the kill, on the Passayung road, where is a rich, fruitful soil, and last harvest a considerable quantity of seed was sowed." He found some willing to compromise, by accepting the proposals, while others were for maintaining their own rights, in keeping their own farms and lots. Miss Printz, (as Mrs. Papegoya is usually called by the Dutch writers,) was among the latter. She could not remove her residence, "the heavy building not permitting her to change it, and the church where she usually worships being upon that spot." She says further that "she offers her lands without any compensation, but can nevertheless induce no person to settle in her neighborhood."

Finding that the Swedes could not agree among themselves, Beekman commanded a list to be delivered to him within eight or ten days, designating where it suits best for every person to fix his future residence promising his assent in case it comported with the Governor's order, otherwise he would be compelled to designate where each of them should reside. At the urgent request of the Swedes, from four to six weeks more time was granted, Miss Printz and others requesting Beekman to aid them; for which purpose, he informs Stuyvesant, "more soldiers will be required." At the solicitation of the Swedish commissaries, Beekman asks permission from the governor to allow the Swedish nation "to remain in their present possessions till they have harvested their corn." He had understood that they intended to unite them in one village at Perslajough, &c. Peter Kock, Peter Andrieson and Hans Moenson were among those who took a decided stand against removing to Passayunk. There was not sufficient land obtained there "for the pasture of their

creatures," and they "ardently wished not to remove." They add, "if compelled to go, then we will go, or depart to a spot where we may live in peace."

Beekman eventually became convinced of the injustice of the order for removing the Swedes into one village. He represented to Stuyvesant that it was "unmerciful to force people from their cultivated lands and put them to new labor and expense." The Swedes were therefore allowed to remain at their respective settlements—a result not brought about by any kind feelings entertained towards them by the Director-general. Persuasion had failed, and as for compulsion, the means were not at hand. The Swedes outnumbered the Dutch on the river, and within the territory of the company very few if any Dutch had settled. Dissensions were also rapidly growing between the officials of the two colonies. More favorable privileges being offered by D'Hinoyossa, a number of Swedes had joined the City Colony, and others had removed to Sassafras river. Apprehensions that the whole Swedish territory would be abandoned may also have had some weight in suspending the operation of this iniquitous measure.

The Dutch having got into difficulties with the Esopus Indians on the North river, sent to the Swedes and Finns for recruits. They could not be persuaded to go to Esopus as soldiers; though "they would not be unwilling, provided they could remain there in peace with the savages." The sheriff, Vandyck, and some of the commissaries, are accused with discouraging and actually preventing some individuals from emigrating to Esopus.

Miss Printz, instead of her recognitions (taxes), requests permission to make payment in a fat ox, fat hogs, bread and corn.

The seat of justice for the company's jurisdiction was at Altona, where annually three or four courts were held, "as circumstances might require." Among the Finns was a married couple who lived together in constant strife, the wife being daily beaten and "often expelled from the house like a dog." A divorce was solicited by the priest, the neighbors, the sheriff and commissaries, on behalf of these parties, and that their small property and stock be divided between them. The matter was referred to the governor, but the result is not known. As the parties were Finns, they probably resided in the vicinity of Marcus Hook.

About this time, mention is made of Israel Helm carrying on trade at Passayunk. He took a prominent part in the transactions on the river till some time after the arrival of Penn.

Beekman becomes alarmed in consequence of a threatened war between the Indians and the English of Maryland, and is apprehensive that the savages will again claim and take possession of these lands, or that they will be eventually settled with English and Swedes.

A war is at this time in progress between the Senecas and Minquas Indians, the small-pox being prevalent in the latter nation at the same time. Great alarm spread among the European inhabitants, which was fully shared by the Swedes for the Senecas were as little known to them as to the Dutch.

During the early part of this year, the common council of the city of Am-

sterdam, by means of commissioners appointed for that purpose, went into a thorough examination of the causes that had heretofore defeated all their efforts to render the colony of new Amstel prosperous. The result was a negotiation with the West India Company for an amplification of the privileges of the city in respect to trade; of the powers of the local government rendering it less dependent on the Director-general; and an extension of their territory, so as to embrace the east side of the river as high up as their present limits extended, and the west side to Upland kill.

The introduction of negroes as laborers had now become more general on the river. As early as 1657 complaints were made against Vice-director Alrichs "for using the company's oxen and negroes," and in a letter from Beekman to Director-general Stuyvesant, dated March 18, 1662, he "solicits most seriously" that his Honor "would accommodate him with a company of negroes, as he is very much in want of them in many respects."

A corn-mill was now in the course of erection at "Turtle Falls, about one and a half miles (Dutch) from Fortress Altona," on condition, however, "that the garrison should not pay for their grist." A mill of some kind was in existence at New Amstel called a Rosmolen (Ross mill,) to which the people of Altona resorted, or when they could not be served, were compelled to go to the old "Swedish mill" at the distance of six miles (Dutch) from Altona. This old Swedish mill was the mill built by Governor Printz, on Cobb's creek.

The West India Company having assented to a favorable modification of the conditions under which the City of Amsterdam held its colony, and the city having agreed to furnish pecuniary aid to emigrants, a reasonable prospect was presented that immigration in that direction would proceed with great rapidity. Among those who were allured by the proposed advantages was a community of Mennonists, who proposed to plant themselves at Horekill. Their articles of association are remarkably singular. The associators were to be married men or single men twenty-four years old. Clergymen were excluded from the community, as were also "all intractable people—such as those in communion with the Roman See; usurious Jews; English stiff-necked Quakers; Puritans; fool-hardy believers in the Millennium; and obstinate modern pretenders to revelation." Laws, subject to the approval of the authorities of the City of Amsterdam, could be passed by the votes of two-thirds of the members, but no magistrate was to be allowed any compensation for his services—"not even a stiver." Enticed by the favorable terms offered to emigrants by the City of Amsterdam, sixteen or eighteen families, chiefly Finns, had embraced them by removing within its jurisdiction. They were to be eighteen years free from tax, and to have their own judges and religion, while at the same time they meant to retain the lands from which they emigrated.

It appears that towards the close of 1662, "Miss Printz (Mrs. Papegoya,) made a conveyance of the Island of Tinicum to a Mr. LaGrange, and had received from him a bill of exchange as part of the purchase money, which bill was protested. Beekman visited Tinicum for the purpose of arrang-

ing the matter, but after using every exertion failed. From this transaction much litigation ensued, which was not ended till after the government passed into the hands of Penn. The letter of Beekman, communicating this matter to Stuyvesant, is dated at "Tinneconk, N. Leyden," December 23rd, 1662.

Harmonious action between the officers of the city and those of the Company was not established by the new arrangement entered into between the parties. It became apparent that a joint occupancy of the river must ever be attended with difficulties that would prevent the rapid settlement of the country, and would materially interfere with the prosperity of the colonists. Under this impression, the burgomasters of the city, in the early part of 1663, made application to the Company for authority to extend their jurisdiction "from the sea upwards as far as the river stretches." After considerable negotiation a cession was accordingly made to the city, embracing a margin of nine miles on the coast, and extending to the English colony on the west side of the river, on conditions that made its colony almost wholly independent of the Company. The cession was not however actually made till near the close of the year, until which time Beekman continued to perform the duties of his office.

A trade had sprung up between the Colony of the City and the Marylanders, which under the new arrangement that excluded the company's officials from the river, the city hoped to extend; it having been offered by the English, in case they would trade with them, "to make a little slit in the door" whereby they could be reached overland. In a proposal submitted by the commissioners to the burgomasters of the city, cargoes amounting to from thirty-five to thirty-six thousand guilders are estimated for this trade and that of the Indians. In the same document it is especially urged that a contract be immediately made for fifty head of slaves, "for procuring which the West India Company had a ship ready to sail." These slaves were ordered in pursuance of a report made by Director Alexander d'Hinoyosa, who regarded them as "particularly adapted to the preparation of the valleys which are found exceedingly fertile."

Hendrick Huygens, the commissary, is about to remove from N. Leyden, which was on Tinicum. He probably fixed his residence at Upland, as he reports to Beekman "a horrid deed" that was committed at that place by a Finn named Jan Hendrickson against "the honest Juriaen Kuys Sneart, whom he had cruelly beaten."

The Swedes entertained a more kindly feeling towards the officials of the City Colony than towards those of the Company, which appears to have been reciprocated; for no sooner is the authority of the city extended over the Swedish settlements than we find Peter Kock, a Swede, appointed to the important trust of "collector of tolls on imports and exports from the Colony of the City," and Israel [Helm,] another Swede, to superintend the fur trade at the upper end of Passayunk.

Mrs. Papegoya is now absent from the river, but the precise time she left, is not mentioned. Israel [Helm], who appears to have accompanied this lady

to Sweden, returned early in December with D'Hinoyosa and Peter Alrichs, who had been on a visit to Fatherland. A formal transfer of the whole river was immediately made by Stuyvesant to D'Hinoyosa, who received it on behalf of the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam. The burgomasters did not, however, accept of this enlargement of their American possessions without apprehension that the whole might not soon be rescued from them; but they did not discern the real source of danger. News of the fitting out of a secret expedition in Sweden had reached Governor Stuyvesant, and could not have been unknown in Holland. A demand was also formally made by the resident Swedish minister at the Hague for a restoration of New Sweden to the Swedish Company which clearly shows the real object of the expedition. But a series of maritime disasters that befell the ships composing the expedition, and forced their return—disasters in which Stuyvesant saw "the hand of God,"—relieved the Dutch "from all apprehension and dread," and saved our land from again passing under the dominion of the Swedes.

During the exclusive exercise of Dutch rule on the Delaware, the personal intercourse existing between the Dutch and Swedish inhabitants was no doubt friendly; but the government looked upon the Swedes with suspicion and distrust, and adopted tyrannical and oppressive regulations in respect to them. Had all these regulations been rigidly enforced by the local authorities, it would probably have resulted in a general exodus of the Swedes and Finns to Maryland.

Ecclesiastical affairs during this period present rather a gloomy aspect. Two of the three Swedish priests on the river at the time of the Dutch conquest left with Rysingh, or shortly afterwards. The standing of the one who remained and who doubtless had charge of the church at Tinicum, as well as of that at Christina, was not during this period well calculated to elevate the morals of his flock. We may sympathize with this man on account of the wrongs he suffered, but our sympathy will be tempered by the belief that had he lived a life more in accordance with his holy functions, he would not have fallen into the hands of his persecutors. Such as he was, he was the only one in the country, and "served both the Swedes and the Dutch."

Towards the close of the Dutch dynasty, the Swedes made an effort to supercede the Rev. Laers by the appointment of Albelius Zetzcoven, or Selskoorn, but the opposition made by the reverend incumbent was so strong that no permanent position appears to have been assigned to him. This gentleman preached at the Tinicum church on the last Monday of Pentecost, at the request of the Swedish commissaries. They desired to engage him as a schoolmaster at the same salary given to the Rev. Laers, but the people of New Amstel, where it may be inferred he was employed in the same capacity, would not dismiss him. He never had charge of any congregation on the South river as a regularly ordained minister.

While the city and the Company occupied the country jointly, the seat of justice of the latter jurisdiction was at Altona. The Swedes did not resort voluntarily to the court held there, preferring to settle their differences among

themselves, and in one or two instances they willfully disregarded its processes.

Horses and cattle were sent over by the Company and by the city in great numbers. These were distributed among the settlers, to be returned at the end of four or five years, with one half of the increase. The Swedes constituting almost exclusively the agricultural population of the river, a large proportion of these animals was distributed among them.

The time had now arrived when the dominion of our favored land was to be wrested from the Dutch, and, with the exception of a short interval—forever. The crown of Great Britain having been restored to Charles II., he granted to his brother James, Duke of York, the territory embracing the whole of New York and New Jersey, and, by a subsequent grant, that which now comprises the State of Delaware. To secure the possession of his newly acquired territory, the Duke fitted out an expedition consisting of four men-of-war and four hundred and fifty men, which he placed under the command of Col. Richard Nicolls. With the commander were united Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esq., to act as commissioners, to receive possession, settle boundaries, &c. The expedition reached the mouth of the Hudson in the latter end of August, and, after considerable negotiation, New Amsterdam and its immediate dependencies were surrendered to the English, September 8th, without firing a gun. The settlements on the Delaware being now under a government wholly independent of the West India Company, they were not included in the capitulation of New Amsterdam. Sir Robert Carr was immediately dispatched with a sufficient force to effect their capture. Arriving there on the last day of September, he sailed past the forts, "the better to satisfie the Swede, who, notwithstanding the Dutches persuasion to y^{e} contrary were soone their frinds." After three days' parley the burghers and townsmen yielded to the demands of the English on terms favorable to themselves and the Swedes, but the governor, D'Hinoyosa, and soldiery, refused every proposition, although the fort was in a bad condition, and defended by only fifty men. "Whereupon," says Sir Robert in his official dispatch, "I landed my soldiers on Sonday morning following and commanded y^{e} shipps to fall down before y^{e} fort wthin muskett shott, wth directions to fire two broadsides apeace uppon y^{e} Fort, then my soldiers to fall on. Which done y^{e} soldiers neaver stoping untill they stormed y^{e} Fort, and sae consequently to plundering; the seamen, noe less given to that sporte, were quickly wthin, and have gotten good store of booty." The loss on the part of the Dutch was three killed and ten wounded; on the part of the English, none.

The articles of agreement entered into between Sir Robert Carr, acting on behalf of his Majesty of Great Britain, and the burgomasters, secured to the planters and burghers protection in their estates, both real and personal; the continuance of the present magistrates in their offices and jurisdiction; the liberty of conscience in church discipline as formerly; together with "the privilege of trading into any of his Majesties dominions as freely as any Englishman," after having taken the oath of allegiance.

The general system of plunder that ensued upon the surrender of the fort, was disgraceful to the commander, and his excuse that "in such a noise and confusion noe words of command could be heard for some tyme," affords better evidence of the enormity of the transaction than of any sincere disposition on his part to have prevented it. No less than forty horses, sixty cows and oxen, one hundred sheep, and from sixty to seventy negroes, were included in the plunder. Sir Robert appropriated to his own use the farm of D'Hinoyosa, his brother, Captain John Carr, took possession of that of Sheriff Van Sweringen, while Ensign Stock possessed himself of "Peter Alrich's land." But the possessions of the local officers, which were regarded as legitimate booty, were not sufficient to gratify the cupidity of all who wore epaulets in the expedition. To satisfy the claims of the two captains—Hyde and Morley—Sir Robert granted to them "the Manour of Grimstead, situated near the head of the said river Delaware in America."

The conduct of Sir Robert Carr subsequently to the capture of the fort, did not meet with the approbation of Col. Nicolls. In his report to the Secretary of State he speaks disparagingly of his selfish conduct in respect to the plunder, and particularly of his presumption in appropriating "the prize to himself," and of "disposing of the confiscations of the houses, farmes and stocks to whom he doth think fitt." The Colonel soon visited the Delaware to attend to the interests of his sovereign. Captain Robert Needham was subsequently deputed to the command of the Delaware.

With the change of masters, the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York, and that of New Amstel to New Castle.

Even before the Duke of York had acquired the possession of his American territory, he conveyed all that portion of it which now constitutes the State of New Jersey, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. At the time of the English conquest of the Delaware, the settlements on the east side of the river were so few that no notice is taken of them in any account of the transaction, that has come under my notice. Col. Nicolls acted as governor of both New York and the Delaware. The Swedes were benefited by the change in the government, as under the new order of things, nearly all restrictions on their trade were removed. But independent of any pecuniary advantage, they must have felt a secret satisfaction in seeing their ancient enemies, the Dutch, humbled.

Beavers still continued to be used as currency; and, in the payment for imported goods, the standard value fixed on each beaver, by the governor, was guilders, or 13s. 4d. The export duty on beavers was 10½ per cent., on tobacco, two cents per pound. In 1666, an order was issued by Col. Nicolls granting a temporary immunity from all duties, for the purpose of encouraging trade.

In July of this year, an order was issued by the Court of Assizes of New York, which applied to the country on the Delaware, for a renewal of all the old patents that had been granted for land, and that those who had no patents should be supplied.

Col. Nicolls performed the duties of governor both of New York and its dependencies on the Delaware for about three years. He was succeeded by Col. Francis Lovelace in May, 1667. The administration of Nicolls was conducted with prudence and judgment, his efforts being especially directed to the promotion of trade. There was no popular representation in the government. "In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the Court of Assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws and modified and repealed them at pleasure." The laws thus enacted and promulgated, called the "Duke's Laws," were collected out of the several laws then in force in the British American colonies, and if not an improvement on these laws, they are divested of the worst features of some of them.

This year, a Swedish church was erected at Crane Hook, at which Mr. Lock officiated as well as at the church at Tinicum.

On April 21, 1668, the government at New York adopted "Resolutions and directions for the settlement of a garrison on the Delaware." Under this head, directions were given that it was only "necessary to hold up the name and countenance of a garrison, with 20 men and one commissioned officer." But the more important matter of establishing courts of justice was also contained in the "Resolutions and Directions." To prevent "all abuses or oppositions in civil matter, so often as complaint is made, the commission officer Capt. Carre, shall call the scout wth Hans Block, Israel Helm, Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, Peter Alrich, or any two of them as counsellors, to advise, hear and determine, by the major vote, what is just, equitable and necessary, in the case or cases in question." It was besides directed "that the same persons also, or any two or more of them, he called to advise and direct what is best to be done in all cases of difficulty, which may arise from the Indians, and to give their counsel and orders for the arming of the several plantations and planters, who must obey and attend their summons, upon such occasions." "That the Fynes or Preminires and light offences be executed with moderation, though it is also necessary that all men be punished in exemplary manner." The commissioned officer, Capt. Carr, when the votes were equal, was to have a casting vote. It was also ordained "that the laws of the government established by his Royal highness, be showed and frequently communicated to the said counsellors and all others, to the end that being therewith acquainted, the practyce of them may also, in convenient time be established w^{ch} conducteth to the publique welfare and common justice."

Three of the newly appointed counsellors were Swedes, residing up the river, and as no time or place is mentioned for holding the courts, and as the three Swedish gentlemen mentioned were all justices of the first Upland court of which the record has been preserved, it may reasonally be concluded that the court thus established occasionally exercised its functions at Upland. If so, it will mark the earliest period at which that place could have been a seat of justice. In the order for establishing a judicial tribunal on the Delaware,

it was directed "that no offensive war should be made against the Indians" before directions were received from the government for so doing. Recourse was also to be had to the government, by way of appeal, in all cases of difficulty.

In consequence of the commission of two murders by the Indians while in a state of intoxication, Peter Rambo proceeded to New York, bearing a request from the Indians "that there should be an absolute prohibition upon the whole river of selling strong liquors to the Indians." The whole matter was referred to Captain Carr and those associated with him in commission, with the promise that what they should (upon discourse with the Indians) conclude, should be confirmed.

Before Mrs. Papegoya visited Sweden in 1662 or 1663, she had sold the island of Tinicum, as has been mentioned, to a Mr. DeLagrange, but the consideration in whole or in part was a protested bill of exchange. It will be seen hereafter, that when she returned to the country she prosecuted her claim to be reinstated in possession of the island with success, though in the end, her title to it was decided not to be good. Printzdorp, however, was confirmed to that lady under the name of Ufro Papegay, June 18, 1668, which renders it probable that she had then returned to reside on the river. The following is a description of the property:

"A parcel of cleared land situate on the west side of the Delaware river between two creeks, the one called Upland, the other Le Mokey's creek, including all the land being between the said two creeks, as also the valley or meadow ground thereunto belonging, and containing by estimation, as it lies along the river side twelve hundred tread or single paces" * * * "as held and possessed by the said Ufro * * *"

The situation of this land cannot be mistaken. It subsequently became the property of Robert Wade. During this and the two succeeding years, several tracts of land within the limits of Delaware County and vicinity, were confirmed to persons who held titles from the Dutch, including a few lots in Upland.

The order issued in 1666, for repatenting lands, was renewed by Governor Lovelace, and William Tom was appointed collector of quit-rents on the Delaware. Those who had neglected to take out patents are not on that account to be exempt from the payment of these dues.

The Swedes and Finns had conducted themselves with so much propriety that they had very fully secured the confidence of the government. But this year an insurrection broke out, headed by one Marcus Jacobson, generally known as the "Long Finn," who gave out that he was "the son of Conings-mark," heretofore one of the king of Sweden's generals. He had for a confederate one Henry Coleman, also a Finn, and a man of property. Coleman had "left his habitation, cattle and corn," to reside among the Indians, with whose language he was well versed, where also the Long Finn generally kept. No treasonable acts are charged against these confederates except "raising speeches, very seditious and false, tending to the disturbance of his Majesty's

peace and the laws of the government." On August 2d, Governor Lovelace issued a proclamation for the arrest of the parties, with an order to confiscate the property of Coleman in case he did not surrender himself in fifteen days. The principal in the insurrection was soon arrested, and upon information of that fact being communicated to the governor and council, they expressed their great satisfaction on account "of the prudence and careful management" of the officers on the Delaware, "in circumventing and securing the prime mover of this commotion."

Jeuffro Papegoya (Armgard Printz) was somewhat implicated, "though what she had done was not of any dangerous consequence, yet it was a demonstration of her inclination and temper to advance a strange power, and a manifestation of her high ingratitude for all those indulgences and favors she hath received from those in authority over her." The governor also perceived from the papers sent to him that "the little domine hath played the trumpeter in this disorder." The quality of his punishment was referred to the discretion of Captain Carr. The instructions to Captain Carr were "to continue the Long Finn in custody and irons until he can have his trial;" the appearance of "those of the first magnitude concerned with him was to be secured by imprisonment or by taking security;" but "the poor deluded sort" were to be subjected to a method for keeping them in order which the governor is pleased to say was prescribed by their own countrymen, and which is "severity, and laying such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts but how to discharge them."

In the commission for the trial of the insurgents on the Delaware, the names of the judges are omitted in the record. The sentence was passed by the council at New York on the Long Finn, or that passed by the commission on the Delaware was confirmed. He was deemed worthy of death, but "in regard that many others being concerned with him in the insurrection might be involved in the same premunire," amongst them "divers simple and ignorant people," the said Long Finn was sentenced "to be publicly and severely whipped and stigmatized or branded in the face with the letter (R), with an inscription written in great letters and put upon his breast, that he received that punishment for attempting rebellion." After undergoing this sentence the culprit was to be sent to "Barbadoes and some other of those remote plantations and sold." In compliance with the latter part of his sentence, he was put on board of Mr. Cossen's ship, "Fort Albany," bound for Barbadoes, in January, 1669-70, where, no doubt, he was sold into slavery. What became of Coleman is not certainly known. He probably remained among the Indians for some years, when his offence was overlooked by the government.

So few of the names of those implicated in the insurrection are given that it is difficult to fix on the particular district of country that was its principal seat. The leader was a Finn; the "Little Domine" was a Finn; and, as the Swedes and Finns did not understand each other's language well, it is probable that the hot bed of the conspiracy was in the district of country chiefly settled by Finns, below Upland. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that

Mrs. Papegoya was implicated; for, though not a Finn, she doubtless then resided on her estate of Printzdorp, in the vicinity of the Finnish settlement, she not being in possession of Tinicum at this time.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Papegoya had sold the island of Tinicum to a Mr. De La Grange. The grantee soon after died, and his widow Margaret intermarried with Andrew Carr. This year Governor Lovelace issued a patent confirming the whole island to the said Andrew and his wife.

Previous to the insurrection of the Long Finn, there had been, as before stated, two murders committed on the river by the Indians. As yet the murderers had not been apprehended, but the governor, by his orders to Captain Carr, evinces a determination not to let them go unpunished.

On the 13th of April, a pass was granted "to the Magister Jacobus Fabritius, pastor of the Lutheran confession," to go to New Castle, or any place on the Delaware. This personage, who at this period and for some years later bore no very enviable reputation, subsequently, it will be seen, became the first clergyman at Wiccaco, and by a course of good conduct gained the confidence and respect of his employers.

Early in 1671, at the suggestion of Captain Carr, several orders were made by the governor and council in respect to the Delaware. No persons were to be permitted to distill liquor without license; the number of victuallers and tapsters to be ascertained—three only to be allowed in New Castle, and "some few up the river," who may be licensed; constables are to be appointed to keep the king's peace. As to the tenure of lands on the Delaware, it was to be held "in free and common socage as his Royal Highness, by his Majesty's patent, holds all his territories in America, that is to say according to the custom of the Manor of East Greenwich, only with this proviso, that they likewise pay the quit rents reserved in their several patents, as acknowledgments to his Royal Highness."

As to the mill that Carr had represented to the council as being "up Delaware river at y^{e} Carcoons Hooke," and which "did heretofore appertain to y^{e} publique, and now is endeavoured to be engrossed by some particular persons for their private uses," it was ordered "that care be taken for y^{e} letting out y^{e} said Mill for y^{e} best advantage to some person who will undertake y^{e} same, and that y^{e} profitt thereof be reserved for y^{e} publique." This is the old Swedes mill on Cobb's creek.

At a council held at New York, September 25, at which Peter Alrichs was present to give particular information in respect to the two murders committed by the Indians; as to the number of Indians, &c. One proposition for having the murderers destroyed, came from an Indian sachem. It was "to cause a Kinticoy to be held, and in the midst of their mirth, that then one should be hired to knock them in the head." Two days previous to this meeting, Governor Lovelace had notified the governor of New Jersey that the Indians accused of the murder were within his jurisdiction, at a place called Suscunk, four miles east of Matineconk Island, where the murder was committed.

The officers on the Delaware had become very apprehensive that an In-

dian war was about to break out, and had communicated their views to the governor and council. In reply, orders were issued for placing the settlement in the best possible position for such a contingency. Orders that had already been given by the local authorities for the people to retire into towns for their better security, were approved. Every person "that could bear arms, from sixteen to sixty years of age, was to be always provided with a convenient proportion of powder and bullets;" no powder or ammunition was to be sold to the Indians; no corn or provisions to be transported out of the river; and the Susquehanna Indians or others were to be induced by appropriate rewards "to join against the murderers and such as should harbour them."

The governor of New Jersey, after receiving notice, was in a very short time "prepared with a handsome party ready to have stepped into the work to bring the murderers to condign punishment." But the backwardness of the people of the Delaware "put a stop to the forwardness of those of New Jersey." This was in the month of November; and although, one month earlier, Carr had been instructed by the governor that the season of the year was unfit for the commencement of an Indian war, his excellency made the fact of the New Jersey preparations the occasion to administer to that officer a severe rebuke for his tardiness and neglect of duty.

But the masterly inactivity of Commander Carr proved to be the wisest policy, and still preserved the country of the Delaware in its peculiar exemption from hostilities between the Indians and whites. In eleven days after Alrich's return from New York, a conference was held at Peter Rambo's house with the Indian sachems, which resulted in a promise by them to bring in the murderers within six days, dead or alive. One of the criminals made his escape, while the other—the more courageous of the two, allowed himself to be surprised. One of the two Indians in pursuit, being his friend, was unwilling to shoot him, but finding that the sachems had said he must die, and that his brothers were of the same opinion, he was shot at his own request. His body was removed to Wiccaco, and from thence to New Castle, where it was hung in chains. William Tom, who communicated this information to the governor, became satisfied from the conduct of the sachems that they desired no war. The sachems promised to bring in the other Indian alive, and to the young men brought with them they held up the fate of the murderer as that which should be visited on every Indian who should act in like manner.

A prohibition had been in force against vessels trading directly to any point on the river above New Castle. This prohibition was removed early in 1672, in respect to such vessels as sailed from New York. Immediately thereafter a pass was obtained by the wife of Laurs Holst "to go in the sloop of Krygier to Delaware, and thence up the river in some boat or canoe, to the Swedes' plantations, with shoes and such other of her husband's trade, and return without hindrance."

Early in this year, ample preparations were made by Governor Lovelace for a visit to the Delaware by the overland route, crossing that river at Matineconk Island, near the present town of Burlington. A bodyguard and an ad-

vanced guard were appointed, and instructions were sent to the river to make preparations for the reception of his excellency. If this visit was accomplished, it was without result, or there has been an omission to record anything that transpired on the occasion, or, if recorded, the record has been lost.

English laws are now to be established more fully on the river. The office of schout is to be converted into that of sheriff, to which office Edmund Cantwell received the appointment, as well as to that of collector of quit rents on the Delaware, William Tom having resigned the latter office.

In August of this year, the court of Upland is authorized, with the assistance of one or two of the high court, to examine into a matter of difficulty between "Jan Cornelis Mathys and Martin Martinson, [Morten Mortenson,] inhabitants of Amesland," and Israel Helme, about "a parcel of valley or meadow land, upon an island over against Calcoone Hook."

The daughter of Governor Printz still resided on the river, but it will appear from the following order of the governor, made upon her petition, that she did not live in much affluence:

"Whereas Jeuffro Armigart Printz, alias Pappegay, living in Delaware River, did make a request unto me, that in regard she lived alone, and had so little assistance by servants, having only one man-servant, and likewise in harvest time, or other seasons of the year for husbandry, when she was constrained to hire other people to help her, for whose payment in part, and relief also, she was wont to distil some small quantities of liquors from corn, as by divers others is used in that river, that I would excuse her man-servant from ordinary attendance at trainings in the company in which he is enlisted, and also give her license to distil in her own distilling kettle, some small quantities of liquors for her own use, and her servants and laborers upon occasions as before mentioned. I have thought good to grant the request of said Jeuffro Pappegay, both as to the excuse of her servant's being at trainings, (extraordinary ones, upon occasion of an enemy or invasion, excepted,) and likewise that she have license to make use of her distilling kettle as is desired, provided it be done with such moderation, that no just complaint do arise thereby, to continue one year."

The limited means of Mrs. Papegoya is accounted for by the fact that she was engaged in a heavy law suit for the recovery back of the Island of Tinicum. There had been a trial in the "High Court on the Delaware," from which the case was taken by appeal to the Court of Assizes at New York, where it is thus set down, October 2, 1672: "Jeuffro Pappegay als. Armigart Prince vs. Andrew Carr and Margaret Persill, [Priscilla] his wife, by John Carr their attorney." The case was tried October 12-13-14. Various documents were read on the trial, translations made, and interpreters employed. The counsel for the defendant desired time "for other witnesses out of Holland," but it was thought fit "to delay the case no longer; so the court recommended it to the jury," who brought in the following verdict: "In y^{e} case depending between Armgart Prince, als. Mrs. Pappegay Ptff., and Mrs. La Grange, Deft., y^{e} jury having seriously considered the Matt^{r}, do find for y^{e} Ptff., and award y^{e} Deft. to pay y^{e} principall wth costs of suite and all just damages." Execution was issued against Andrew Carr and his wife Persill in Delaware river and precincts for £350, with costs, for the use of Jeuffro

Armgart Prince, "and for that it is thought the most considerable part of their property is upon the Island of Tinicum," the sheriff was empowered "to put the said Jeuffro Prince in possession of the said Island and the stock thereof * * *."

The celebrated George Fox, the founder of the religious Society of Friends, in returning from a religious visit to New England this year, had occasion to pass through the whole extent of the territory now included in our county, but it appeared he had no mission to the Swedish settlers here. According to his own account, after remaining all night in a house near the present site of Burlington, "which the Indians had forced the people to leave," and which he speaks of as the "head of Delaware Bay," he says:

"The next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an Island called Upper Dinidock (Teneconk), and then to the main land, having hired Indians to help us over in their canoos. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw and lay there that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made us a fire at night, by which we lay, and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels in the day time. The next day we passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very Hazardous to us and our horses. From thence we came to the Christian-river, where we swam our horses, and went over ourselves in canoos. From thence we came to a town called New Castle, heretofore called New Amsterdam: And being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we might buy some corn for our horses, the Governor came into the street and invited me to his house: and afterwards desired me to lodge there; telling me he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome."

The Brandywine is sufficiently identified by its "rocks and broad stones;" but in reaching that "desperate river" from the point at which he crossed the Delaware, our worthy preacher has greatly overestimated the distance. Benjamin Ferris supposes the Swede's house at which he lodged was at the Blue Bell tavern, near the site of the Swede's mill. To have reached this point he would have passed over fully one-half of the distance from Upper Dinidock to the Brandywine. But the Swede's house was thirty miles from the former and forty from the latter; and as the mill, then a rarity in the country, is not mentioned, and the Swedish settlements of Upland and Marcus Hook are not noticed, it is probable our travellers crossed the country higher up.

A war broke out between the English and Dutch in 1672, but scarcely any notice appears to have been taken of the matter in this country until a Dutch fleet under the command of Commodores Cornelius Evertse and Jacob Benckes appeared before the fort at New York, August 6th of the following year. After making a slight resistance, the fort was surrendered, and the whole country submitted again to the authority of the Dutch. This happened in the absence of Governor Lovelace, who was at New Haven.

The two commodores immediately issued their proclamation appointing Anthony Colve, a captain of Netherland infantry, to the office of Governor-General of New Netherland, embracing the full dimensions it possessed previous to its surrender to the English, which included the whole of New Jersey.

There appears to have been a ready submission to the Dutch authorities, deputies appearing before the commanders, including Colve, who constituted a kind of military council, and held their sittings at Fort William Hendrick, the name now given to the fort at New York. The deputies from the Delaware appeared before this tribunal and gave in "their submission to their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, on the 12th of September." In return they obtained for their constituents, among other privileges, "free trade and commerce with Christians and Indians;" freedom of conscience; security in the possession of their houses and lands, and exemption from all rent charges and excise on wine, beer and distilled liquors consumed on the South river. This last privilege was granted in consideration of the expense the inhabitants would incur "in erecting the fort," and was to continue till 1676—"those of the English nation to enjoy the same privileges upon taking the oath of allegiance." At the same time, three courts of justice were established on the Delaware—one at New Amstel, one at the Hoern Kill, and one at Upland. The jurisdiction of the Upland court extended provisionally from the east and west banks of "Kristina Kill upwards unto the head of the river." The inhabitants were required "by a plurality of votes" to nominate for each court eight persons as magistrates. From these the Council at New York selected the justices of the several courts.

Peter Alrichs was appointed by Governor Colve, commander and schout, and Walter Wharton was reappointed surveyor of the South River district. Peter Alrichs took his oath of office and allegiance without reservation, but Wharton, being an Englishman, made it a condition in his fealty that he was not to be forced to bear arms against his own nation. Alrichs was appointed to administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants of the South River, and also authorized to enlist ten or twelve soldiers "on government account," including two corporals.

While freedom of conscience was granted to the inhabitants of the Delaware, the instructions to Alrichs directed that "the pure, true Christian Religion, according to the Synod of Dort, should be taught and maintained in every proper manner, without suffering anything to be attempted contrary thereunto by any other sectaries."

Public property belonging to the crown of England, together with the debts due the government, was confiscated, but property belonging to officers of the late government was restored to them upon taking the oath of allegiance. On this condition, upon the petition of his wife Petronella, Capt. John Carr, late commander on the Delaware, was reinstated in his possessions.

The re-establishment of the Dutch authority in their former American possessions did not continue long. By virtue of the treaty of peace between England and the Netherlands, signed February 9, 1674, it became necessary to restore these possessions again to the English. Lest the title of the Duke of York should be impaired by the Dutch conquest, a new grant was made to him by his brother, whereupon the Duke, on July 15, constituted Major, after-

wards Sir Edmund Andros, his lieutenant and governor. Upon the arrival of Governor Andros at New York the government was surrendered to him agreeably to the terms of the treaty, the allegiance of the Dutch having become formally absolved by Governor Colve. On November 9, Andros issued his first proclamation, confirming "all former grants, privileges or concessions" and "all estates legally possessed" under his Royal Highness, before the late Dutch government, and all legal judicial proceedings under that government. By this proclamation the Book of Laws, known as the "Duke's Laws," and also the former courts, with the time and manner of holding them, were established, and "all magistrates and civil officers belonging thereunto were to be chosen accordingly."

Edmund Cantwell and William Tom were commissioned by the governor to take possession of the fort at Newcastle, and of all military stores there, or on any other part of the river, on behalf of his Majesty of Great Britain. Under this commission, in the record at Albany is the following list of justices: "Names of y^e^ Justices for Newcastle are: Mr. Hans Block, Mr. Jn^o^ Moll, Mr. Fopp Outhout, Mr. Joseph Chew, Mr. Dirick Alberts. For the River: Mr. Peter Cock, Mr. Peter Rambo, Mr. Israel Helm, Mr. Laers Andrieson, Mr. Woolle Swain." These justices had no formal commissions issued to them at this time, but simply an order from the governor, directed to them under the title of Commissaries, "to resume their places as magistrates." Captain Edmund Cantwell was commissioned to administer to these justices their official oath, he having been reinstated in his office of sheriff, or schout. Captain Cantwell, in conjunction with Johannes DeHaas, was also appointed collector of quit-rents on the Delaware, and of all other duties, whether custom or excise.

It has already been shown that a court was established in 1668, embracing three of the above mentioned justices of Upland court; and two of these justices, with the commander, being sufficient to form a court, it is rendered almost certain that courts were then occasionally held at Upland. In 1672 an order issued from the governor "to authorize and empower the court at Upland, with the assistance of one or two of the High Court," to examine into a matter of difficulty then pending. This order requiring the aid of justices of the High Court in a special case, proves that the Swedish justices alone at that time usually held the court at Upland. It is quite probable that the justices now reinstated are the same who constituted the Upland court in 1672, and who doubtless exercised their functions during the short intervening period that the country was under the dominion of the Dutch.

Captain Cantwell, besides holding the office of sheriff, appears to have been entrusted with the charge of affairs generally on the Delaware. In letters addressed by him to the governor, November 30, and December 9, he assures him of the general satisfaction of the people with the change of government, and also acquaints him with the prospect of the arrival of new settlers. The governor gives notice of his intention to visit the Delaware in the spring, but in the meantime authorizes Cantwell to supply the new comers

with a reasonable quantity of land, and to act as surveyor of the whole river and bay.

Governor Andros visited the Delaware in May of this year, and on the 13th and 14th held a special court at New Castle. At this court it was ordered "that highways should be cleared from place to place, within the precincts of this government." It was also ordered "that the church or place of meeting for divine worship in this towne, and the affaires thereunto belonging, be regulated by the court here in as orderly and decent manner as may bee; that the place for meeting att Crane Hoeck do continue as heretofore;" and "that the church att Tinnecum Island do serve for Upland and parts adjacent." "And whereas there is no church or place of meeting higher up the river than the said Island, for the greater ease of the inhabitants there, its ordered that the magistrates of Upland do cause a church or place of meeting for that purpose to be built att Wickegkoo, the w^{ch} to bee for the inhabitants Passayunk & so upwards. The said court being empowered to raize a tax for its building and to agree upon a competent maintenance for their minister, of all of which they are to give an account to the next general court, and they to the governor, for his approbacon."

This court also established regulations in respect to various other matters on the river, among which was an entire prohibition of the sale "of strong drinke or liquors to the Indians by retayle, or a less quantity than two gallons att a tyme, under the penalty of five pounds;" and a prohibition against distilling grain by any of the inhabitants, under a like penalty. It was also ordered "that a ferry boate bee maintained and kept att the falls att the west side of this river; a horse and a man to pay for passage 2 guilders, a man without a horse, 10 Stivers."

This is the earliest record of the proceedings of any court on the Delaware. They are recorded incidentally among the proceedings of the regular New Castle court, for the early part of 1677 (N. S.) The functions of this court, which was intended to be held annually, were rather legislative than judicial. The order "that highways should be cleared from place to place," seems to have been the first step taken for the establishment of roads, in the States of Delaware or Pennsylvania. It is our first road law.

As early as 1672, the court of assizes, held at New York, ordained in respect to parochial churches, "that y^{e} law be attended [to]; but although persons bee of different judgments, yet all are to contribute to y^{e} allowed minister." Strangely as this ordinance may contrast with the liberty of conscience granted in the articles of capitulation, when the country was first surrendered by the Dutch, it will sufficiently explain the order of the Special or General Court at New Castle to the Upland court, in relation to the maintenance of the minister for the new church at Wiccaco, and the action of this court in respect to such matters that followed.

A number of settlements had been made on the Jersey side of the Delaware, principally by the Swedes, but this year the ship "Griffith," from London, arrived with a considerable number of emigrant passengers, several of

whom were heads of families. They were landed at Salem, where they made a settlement. Edward, Robert and John Wade and Richard Noble arrived in this ship.

On May 15, the day after the adjournment of the Special Court at New Castle, at which the governor presided, sundry matters of legislation, or rather regulation, that had been omitted by the court, claimed the attention of his excellency. These he embodied in a letter which he directed "To the three several Co^{rts} of delowar River or Bay." The "want of corn mills, or not keeping them in due repair," he regarded as "a great prejudice to the inhabitants and traders," and recommended the courts "to examine the same and cause all such mills already made and the bankes to be well fitted and kept in due repair;" others were to be built "in convenient and fitting places where none are;" and the courts were to adopt regulations in respect to tolls or prizes for grinding, applicable alike to all millers or owners, whether of public or private mills. The governor next gives important directions in respect to keeping records. Patents for lands were to be recorded in the books of the respective courts, and patents were to be applied for by those who had taken up lands after the same had been surveyed.

Robert Wade, who came in the "Griffith" with Fenwick, settled at Upland, on the west side of the creek, on the same tract that had been known as Printzdorp, and which had been recently occupied by Mrs. Papegoya. This lady having been reinstated in the possession of Tinicum, disposed of her Upland estate either to Robert Wade or to some other person from whom he obtained his title to the property. Be this as it may, William Edmundson, an eminent minister of the Society of Friends, in travelling through the country in 1675, found Robert Wade settled at Upland, where with a few Friends he held a meeting at his house. After meeting they took boat and went to Salem, "where they met with John Fenwick and several families of Friends, (who, with those at Chester,) had come from England in that year with John Fenwick." From thence Robert Wade accompanied the travelling Friends to New Castle, where their horses had been sent, and from thence to Upland. Doubtless the house of Robert Wade, at which the meeting was held, was the famous Essex House, at which William Penn was entertained upon his first landing at Upland; but whether it was erected by Wade or had been built by the daughter of Governor Printz, when she occupied the premises, is uncertain. The fact that Robert Wade within at most a few months after his arrival in the country, had house room sufficient for the accommodation of a Friends' meeting, and was prepared to make a journey to Maryland, would suggest that he had been fortunate enough to secure a dwelling already erected to his hand. It is not known what other members of the Society of Friends, of those who accompanied Fenwick, besides Robert Wade and his family, settled at Upland. They were the first members of that society who settled within the limits of our county or of the commonwealth.

The special execution granted in 1672 to Mrs. Papegoya, or "Jeuffro Armigart Printz," as she is called, and which put her in possession of Tini-

cum, failed to satisfy the judgment obtained against Andrew Carr and his wife. Sheriff Cantwell is ordered to proceed to a full execution of the judgment.

About this time, William Penn, as trustee, became interested in the settlement of West Jersey; a circumstance that brought to his notice the not yet appropriated territory west of the Delaware, and gave rise to the idea of planting a colony there on principles that, in all future ages, will claim the admiration of the world for their liberality.

Since the final establishment of British rule on the Delaware, Captain Cantwell, in addition to his office of sheriff and other appointments, had acted as the superior military officer. On September 23d, 1676, he was superseded in the latter office by the appointment of Captain John Collier as "Commander in Delaware River and Bay." On the same day justices of the peace were commissioned for the jurisdictions of New Castle and Upland, for one year or till "further order;" any three of whom would constitute a court of judicature. Ephraim Herman was appointed "clarke" of both courts. The justices commissioned for Upland district were Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helm, Laers Andrieson, Oele Swen and Otto Ernest Cock, being the former justices, with the addition of the last named. They were all Swedes.

From this period to the present time, the judicial proceedings in the district embracing the limits of Delaware county have been preserved of record. Those extending down to the commencement of Penn's administration have lately been published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as part of the 7th volume of its Memoirs, under the title of "The Record of the Court at Upland," with a valuable Introduction and Notes by Edward Armstrong, Esq. The original manuscript record is in the possession of Dr. J. Dickinson Logan, of Philadelphia. The records of previous judicial transactions, not only at Upland, but elsewhere on the river, have not as yet been discovered.

The following letter of instructions from the governor very fully explains the character and jurisdiction of the court:

EDMOND ANDROS, Esqr: & Seigneur of Sausmarez, Lieut: & Governr: Genll: under his Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and albany, etc: of all the Territories of America:

Whereas, The Last Ieare att my beeing att Delowar uppon application of the Inhabitants Representing that my prdecessor Governr Lovelace had begun to make a Regulacon for the due administracon of Justice according to the lawes of this Government, pursuant to wich I: did appoint some majistrates and made some Rules for their proceeding the Ieare e'suing or till further order; In which haveing uppon mature deliberation, by the advyce of my Councill made some alteracon, They are to Remaine and bee in force in forme following:

1. That the bookes of Lawes Establisht by his Royll Highnesse and practized in New Yorke, Long Island and dependences Bee Likewyse in force and practice in this River, and precincts, except the Constable's Corts: County Rates and some other things; Peculiar to Long Island,—and the militia as now ordered to Remain in the King; But that a Constable be Iearly in each place chosen for the preservation of his Mayties Peace wth all other Powers as Directed by Lawe.

2. That there bee three Courts held in the severall parts of the River and Bay as

formerly, to wit, one in New Castle, one above att upplands, another below at whorekills.

3. That the Courts consist of Justices of the Peace, whereof three to make a coram & to have the power of a Court of Sessions & decide all matters under twenty pounds wthout appeall, In w^{ch} Court the Eldest Justice to p^{r}side unlesse otherwise agreed amonghst themselves, above twenty pounds & for cryme, extending to Lyfe, Limb, or banishment to admitt of appeale to the Co^{rt} of Assizes.

4. That all small matters under the vallue of fyve pounds may bee determined by the Court without a Jury, unlesse desiered by the partees, as alsoe matters of Equity.

5. That the Court for New Castle be held once a moneth, to begin the first Teusday in Each month, and the Co^{rt} for uppland and the whoorekill quarterly, and to begin the second Tuesday of the month or oftener if occasion.

6. That all necessary By-lawes or orders, not Repugnant to ye Lawes of the Govern^{mt}, made by the said Courts, bee of force and binding, for the space of one whole Ieare, in the severall places where made, They giving an account thereof to the Governo^{r} by the first opportunity:—and that no fines bee made or imposed but by order of Court

7. That the several Courts have power to Regulate the Court and officers' fees, not to Exceed the Rates in the Booke of Lawes, nor to bee under halfe the vallue therein Exprest.

8. That there bee a high Sherife for the Towne of New Castle, River, and Bay, and that the s^{d} High Sherrife have power to make an undersherrife or marshal, being a fit p^{r}son, and for whome hee will bee Responsable, to bee approved by the Court. But the Sherrife, as in England, and according to the now practice on Long Island, to act as a principall officer for the Execution of the Lawes, but not as a Justice of Peace or magistrate.

9. That there bee fitting Bookes provyded for the Records, In which all judiciall proceedings, to bee duly and fairly entred as also publicq orders from the Governo^{r}, and the names of the magistrates and officers authorized, wth the tyme of their admission. The s^{d} Records to be kept in English, to wich all p^{r}sons concerned may have free Recourse at due or sesonable tymes;

10. That a fitt p^{r}son for Clarke (when vacant) be recommended by Each Court to the governo^{r} for his approbation, in whose hands the s^{d} Records to bee kept;

11. That all writs, warrants & proceedings att lawe shall be in his may^{ties} name. It haveing been practized in the Governm^{t} ever since the first writing of the Lawe booke, and itt being his Roy^{ll} Highnesses special Pleasure and Order.

12. That no Rates bee Imposed or Levys of mony made wthin the Towne of Newcastle, River, or Bay by any, under what denomination soever wthout the approbation of the Govern^{r}, unlesse upon Extraordinary occasion in Case of necessity, of w^{ch} the Governo^{r} to have p^{r}sent acc^{t} sent him. That upon the Levy of any Rates there be a faire acc^{t} kept both of the Receipts and disboursments, w^{ch} account to be given in to the Cor^{t} there to bee past then sent to the Governo^{r} for his allowance, until wich not to bee a sufficient discharge.

Whereas by this regulation there are no overzeers apointed nor Contstables Courts, but all matters to bee determined by the Justices; I: doe therefore Recomend the Composure or Referring to arbitracon of as many matters particularly under the vallue of fyve pound as may properly be determined that way, Provided it may bee by the consent of Partees; That any p^{r}son desiering Land make application to the Court in whose bounds itt is, whoe are required to sitt once a month or oftner if there bee occasion to Give order therein & certify to the Governo^{r} for any Land not taken upp and Improved fitt proportions, not exceeding fifty acres p^{r} head unlesse uppon Extraordinary occasions where they see good Cause for itt, w^{ch} Certificate to bee a sufficient authority or warr^{t} for the surveigo^{rs} to surveig the same and with the Surveigors Returne to bee sent to New Yorke for the Governo^{rs} approbation; That in the Certificates be specified how much upland and meaddow wth due Reguard that Each may have a proportionable sheare,

according to the place they are in Landward; Given under my hand and seale in New Yorke, the 25th day of Septembr in the 28th Ieare of his maytles Reigne, ao Dom: 1676."
(Signed) E. Andross.

The recently appointed justices, according to the record, held their first court at "Uppland in Delowar Riuer," on the 14th of November, 1676. After they had been sworn into office, the first act of the court was to order "that Mr. Tom, the former clarke, should deliver unto the present clarke, Eph: Herman, the records and other publiq bookes and wrytings belonging to this court."

The first instance on record of the appointment of guardians for minors was made in this court, in the case of the children of "Hendrick Johnson, Decd,"—"Jan Jansen and morten morten sen," were appointed to be "ouerzeers and guardians."

Mr. Justice Helm presented a petition to the court "desiering to haue some recompence for haueing served the Riuer often and att sundry tymes as an interpreter wth the Indians," &c. This application the court determined to refer to Governor Andros, which they did in a letter addressed to him on the same day, wherein they also intreat that his honor "will be pleased to confirm the order made att the Last Genll Court here about the voolves heads," and that he will prescribe a way & order how the charges of this Court, when they sitt, may bee found, conceidering that wee all Liue att a great distance from or Court place, and the amercemts (by Reason of the small number of actions) amounting to Little; and that yor honr will bee pleased to Impower us, so that the old debts of the Court together wth the debts sence yor honrs government may also be sattisfyed by the same way wch yor honor shall prescrybe."

The court was held at the house of Neeles Laerson, who also entertained the justices. The account made out by the court of the public indebtedness to Laerson for "the Charges of Keepeing of Court and Justices dyet there," establishes the fact that the former court, of which the records have not been discovered, was held at the same place. Laerson probably kept a public house. His charge for entertaining the court during its present sitting, which appears to have lasted but one day, was 100 guilders.

The next court at Upland was held on March 13th, 1677. Two cases of assault and battery were brought before this court, but were postponed till the next. The people on the river having been apprehensive for some time of being attacked by the Indians, the justices of Upland, at the close of the court, held a meeting with Captain John Collier, the commander, "uppon the news of the Simeco Indians coming down to fetch the Sasquehanno, that were amongst these River Indians." At this meeting "itt was concluded uppon the motions of Rinowehan, the Indian Sachomore, for the most quiet of the River, viz.: That Captn Collier & Justice Israel Helm goe upp to Sachamexin, (where att prsent a great number of Simico & other Indians are,) and that they Endeauor to prswade the Simecus, the Sasquehannos & thes Riuer Indians to send Each a Sachomore or deputy to his honor the Governor att New

Yorke, and that Justice Israel helm goe wth them; for to heare & Receiue his s^{d} hono^{rs} Resolutions & answer to their demands."

The conference with the Indians was accordingly held at Sachamexin (Shackamaxon) from the 14th to the 18th of the same month, at a cost of 250 guilders to Upland district, "for the expenses of the commander, justices and Indians." It does not appear that New Castle shared any of this expense, though equally benefited with Upland. The justices of New Castle inform the governor that the Indians had passed by them, and had gone up the river. This may account for the whole expense of the Shackamaxon meeting being visited on Upland.

Labor at this time was seldom obtained, as now, for wages. Even mechanics sold themselves, or were sold for a specified time; their masters being responsible for their support. The change in the ownership of persons thus owing services, required the approbation of the justices, as will be seen by the following extract from the record of the Upland court: "M^{r} John Test brought into Court a certaine man servant named William Still, being a Taylor by traede, whome hee the s^{d} Test did acknowledge to haue sold unto Capt^{n} Edmund Cantwell, for the space and tearme of foure yeares, beginning from the first of Aprill Last past; The s^{d} William Still declared in Court to bee willing to serve the said Capt^{n} Cantwell the aboves^{d} tearme of foure yeares."

The following record of a case of assault and battery is given as a fair specimen of the manner in which business was transacted in our earliest Courts of Justice:—

"Justice Israel Helm, Pl^{t}. Oele Oelsen (als) Coekoe, Def^{t}.

"The Pl^{t} Complaines that at the Plant^{n} of Juns Justesse, in his house, hee the pl^{t} was first wth Evill words abused by the deft, and afterwards by him beaten, and his shirt all torne In pieces by the s^{d} deft. and therefore desires y^{t} the Court will inflict punishment according to the meritt of the s^{d} def^{t}, and that hee is one of the members of the Court, hee may bee so maintained.

"The def^{t} sayeth that the pl^{t} hath struck, etc.

"The High Sheriffe, Capt^{n} Edm. Cantwell desires that the Court will take the case in consideration, and not suffer a Justice of Peace shall be so abused!

"The Court haveing Examined into ye whole businesse, and heard the debates of both partees, together wth the Testimony of Lace Coleman, Doe Condemne the said oele oelsen in a fyne of two hundred and Ten gilders; sixty thereof for the Poore or Church, and the remainder 150 gilders to the Sheriffe, and doe further order y^{t} the s^{d} oele oelsen doe humbly ask forgiveness of Justice Israell Helm and the Co^{rt} for his s^{d} offence.

"The Co^{rt} & High Sherife Conciedering that the s^{d} oele was a poore man wth a great charge of Children; uppon his humble submission did Remit & forgive him the one hundred and fifty gilders fyne."

Albert Hendrix, having served out "his Ieare" as constable, was dismissed by the court at his own request, and William Orian appointed "constable for the jurisdiction of this court" in his place. Hendrix (Hendrixon) is the first person known to have held the office in Pennsylvania. Jurian Harts-

welder (Hartsfelder,) the deputy sheriff, being about to remove further up the river, resigned his office. He was succeeded by Micael Izzard.

At the June court of this year, an order was adopted in respect to the admission of attorneys to plead in the court, but before the close of the year, it became the duty of the court to publish a resolution of the governor and council by which it was "ordered that pleading attorneys bee no longer allowed to practize in ye governm^{t} but for ye: depending causes."

The last adjustment of the dividing line between Upland and New Castle of which there is any record, seemed to fix the division between the two districts about the Christina; but a mandate issued from the New Castle court, September 18th of this year, of which the following is an extract, would indicate that a different arrangement had been made:—

"To Mr. Charles Ramsey, Constable In Christeena: You are requested in his May^{ts} name to take a true and exact list of all the Tydable p^{r}sons from 16 to 60 years of adge wthin the bounds, w^{ch} is all y^{e} north syde of Cresteena Creeke up as far as y^{e} bogh^{t} Creeke, above ole fransens house, & y^{e} names of y^{e} s^{d} Tydables to bring * * * * ."

At a meeting of Mr. John Moll, president of New Castle court, with the justices of Upland court, held at Upland on November 12th of the following year, the above division was confirmed and extended; The County of Upland was "to begin from the north syde of Oele fransens Creeke Called Steen Kill, Lying in the boght above ye verdrietige hoeck, and from the said Creek ouer to ye single tree point on the East syde of this River." In other directions, Upland county extended as far as settlements had been made; and although the authority of the Duke of York to govern New Jersey had been resisted by Fenwick and others, it had been maintained on the ground that the sovereignty of the country did not pass to Cartaret and Berkley, the purchasers of the soil. Fenwick, for attempting to exercise authority independently of Governor Andros, had even been forcibly arrested in his own house, and sent to New York, where he was for some time imprisoned. This will account for the jurisdiction of the courts, on the west side of the river, being extended into New Jersey.

In the accounts of the country during the earlier periods of its settlement, that have come under the notice of the author, not much is said in respect to the depredations of wolves. The numbers of these animals had probably greatly increased in the neighborhood of the settlements, both on account of the increased means to obtain food that civilization had furnished, and the diminished numbers of the Indians, who had heretofore destroyed them for their skins. The depredations of these animals had now become so alarming, that it became necessary to secure their destruction by means of a liberal bounty. At the solicitation of the justices of the New Castle court, authority was obtained to pay 40 guilders for each wolf scalp brought in. This, it will be seen, became a heavy item of expenditure.

It had been supposed that a tax could only be levied by the authority of "general court," but the governor, upon application being made to him for the

holding of such a court in order to authorize a levy, decided that every court had the power "to make fitting rates for the highways, poor and other necessaries as is practiced in England." The governor had authorized a levy of 1d. per pound on every man's estate, towards paying public expenses, but the justices of New Castle obtained authority from his excellency to substitute a poll tax, representing the inconsiderable value of estates, the difficulty of determining that value, and the distance of the people, as their excuse for asking the change.

The unliquidated expenses of Upland county had by this time so much accumulated as to present an alarming aspect of indebtedness, when the means of liquidation are considered. This indebtedness embraced the following items:—

"To neels Laerson for ye Courts Expensis to this day, Except 200 gilders by Captn Cantwell paid him before, there being no other accommodation for ye court, ... G.639

To Lace Cock, for Expensis of ye Comandr and Simico Indians last spring; ye acct being allowed by ye Court, ... 250

The woolves heads in this Cort, not all brought in yet, but computed by ye Court, 420

To ye Clercq allotted by ye Court for his several Extraordinary services to ye Cort, etc., ... 200

To Justice Israell helm for his severall services to ye Country as interpreter about ye Indians, ... 400

To Captn Cantwell, wch hee hath pd to neels Laerson for ye Courts accommodations, etc., ... 200

Justice Otto Ernest for sundry Expensis on ye publicq acct. of wch hee hath not yet brought In his acct. of perticulars, ... 300

Lace Cock for Expensis when his honr ye governor was there, ... 112

Peter Rambo demands for Expensis when his honor the Governor was there, 800 gildrs, ... 800

Captn Cantwell proffered in Court to pay him 400 gilders wch hee refused, soo that this is left to his honor to judge of.

G.3321

Besides fees due for ye collecting the sd Levy."

At the November court of this year, the justices decided to levy a poll tax of 26 guilders upon each Tydable (taxable) person, which included every male inhabitant in the county between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, except the justices, who were by the Duke's laws exempt from the payment of taxes, except for the support of the church. This levy was to be collected by the high sheriff, before the following March 25, and instead of money he was authorized to receive "wheat at five, rye & barley at four, and Indian corn at three gilders per Scipple (three pecks, English); tobacco and pork at eight stivers, and bacon at sixteen stivers per lb., or else wampum or skins at the courant price."

The list of the Tydable persons presented to the court on this occasion, in giving us at this distant day some idea of the number and places of residence of these early settlers, forms a most important and highly interesting part of the record. No apology will be needed for inserting the list at length.

"A LIST OF THE TYDABLE PRSONS.

Att Taokanink (Tacony.)

oele neelson & 2 sons,	3
hans moens,	1
Erick Poulson,	1
Christiaen Tomasse,	1
Casper fisck,	1
Peter Jookum & servt,	2
hans Jurian,	1
michill fredericks,	1
Justa Daniells & servant,	2
Jonas Juriaensen,	1
Hend: Jacobs upon ye Isld,	1
Erick Cock & servant,	2
moens Cock,	1
Lace Dalbo,	1
Rymer Peterssen,	1
Oele Dalboo,	1
Andries Boen,	1
Swen Boen,	1
Pelle Rambo, Junior	1
Andries Rambo,	1
Richard Duckett,	1
Mr. Jones ye hatter,	1
Joseph Peters,	1
Jan Cock,	1
Peter Cock, Junior,	1
harmen Ennis,	1
mort mortens, Junior,	1
Bertell Laersen,	1
moens Staeckett,	1
hans Jurian,	1
hendrick Tade,	1
andries Bertleson,	1
Jan Bertleson,	1
Jan Cornelissn & son,	2
mort. mortense, Senior,	1
Lace mortense,	1
neels matson,	1
Anthony Matson,	1
hendrick Jacobs,	1
Jacob hendricx,	1

Upland.

Claes Schram,	1
Robbered Waede,	1
Jan hendrix,	1
Rich: Bobbinghton,	1
James Sanderling & slaue,	2
John Test & servant,	2
Jurian Kien,	1
Rich: noble,	1
Neels Laerson & son,	2
henry hastings,	1

Att Carkoens hoek.

Andries homman & son,	2
Pelle Erickson,	1
Benck Saling,	1
Andries Sailing,	1
Laers Boen,	1
hans Peters,	1
Pell Puttke,	1
harmen Jansen,	1
hendrick holman,	1
Peter Nealson,	1
Gunnar Rambo,	1
Lace Cock & servant	2
Michilli nealson,	1
Andris Swen and father,	2
Oele Swenson his servant,	1
Swen Swenson & son,	2
John Stille,	1
Swen Lom,	1
Oele Stille,	1
Andries Benckes,	1
Jan Mattson,	1
dunck Williams,	1
Tho: Jacobs,	1
Jan Claassen & 2 sons,	3
Mathias Claassen,	1
franck Walcker,	1
Will Thomasse,	1
Peter matson,	1
Jan Baelsen,	1
Jan Schorten,	1
Jan Justa & 2 sons,	3
Jonas Nealson & son,	2
Peter andries & son,	2
Arian Andries at Peter Ramboos,	1

Calkoens Hoek.

will: woodman & servant,	2
John bayles,	1
mich Yzard,	1

Eastern Shoure.

oele Dircks,	1
will Bromfield,	1
Juns Justafs,	1

Lace Coleman,	1
hans hofman and his 2 sons,	3
Peter freeman,	1
Moens Junsen,	1
Poull Corvorne,	1
marr: Kill.	
Jan Jansen,	1
Will: Orian,	1
Daniell Linsey,	1
morten Knoetsen,	1
Knoet mortensen,	1
albert hendricx,	1
Oele Coeckoe,	1
Carell Jansen,	1
Oele Raessen,	1
Thom: Denny,	1
John Browne,	1
Rich: fredenicx,	1
hans Oelsen,	1
Tho: harwood,	1
Jurian hertsvelder,	1
Andris Inckhoore,	1
Rodger, Pedrick,	1
Cristaen Claassen,	1
Jacob Clocker,	1
	136

136 Tydables in Upland Jurisdiction."

The extreme slowness with which the population on the river increased, is a very remarkable circumstance. An approximation to the whole number of inhabitants in the Upland district may be arrived at from the data furnished by this list of taxables. The male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, by including the justices of the court, a few soldiers and paupers, would probably reach 150. By making the number of females between those ages equal to the males, the whole number of inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age would be 300. An estimate made by a comparison with census returns, would make the balance of the population about the same, and the whole population of Upland county 600, only about two-fifths, or 240 of whom resided within the district now forming the county of Delaware.

The justices becoming tired of holding court in a public house, "Capt^{n} Hans Jergen is ordered & desiered by the Court to warne his men belonging to his Company, and wth them to fitt up and finish ye house of defence att upland fitt for the Court to sitt in, against ye next Court." The site of this first courthouse is designated on the map of "the Early Settlements."

In 1669 a block-house had been erected at Wicaco for defence against attacks by the Indians. This year it was occupied as a church, the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius, the installed minister, preaching his first sermon there in Dutch, on Trinity Sunday. It is very certain that the Upland court had not as yet complied with the order of the general court held at New Castle in 1675, in causing "a church or place of meeting to be built at Wickegkoo;" as no expenditure is included for this purpose in the estimate for which the general levy was made. The blockhouse was probably fixed up as a place of worship by private subscription.

The records of New Castle show that Commander Collier sat there as a judge of the court. The governor being advised of his conduct in this respect, ordered him to forbear, and immediately commissioned Captain Christopher Billop as his successor. Walter Wharton was at the same time commissioned as "Surveyor in Delaware Bay and River," and Ephraim Herman "to bee receiver of quit rents in Delaware river in the jurisdiction of New Castle and Upland courts."

Since the arrival of Fenwick, owing to difficulties about the ownership of West Jersey, there had been no arrival of settlers for that province, until this year, when three vessels arrived—the "Kent," the "Willing-mind," and the fly boat "Martha." These were all well freighted with members of the Society of Friends, the greatest number of whom settled at and near Burlington,—some settled at Salem, and a few found their way to the western side of the river. Among the latter were William Clayton, Morgan Drewett, William Woodmancy, and William Oxley, and probably Henry Hastings and other Englishmen, whom we first find settled in the vicinity of Upland about this time.

Directions are transmitted to the Upland court by the governor, to purchase from the Indians two miles in extent along the river, from the lands previously purchased to the Falls. He also requires, by authority of the Duke, of all persons who "have or Clayme any land in Delawor River or Bay," that they make a return thereof to the clerk of the proper court, to be by the court returned to him. The governor also notifies the court of his intention to visit England, and to return again in the spring.

The great troubles and inconveniences to which the settlers of a new country are subjected, are but little understood by persons who have always resided in old and thickly settled districts. The great annoyance suffered by the settlers on the Delaware at this period, merely from depredations committed by wolves, will be understood from the action of the New Castle court, with a view to their destruction. "The court takeing into consideration the dayly and continuall spoyle & damadge w^{ch} y^{e} woolves commit uppon the Stockes of the Inhabitants and that the said woolves (notwithstanding the former order of the laest high court allowing 40 Guilders for each woolfe head), are no wayes more destroyed then before, make an order for setting, 52 Wolfe pitts or trap houses, and direct who shall set them," &c.

A provision is contained in the "Duke's Laws" for the support of "distracted persons," but no direction is given in respect to the manner of securing them. As to their restoration, it was a subject that claimed but little attention in these early times. The action of the Upland court, on a case brought before it, though certainly curious, should not be so much a matter of astonishment: "Jan Cornelissen of Amesland complayning to ye Court that his son Erick is bereft of his naturall sences & is turned quyt madd and y^{t}: hee being a poore man is not able to maintaine him; —— ordered: that three or 4 p^{r}sons bee hired to build a Little Blockhouse at amesland for to put in the s^{d} madman, and att the next Court, order will bee taken y^{t}: a small Levy bee Laid to pay for the building of y^{e} house and the maintayning of y^{e} s^{d} mad man according to Lawes of y^{e} government." This block-house may be regarded as the first lunatic asylum in Pennsylvania. The necessity for such a building and the order for its erection, bespeak at once the great deprivations to which our early settlers were subjected, and the inadequacy of the means at hand for their relief.

Some conveyances have already been noticed in the narrative, and it will

be necessary to advert to a few more, with a view of throwing as much light as possible on the earliest of the settlements within our prescribed limits.

"Hans Juriansen Kien, of Taokanink (Tacony) This day appeared in Co^{rt} and then & there did acknowledge a deed of conveigance bearing date the 9th day of this Instant month of March, for the makeing ouer unto his Brother Jonas Juriansen Kien, as followeth, viz^{t}: one Equall sheare and Lott of Land In quantity Equall wth y^{e} sheares & Lotts of y^{e} other Inhabitants of Upland Towne or neighborhood, wth all and Singular the appurtenances, Lying & being in Upland aforesaid, The whole devident or tract of Land being heretofore surveiged & Laid out for y^{e} six inhabitants of Upland Towne, in general Contaynes twelve hundred acres, whereof the part & sheare of him the said Hans Kien, being one of y^{e} said six Inhabitants, is two hundred acres as well cleared land as wood land, w^{ch} said 200 was thereby sould and made ouer as above, together wth the housing and other appurtenances standing upon the said Hans Kien his Lott of Land Lying and being att upland Towne aforesaid near the Creeke, between the houses & Lotts of James Sanderling and Jurian Kien; the said hans Kien did aknowledge also to haue Received satisfa-tion for the premises from him the said Jonas; as by the said deed signed sealed & delivered by the s^{d} hans Kien, in the p^{r}sence of Johannsen De haes & John Addams, & bearing date as above, more att Large did apeare."

The above grantee, Jonas Juriansen Kien, appeared in the same court, and acknowledged a deed of conveyance of the same premises, in consideration of "a certayne Sume of money," to John Test, late of London, merchant, together with "a certayne new Blocq house, by him the s^{d} Jonas built on the above mentioned Lott, near ye water syde of y^{e} Creeke aforesaid," &c. John Test, at this time a resident of Upland, appeared in the same court and acknowledged a conveyance in fee of the same premises to Marmaduke Randell, of London, merchant. The land at Marcus Hook was also taken up by a company of six persons, as appears by a patent granted therefor by Sir E. Andros, as well as by the following conveyance, which was acknowledged in the next Upland court:—

"Jan Hendricksen, of Delowar River, husbandman, appeared in Court, and then and there did acknowledge a certayne deed or transport unto Rodger Peddrick, of all his the said Jan hendricksen's Right, Tytle and Interest of all the Land & appurtenances Lying & being on the West syde of delowar River, called & knowne by the name of marreties hoeck, the whole tract of marreties hoeck Land being granted and confirmed by Pattent from the Right hono^{ble} governo^{r} andros, bearing date the 28th of march, 1676, unto the six possessors thereof, viz^{t}: Charles Jansen, Oele Raessen, hans oelsen, oele neelson, hans hofman and him the s^{d} Jan hendrick, and contayning in the whole one thousand acres of Land; w^{ch} s^{d} deed was signed, sealed and delivered by the s^{d} Jan hendricks in the p^{r}sence of Johannes De haes and Carrell Junsen, and beares date y^{e} 18th day of June, a^{o} 1678."

Both Upland and Marcus Hook were settled a long time before these grants were respectively made to "the six inhabitants" of each place. The names of the grantees of the Marcus Hook purchase are given; those of Upland, besides Hans Juriansen Kien, were, probably, James Sandeland, Israel Helm, Rev. Laurentius Carolus Lock (Lawrence Lock), Villus Lacie, and Niels Laerson. There were certainly other residents in Upland at the time the

grant for the 1200 acres was made. This new patenting of lands by persons who had resided in the country for a long time and held their titles from former governments, was one of the impositions practiced under the Duke's authority on that class of people. They were required by law "to bring in their former grants and take out new pattents for the same from the present Governoure, in behalf of his Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke." It may have been that the inhabitants of Upland and Marcus Hook, and other settlements, respectively united in an application for a large tract of land, with the view of saving expenses.

A ship from Hull arrived at Burlington this year. Among the passengers was Thomas Revel, who settled for a time within our limits, and was the clerk of the first court of Chester county.

On April 3d a meeting of the justices was held "at the house of Justice Peter Cock, in y^{e} Schuylkill." The business of this meeting was about the same that is usually performed by county auditors. Sheriff Cantwell appears to have been charged with both the collection and disbursement of the taxes. His allowance "for collecting & receiving y^{e} publicq levy," etc., was 884 guilders, being very nearly one-fourth of the whole amount collected!

Part of the record of the June court has been lost, but the minutes of the following court show that it was held on the 18th and 19th days of that month. This court resolved to impose "a levy or small tackx of fyve Gilders p^{r} head on every Tydable p^{r}son," the payment to be made at Tinicum, thus saving the great expense of collecting, that consumed so much of the former levy. The court not having imposed a penalty for non-payment of this "small tax," the justices, upon assembling at their November court, found that their former order had "Layne dorment," and finding themselves "necessiated," issued a new and very rigid order, "that every Tydable within the Jurisdiction of this Court, who have payed their levy Laest yeare, doe wthn the space of 14 days now next Ensuing come and pay Each of them 5 Gilders as formerly, and that they bring ye same unto Tinnecong Ysland in ye hands of M^{r} Otto Ernest Cock; this order to bee published and fixed up att the churches of Wicaco and Tinnecong to ye end no p^{r}son may plead Ignorance."

In the year 1675, Governor Andros, among other regulations then established, made an order remitting the quit rent for the first three years on all new lands to be taken up and seated within the precincts of the Delaware. Finding that persons were taking up lands and not seating them, he issued another order in October of this year, repealing and recalling his former order except in respect to lands that had actually been seated. Lands taken up and not seated and improved, and not duly returned, to be forfeited, and to be disposed of as vacant land; that seated and improved and not returned, to be returned within six months; all arrears of quit rents since the governor's arrival in 1674, to be paid within the same time, and in future the payment of quit rent was to commence with the taking up of the land.

A jury was empannelled in a case tried at this court, being the first which appears on the records of Upland court, and was doubtless the first jury that

was empannelled within the limits of Pennsylvania. Though not necessary under the "Duke's Laws" to have more than six jurors, there were twelve empanneled on the jury in question, whose names here follow, viz:—"hans moens, dunk williams, Xtopher Barnes, Edm: draufton, Peter Yocum, Isacq Sauoy, Jan hendricks, Jonas Kien, moens Cock, John Browne, Jan Boelsen, henry hastings." It required only a majority of the jurors to bring in a verdict; but there is nothing to show that they were not unanimous in the present case. The court, however, determined to be judges both of the law and the facts, "suspended" the verdict, and at the next Court tried the case themselves, and reversed the decision of the jury.

The subject of mills claimed the particular attention of the Upland court. A year prior to this time, the court had granted liberty to Jan Boelsen "to take up one hundred acres of land above the mill in amesland Kill." The mill here alluded to is the old Swedes mill erected by Governor Printz, about the year 1644, and doubtless the most useful institution in the country. The inhabitants became alarmed at seeing land taken up "so near the mill of Carkoen creek," lest "the s^{d} mill would bee Left destitute of any land to gett timber for y^{e} use of s^{d} mill, and upon their representation the Court ordered that 100 acres of land should be laid on the west syde of ye s^{d} mill branch," for the use of the mill. The court also ordered that the one hundred acres granted to Jan Boelsen should be reserved for the mill, having first obtained his assent. The mill tract on Holmes' map is on the East side of the creek. It would therefore appear that two hundred acres were reserved for the use of the mill, unless the tract on Holmes' map is incorrectly laid down.

At the same court, the erection of another mill was decided upon. "It being in consideracon that it was very necessary that a mill be built in the Schuylkill; and there being no fitter place than the faall Called Capt^{n} hans moenses faalls; The Co^{rt} are of opinion that Either Capt^{n} hans moenses ought to build a mill there, (as hee sayes that hee will,) or else suffer another to build for the common good of the parts."

Where there are mills, there must of necessity be roads, particularly as settlements begin to be made in the interior of a country. Hence the court "ordered that every p^{r}son should wthin the space of twoo months, as far as his Land Reaches, make good and passable wayes from neighbour to neighbour, wth bridges where it needs, To the End that neighbours on occasion may come together." Those neglecting, to forfeit 25 guilders.

The interests of the church also claimed some of the attention of the court. "Complaint being made by the church wardens that Neeles Laerson has taken in (wth Lotts of Land by him bought of dom: Lasse Carolus here in Upland Towne) some of the Church or glebb Land;—ordered, that Neeles Laersen shall haue his due of the 2 Lotts by him bought of s^{d} dom: Carolus Equall wth the other Lotts in Upland, but for what shall be found that s^{d} Neeles Laersen has taken in more, he to Leaue out againe annexed to y^{e} other Church Lotts."

Captain Billop, the present commander, seems to have been less faithful

in the performance of his duties than his predecessor, Collier. He used the fort at New Castle as his own private property, converting it into a stable for his horses and a pen for his hogs. The room above the fort, which had been occupied as a court-room, he had filled with hay and fodder; and he employed the soldiers "about his own private affairs." Fortunately for the Upland court, the captain was stationed at a distance from their seat of justice; and we do not learn that his subordinate officer, Captain Hans Jergen, stationed at Upland, ever interfered with our court in its full enjoyment, as a hall of justice, of the recently finished "House of defence."

These, with other complaints against Billop, were made to the governor by the justices of New Castle court, who were also not disposed to spare their brother Justice, Walter Wharton, who likewise held the office of surveyor-general. He had married himself, or was married contrary to law, and had not performed his duty as a justice, in absenting himself "three following court days." The former complaint was referred to the governor, but for the neglect of his judicial duties he was fined £10 by the court. Billop was recalled to New York by the governor, but Wharton was removed by death, towards the close of this year.

It is probable that the marsh lands appertaining to any particular settlement along the river, were for a long time held and used as a common pasturage. That this was so in respect to Upland, would appear from a complaint being made by James Sanderling, "In behalfe of ye Rest of ye Inhabitants of Upland that Neels Laersen wth a fence stopps up the old and usuall way to the fly (marsh); and Neels Laersen being thereupon heard," the Court ordered the way to be left open as formerly.

The records of Upland court also furnish some evidence that education of children was not wholly neglected. In the case of "Edmund Draufton, plaintiff vs. Dunck Williams, deft.," "The Pl^{t} demands of this Def^{t} 200 Gilders for teaching this Defts children to Read one Yeare." "The Cor^{t} haueing heard the debates of both parties as alsoe ye attestation of ye witnesses, Doe grant judgm^{t} agst ye Def^{t} for 200 gilders wth ye Costs." "Richard Duckett sworne in Court declares that hee was p^{r}sent at ye makeing of ye bargaine, and did heare that ye agreem^{t} was that Edmund draufton should Teach Dunkes children to Read in ye bybell, & if hee could doe itt in a yeare or a halfe yeare or a quart^{r}, then hee was to haue 200 gilders."

Edmund Draufton is the earliest schoolmaster within the jurisdiction of Upland court of whom any account has been preserved. The location of his school is not certainly known.

The "House of Defence" appears to have been built on the private property of Neels Laersen. At the first court held in 1679 he was ordered "to make or leaue a lane or street from Upland creeke to ye: house of defence or Country house," or in default to be fined at the discretion of the court. The appellation "Country house," sufficiently indicates the uses to which the "House of Defence" was now appropriated. We have seen that its completion was urged in order that the courts might be held there, and it is probable that it

was used as a place for the transaction of public business generally. For whatever other purpose the House of Defence may have been used, it was certainly the first court house within our limits.

The attention of the New Castle court was frequently occupied with church disputes and differences. The following is the most remarkable instance of the interference of the Upland court in ecclesiastical affairs:

"It being Represented to y^e^ Court by the Church Wardens of Tinnagcong and Wicaco Churches that the fences about y^e^ Church yards, and other Church buildings are mutch out of repair, and that some of the People, members of y^e^ s^d^ Churches are neglective to make the same Up etc: The Co^rt^ haueing taken y^e^ premises into Consideracon, doe find itt necessary to order, authorize & Impower, and doe by these p^r^sents order, authorize & Impower the Respective members of y^e^ s^d^ Churches, from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes when itt shall bee found necessary, to build, make good and keepe in Repair the s^d^ Church yard fences as also the Church and other the appurtenances thereof, and if any of the s^d^ members upon warning doe proove neglective In the doeing of their proportion to the same, They and each of them to forfeit fifty gilders for each such neglect, to bee Levyed out of their goods and Chattels Lands and Tenements."

It has been alleged that Richard Buffington, the first male child born of English parents in Pennsylvania, was born at Chester this year. This event was corroborated by his father, Richard Buffington, in the year 1739, on the anniversary of his eighty-fifth birthday, by assembling all his descendants, who numbered 115, at his house in Chester; the first born, Richard, in the sixtieth year of his age, was among the number.

On December 15, Richard Noble was commissioned Surveyor of Upland in the place of Walter Wharton, deceased, who had held the office for both New Castle and Upland counties. On May 28, 1680, Governor Andros issued a new commission to "M^r^ Otto Ernest Coch, M^r^ Israel Helm, Mr. Henry Jones, Mr Lawsa Cock, and M^r^ George Brown to bee Justices of y^e^ Peace in y^e^ Jurisdiction of Upland Court or County, in Delowar River & dependencies." It will be perceived that the number of justices is reduced from six to five—that two Englishmen have been substituted in the place of two Swedes, and that of the old bench only two justices have been retained. Though it is not known that any jealousy existed between the Swedes and English, the number of Englishmen who had settled on the west side of the river, made it necessary that they should be represented on the bench. As nearly as can be ascertained the places of residence of the justices were as follows:—Israel Helm, at Upland; Otto Ernest Coch, at Tinicum; Henry Jones, at or near Wicaco; Lawrence Cock, at Moyamensing, and George Brown, nearly opposite to Trenton. As the Duke of York about this time, upon the judgment of Sir William Jones, yielded his rights to the government of West Jersey, the jurisdiction of the new justices did not extend to the east side of the river. They held their first court at Upland on June 8th, and among other things ordered a poll tax of one scipple of wheat, or 5 guilders to be levied, "for defraying y^e^ charges of this court's sitting, to be brought unto Justice Otto Ernest, att Tinnagcong Island."

The justices also assumed the authority of removing the seat of justice from Upland. They say "that in regard that Upland creeke where ye Court hitherto has sate, is att ye lower end of ye County, The Court therefore for ye most Ease of ye people, have thought fitt for ye future to sitt and meet att ye towne of Kingsesse in ye Schuylkills." It does not appear that this first removal of our seat of justice met with any serious opposition from the inhabitants of Upland or its vicinity.

The first court was held at the new seat of justice, on October 13th. If the increased amount of law business and the character of a considerable portion of it resulted from the removal of the court, the justices gained but little by the change. Among the cases tried, were three for "Slaunder and defamation."

For the due preserving "of ye peace of or Souerayne Lord ye King," &c., the court found it necessary to appoint a constable "to officiate between the Schuylkill and Nieshambenies kill." The court also found it necessary to appoint two "viewers of ye Highwayes & roads & fences," who resided in the same district. There was one jury trial at this court, but the names of the jurors are not given. The court did allow "of ye jury's verdict," and passed judgment accordingly.

No other court was held till March, 1681, when nothing of importance was transacted. At the court held in the following June, "Justice Otto Ernest Coch acquaints the Court, that hee has bought and paid of ye Indian proprietors a certaine swampy or marshy Island called by ye Indians quistconk Lying att the upper End of Tinnachkonk Island in ye river opposit andrews Boones creek; and desires ye Corts approbation. The Cort hauing well informed themselves about ye prmises, doe allow thereof." There was also a jury of seven men empanelled at this court, viz.: "James Sauderlins, Will: Boyles, John Boeyar, harmen Ennis, Will: orian, andries petress and oele raesen."

The Dutch clergyman at Wicaco, "Magistr Jacobus fabritius," "not finding his dues regularly paid," upon application to the court, obtained an order "that ye church wardens of the peticonrts church doe take care that Every one of those as haue signed and promised towards his maintaynance, doe pay him ye sumes promised, upon payne of Execution agst ye defective." This magister did well to make sure of his pay in time. The advent of a new government was at hand, in which such claims could not be viewed with much favor.

Roads and highways are frequently mentioned in the proceedings of the Upland and New Castle courts, but it is not to be supposed that these ways, at this early day, were used for wheeled vehicles of any kind. The usual mode of travelling was either by water or on horseback; but the roads, such as they were, required some repairs, and hence the appointment of overseers. No taxes were laid, but those who refused to work on the highways were subjected to a fine. This practice continued for many years under Penn's government. The imposition of a fine of 25 guilders, for neglecting to work on the roads was among the last acts of the Upland court under the Duke's government.

During the year 1680, William Penn had been perseveringly, but successfully negotiating with King Charles the Second and his ministers for a grant of the territory that now constitutes our great commonwealth. The only European settlements comprised within its limits were included in Upland county, and were subject to the jurisdiction of Upland court. Though Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, was aware of every step taken by Penn to secure his grant, and, through his agents, interposed objections, it is not probable that the people included within the limits of the embryo province had the faintest idea that they were about to be transferred from the iron rule of the unscrupulous Duke of York, to the mild and peaceful government of the Quaker proprietor. The patent to Penn was executed on March 4th, 1681, while the last Upland court, under the Duke of York adjourned on the 14th of June, "till y^{e} 2^{d} Tuesday of y^{e} month of September,"—the very last act of the judges being the appointment of a surveyor and overseer of the highways from Poetquessing creek to the Falls of the Delaware, (Trenton,) the furthest point to which settlements had then been extended.

Information of the grant to William Penn must have been communicated officially to the government at New York very shortly after the adjournment of the last session of the Upland court. Governor Andros being absent, the king's letter on the subject, addressed to the inhabitants within the limits of the grant, was laid before Anthony Brockholl, the commander, and his council, no doubt, by William Markham, who, at the same time, submitted his commission from William Penn to be his deputy governor of the province. On June 21st, the commander and council addressed a letter "To y^{e} severall Justices of y^{e} Peace, magistraets and other officers inhabiting wthin y^{e} bounds and limits" of the grant to Penn, notifying them of the change in their government, which letter was sent by Colonel Markham, who, no doubt, within a few days after the date of the letter, reached his government, and entered upon the duties of his office. This letter is the last entry made in the book containing the record of the Upland court.

Before parting with this record, which throws so much light on the history of the time during which it was made, and from which I have drawn so liberally, it will be necessary to make some general observations.

The territorial jurisdiction of the court, it will have been observed, was very extensive. Except the provisional line that separated it from New Castle county, its jurisdiction at first extended to the last approaches that civilization had made on the home of the savage. Subsequently its jurisdiction was limited to the west side of the Delaware. The earliest notice of a court at Upland, is on the 18th of August, 1672. Evidence of the existence of records of an earlier date than those which have come down to us, is found in these records themselves. These commence on the 14th of November, 1676, and end at the time just mentioned. When a court was first established at Upland cannot now be ascertained. It was in all probability as early as the establishment of English authority on the river, and may have been earlier. If but one court was at first established by the English, its probable location was at New

Castle. Upon the establishment of two, the natural location of one of them would be Upland. At the time our record commences, it was one of three courts on the river—"one at New Castle, one above at Uplands, another below at the Whorekill;" the latter evidently being of recent establishment. The court established at New Castle was the most important, being held monthly; the others were to be held quarterly, "or oftener if occasion;" but that of Upland was really held less frequently.

These courts possessed both criminal and civil jurisdiction. In criminal matters their powers were about equal to those of our courts of quarter sessions, while in civil cases not involving more than £20 the judgment of each court was final. In cases involving a larger amount, an appeal could be taken to the court of assizes of New York, and so of crimes of the higher grades. Parties could demand a trial by jury, but in the Upland court this privilege was only claimed in three or four instances during the nearly five years that its records have been preserved, and in one of these instances the verdict of the jury was wholly disregarded by the court. By the "Duke's Lawes," no jury could "exceed the number seaven nor be under six, unless in special causes upon life and death, the justices shall think fitt to appoint twelve." This will account for only seven men being empanneled in one of the cases where the jurors' names are given in the record. Except in cases of life and death, the major part of the jury, when agreed, could give in a verdict, "the minor being concluded by the major without any allowance of any protest by any of them to the contrary."

In equity matters the court of Upland exercised jurisdiction. It also made local regulations, which in these days would have required an act of the legislature. The justices, either as a court or a board, performed all the duties that are now performed by county commissioners, directors of the poor, and auditors. The court granted applications for taking up land, received returns of surveys, and had acknowledgments of transfers of real estate between parties made before it. It regulated the affairs of the church, and exercised a general supervision over the various concerns of the body politic—such as the repairs of highways, the maintenance of fences, the sale of the time of servants, and even to the recording of the ear marks of cattle. Besides the court the sheriff and surveyor, the government possessed no agent charged with the performance of civil duties within the county of Upland.

A legal gentleman who has carefully examined the record of the Upland court, remarks "that the forms of proceeding were of a character no less primitive and incongruous than the jurisdiction of the court, partaking rather of the nature of suits before an ordinary justice of the peace than those of a court of record. The 'Instructions' directed 'all writts, warrants, and proceedings at Lawe to be in his majesty's name.' A declaration, or informal statement of the cause of action seems to have been required, and a rule was adopted directing it to be entered at least one day before the court met. Although the technical names of actions were used in many cases, such as action on the case, slander, &c., no actual division of actions was known, these names

having probably been taken from 'y^e Lawe Booke' referred to occasionally. There does not, in fact, seem to have been any clearly drawn distinction between civil and criminal cases; a proceeding exclusively civil in its character frequently resulting in a judgment, partially at least, appropriate to a criminal case. In short, the whole method of practice was rather a dispensation of justice, as the ideas of it existed in the heads, and was tempered by the hearts of the judges, than the administration of any positive law, written or unwritten."

Offences, criminal in their nature, were usually punished by the imposition of a fine; the want of a jail precluded imprisonment. Corporal punishment by whipping, was, in a few instances, resorted to by the court at New Castle, but it forms no part of any sentence of the court of Upland contained in the record. But this record has been mutilated by cutting out two leaves; and as the minutes of the court next following that of which the record is thus defective, contains a bill of costs against parties of bad repute, in which there is a charge of 101 guilders "for payment of the Indians that whipt," etc., it may be inferred that corporal punishment was resorted to in one single instance, and that Indians were employed in its infliction. In this view of the matter, it is not difficult to account for the mutilation of the record.

The fines imposed were sometimes remitted by the court. This was especially the case when one of the justices had an interest in the matter. In one instance, a fine of 1000 guilders was thus remitted. An open acknowledgment in court of the offence committed, or the asking of forgiveness from the offended party, sometimes constituted a part or the whole of a sentence.

The justices were uneducated, but well-meaning men. A commendable desire to maintain the dignity of the positions they occupied had some little influence upon their acts. Otherwise, the most careful scrutiny of the records will show that they acted with the strictest regard to justice and the preservation of the public morals. This record, and that of New Castle court, give us a good idea of the condition of our people in these early times, socially and otherwise.

Common labor, per day, was worth from 50 styvers to 4 guilders, according to the season. Wheat was worth 5 guilders, rye and barley 4, and Indian corn 3 per scipple. Tobacco or pork was worth 8 styvers per lb., and bacon double as much. In 1677, New Castle court ordered "that the gilder pay should be recond ag^st^ Tobb^c^ in Maryland at 6 styv^rs^ pr lb." A cow was appraised at 150 guilders, and other cattle at rather less prices.

It was the practice of the Swedes to erect their dwellings immediately on the margin of the river or tide water creeks. Up to this time, very few if any houses had been erected in any other situations,—the few English settlers following the example of the Swedes.

With the recent accession of English Friends from New Jersey, the entire population of Upland county could not have exceeded five hundred, at the arrival of Governor Markham; of these, less than one-third resided within the territorial limits of Delaware county.

It has generally been supposed that Colonel Markham was accompanied

to Pennsylvania by emigrants; and Proud, in his "History of Pennsylvania," leaves it to be inferred that this was the case, and that he did not arrive till near the close of the year. His commission as deputy governor, first published in Hazard's Annals, is dated April 10, 1681, and we find it was laid before the government at New York previous to June 21, following. Colonel Markham doubtless proceeded directly to his government, and entered upon the responsible duties with which he had been entrusted. He could have made but little delay; for we find that on September 13,—the very day to which the old Upland court had adjourned,—a newly organized court for Upland county was sitting and transacting business, composed of justices, sheriff, and clerk, holding their appointments under him; and on November 30th the Deputy Governor himself presiding over the same court.

Governor Markham was the bearer of a letter, dated two days earlier than his commission, from William Penn, "for the inhabitants of Pennsylvania," which he was directed to read. In this letter the proprietor promises his people that they shall be governed by laws of their own making; that he will not usurp the rights of any, nor oppress his person; and in short, that he would heartily comply with whatever sober and free men could reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness. This letter is in the well-known hand of William Penn.

The commission to Colonel Markham empowers him "to call a council, and that to consist of nine, he presiding." In pursuance of this authority, he selected for that important trust Robert Wade, Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, William Marriner, Thomas Fairman, James Sandelandes, Will. Clayton, Otto Ernest Koch and Lacy Cock. Unfortunately, no part of the record of the doings of this council has come down to us, except their attestation, in which they say, "wee do hereby bind ourselves by our hands and seales, that wee neither act nor advise, nor consent, unto anything that shall not be according to our own consciences the best for y^{e} true and well Government of the s^{d} Province, and Likewise to keep secret all y^{e} votes and acts of us y^{e} s^{d} Councell unless such as by the General Consent of us are to be Published." This attestation is "Dated at Vpland y^{e} third day of August 1681," the day on which a government was first established for the province of Pennsylvania. Upland was undoubtedly the seat of that government. These gentlemen councillors omitted to append their "seales" to their signatures, and two of them did not write their own names.

Colonel Markham also bore a letter from the King to Lord Baltimore, apprising him of the grant of Pennsylvania to Penn. Being authorized by his commission "to settle bounds" between the Proprietary and his neighbors; and as it is said the King's letter required both parties to adjust boundaries, an interview was brought about between Lord Baltimore and Markham at Upland. By an astronomical observation made during this interview, it was ascertained that even Upland itself was twelve miles south of the parallel of 40 degrees, which indicated the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. This discovery terminated the conference, and was the prelude to the protracted con-

troversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore and their descendants, which at length resulted in the line of Mason and Dixon—a line, that for its notoriety has been compared by a late writer to the equator.

This discovery, it is supposed, was communicated to William Penn, and he having been an applicant to the Duke of York for a grant of New Castle and the settlements below on the Delaware, was thereby induced to press his application more strenuously, under the apprehension that he might lose the whole peninsula, in case of failure. On August 20th of the following year, Penn obtained from the Duke a release of all claim to the territory embraced within the limits of his patent, and, subsequently, a release of the territory now constituting the State of Delaware.

With the royal charter, Penn published in England some account of his newly acquired province, with valuable suggestions and information necessary for persons disposed to become colonists under him. This paper is drawn up with much care and truthfulness. Much of it is taken up in demonstrating the importance of plantations or colonies to the mother country. The description of the province is brief, and by no means exaggerated; valuable directions are given to those who determine to emigrate, and he concludes with a desire to all who may determine to go to those parts, "to consider seriously the premises, as well as the present inconveniences, as future ease and plenty, that none may move rashly, or from fickle, but solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposal of themselves."

While the public mind in England, particularly the Quaker element of it was thus directed to the new province, Governor Markham was administering affairs here very much after the fashion that had heretofore prevailed. He appears to have been indisposed to make any unnecessary innovations on the established order of things. It has already been mentioned that the first court under the new government was held on the day to which the last session of the former court had adjourned. The first session of the new court was not, however, at "the towne of Kingesse," but at Upland, where, no doubt, Governor Markham had fixed his residence. The justices of this court were "Messrs. William Clayton, Wm. Warner, Robert Wade, Otto Ernst Cock, William Byles, Robert Lucas, Lasse Cock, Swan Swanson and Andreas Bankson;" the sheriff, John Test, and clerk, Thomas Revell. Of the justices, five are Englishmen and four Swedes, two of whom had been members of the former Court. The "Duke's Laws" were now inoperative. In pursuance of the Deputy Governor's instructions, all was to be done "according to the good laws of England." But the new court, during the first year of its existence, failed to comply with these laws in a very essential particular,—persons were put upon trial without the intervention of a Grand Jury. No provision was made under the Duke's laws for this safeguard of the citizen, and the new justices acted for a time in accordance with former usage. A petit jury, so rare under the former court, now participates in every trial where facts are in dispute. In criminal cases, the old practice is adhered to of making the prosecutor plaintiff.

The first case that came up for consideration was that of Peter Errickson, Plff. vs. Harmon Johnson and Margaret his wife, Deft. An action of "Assault & Batt^y." Jurors—Morgan Drewett, Wm. Woodmanson, Wm. Hewes, James Browne, Henry Reynolds, Robert Schooley, Richards Pittman, Lassey Dalboe, John Ackraman, Peter Rambo, Jr., Henry Hastings, and William Oxley. Witness, William Parke. The jury find for the plaintiff; give him 6d. damages, his costs of suit.

In the next case the parties are reversed; the offence charged being the same, and tried by the same jurors. The witnesses were Anna Coleman, Richard Buffington, and Ebenezer Taylor. The jury find for the plaintiffs 40 [shillings] and their costs of suit.

At this first session of the court, nine cases were tried and sixteen withdrawn; among the latter were two "for disobeying the justice's order." In the last case tried, which was for debt, the verdict was 62 guilders—an evidence of the lasting influence of the ascendency of the Dutch on the river.

It having come to the ears of Justice Lassey Cock that he had been accused of speaking certain improper words to the Indians, proclamation was made in the court "that if any had anything against him, they should declare it; whereupon Daniel Brenson and Charles Brigham, upon oath, together with Walter Humphrey, upon his solemn attestation, declared what they heard certain Indians speak against him and Captain Edmund Cantwell; the said Lassey Cock, upon oath, declared his innocency, and that he had never spoken those words to the Indians, or any of that nature, was thereupon cleared by the court."

Letters of administration were granted by the court to Caspar Fiske on the estate of Eusta Daniell—security in £100, given to Robert Wade and William Clayton.

Besides the English names already mentioned, there occur in the proceedings of this court those of Richard Ridgeway, Francis Stephenson, Richard Noble, John Champion, Thomas Nossiter, John Wood, and William Cobb. These and many others had become residents of Upland county prior to the date of Penn's patent. Most of those who were Friends emigrated with the early West Jersey settlers, but for some reason settled on the west side of the river.

At the next court, which was held on November 30, Deputy Governor Markham presided, and James Sandelandes and Thomas Fairman, with all those who held the last court, sat as justices, except William Warner, who was absent. But four cases were tried at this court; one withdrawn and one continued.

Three ships sailed from England for Pennsylvania this year; two from London and one from Bristol. No particulars of the arrival of the "John and Sarah," which is said to have arrived first, are given; but we are informed by Proud, that the Bristol "Factor," Roger Drew, commander, "arrived at the place where Chester now stands, on December 11, where the passengers seeing some houses, went on shore at Robert Wade's landing near the lower side of Chester

creek; and the river having froze up that night, the passengers remained there all winter." The other ship, the "Amity," "having been blown off to the West-Indies, did not arrive until the spring of the next year."

Proud places the arrival of William Markham in one of these ships, with certain commissioners, whom he says were joined with him, "to confer with the Indians or Aboriginies of the country respecting their lands, and to confirm with them a league of peace." It is possible that certain commissioners arrived on board of one or more of these vessels, but they were not associated with the Deputy Governor as has been mentioned. The only purchase of land that was made from the Indians for the Proprietary before his arrival, was the large purchase on the Delaware above Shackamaxon, which was made by Markham alone, although the commissioners were then in the country.

The commissioners were William Crispin, William Haige, John Bezer, and Nathaniel Allen. William Crispin was appointed surveyor-general as well as commissioner, but died before his arrival, whereupon Thomas Holme was appointed in his place. Though they appear to have been authorized to treat with the Indians and purchase their lands, their instructions show that their main business was to fix upon the site of and lay out a city—to survey and apportion lands and city lots among the newly arrived immigrants, who had for the most part made their purchases in England. The following extract from these instructions, no doubt gave rise to the tradition that Penn had fixed on Upland or Chester as the site of his great city.

"That having taken what care you can for the people's good, in these respects above-said, let the rivers and creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware River, especially Upland, in order to settle a great town, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy; that is where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to load or unload at the bank or keys side without boating and lightening of it. It would do well if the river coming into that creek be navigable, at least for boats up into the country, and that the situation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, which is best known by digging up two or three earths and seeing the bottom."

The celebrated "conditions and concessions" agreed upon between Penn and those who became "adventurers and purchasers" under him, were published in England some time before the date of the letter of instructions to the commissioners. Thomas Holme, the surveyor-general, did not arrive till the last of June of the following year.

Although the minutes of the council of Governor Markham are not to be found, there is a document preserved that shows that one of its first acts was the prohibition of the sale of strong drinks to the Indians. This paper is a petition to the Governor and council over the uncouth signatures of Passayunk Indians, asking the removal of the prohibition, on the ground that there was no prohibition in New Castle, "and that they find it a greater ill-convenience than before, our Indians going down to New Castle, and there buying rum and making them more debauched than before."

It will be remembered that Robert Wade was settled at Upland in 1675,

and that William Edmundson, a travelling preacher of the Society of Friends, held a meeting at his house during that year. Robert Wade was a purchaser from John Fenwick, in England, and it is supposed emigrated with him in 1675, but from some cause he preferred to settle at Upland, being, with his wife, among the first Quakers who settled in Pennsylvania. It is not therefore probable that a Friends' meeting was held in Pennsylvania earlier than that year,—the first being held at the house of Robert Wade. No meeting of record was held till the year 1681, the following being the earliest minute: "The 10th day of the 11th month 1681. A monthly meeting of Friends belonging to Marcus-hook, alias the Chester and Upland, held at the house of Robert Wade."

These meetings for a time were held alternately at the places designated, and constituted one monthly meeting. That held at Robert Wade's eventually became "Chester Monthly Meeting," while from the Chichester, or Marcus Hook Meeting, originated at first the Chichester Monthly Meeting, which subsequently became merged in that of Concord.

The only Quaker heads of families that were settled at Chester and Marcus Hook, or in the vicinity of those places, before the arrival of the first ship sent out by Penn, so far as the author can discover, were Robert Wade, Roger Pedrick, Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, Michael Izzard, Thomas Revel, Henry Hastings, William Oxley, James Browne, Henry Reynolds, and Thomas Nossiter. There were no other Friends then settled within the present territorial limits of our county, but quite a number were located higher up the river on the Pennsylvania side of it.

The next court for Upland county was held at Upland on March 14, 1682, which, according to the record, is still within the year 1681. This court was held by the same or nearly the same justices, Deputy Governor Markham presiding. The details of a trial that occurred at this court are given, to illustrate the manner of conducting judicial proceedings in these primitive times:

"J—— A——, bound by recognizance to appear at this Court to answer our Sovereign Lord the King upon the accusation of Richard Noble, Peter Rambo Junr, and Lawrence Lawrenson, who were bound over to prosecution.. This Court proceeded upon indictment; to which the prisoner pleaded not guilty: and put himself upon the tryal &c., of this Jury:" "Jurors: George Foreman Gent, John Child, Nathaniel Allen, Nathaniel Evans, William Oxley, John Akraman, Albert Hendrickson, Mons Peterson, Wooley Rawson, John Cock, Erich Cock, Peter Yoakum."

"Richard Noble deposed that hee, with several others, found divers peeces of burnte porke or bacon in the said A's house; and also that hee the said Richard Noble with others found hidden in unfrequented places in an out house belonging to the said J—— A——, where, (as an Indian had before then informed them,) the said A—— used to hide porke; and further deposed that the said A—— gave out threatining words against the officers and others who came to search."

"Peter Rambo Junr. and Lawrence Lawrenson deposed the same as above. Judith Noble deposed that the said A—— gave out threatning words against the officers who came to search."

"Francis Walker deposed that a person who bought a peece of porke of the said A——, told him the said Walker that the said porke had a bullet in it."

"Francis Stephens deposed that the said A——— being asked concerning a hogg's head, (hee, the said A———, having then a headless hogg,) where the head then was, hee, the said A———, answered, hee had left the head down the river; and the said A———'s boy said noe, the hogg's head is upon the mill att home."

"John Hollinshead gave in his evidence before Thomas Budd, a magistrate at Burlington, which was also produced under the hand of the said Thomas Budd, being of the same import with the deposition of the aforesaid Francis Stephens."

"Thomas Wallis gave in his evidence before the same Thomas Budd, and testified under the hand of the said Thomas Budd, of the same import with the aforesaid Judith Noble's testimony."

"Another examination of notorious circumstances, of a stranger who lay at the said A———'s, taken by Mahlon Stacey, a magistrate at the Falls, and signified under his hand."

"The jury bring in the prisoner not guilty, and thereupon by order of Court is discharged."

The following minute of the doings of the same court, is a further proof that Governor Markham and his council had placed some restraint upon the sale of strong drink, to others besides the Indians.

"Henry Reynolds having appeared to answer for his selling strong liquors by small measure in his house contrary to the Governor and Councel's order; upon his submission to the Court, was discharged."

"Overseers for the Highways nominated and elected at the Court, March 14th, 1681 [1682] for one year next ensuing, which is to be done within their respective precincts, before the last day of May next, ut sequitur: Woolley Rawson, from Marcus creek to Naman's creek. Robert Wade, from Naaman's [Marcus] Creek to Upland creeke. William Oxley from Upland Creeke to Ammersland. Mons Stawket from Ammersland to Karkus mill. Peter Yokeham from Karkus Mill to Schore kill [Schuylkill] falls. Andreas Rambo from Schore kill falls to Tawrony [Tacony] Creeke. Erick Mullikay from Tawrony Creeke to Poynessink Creek. Clause Johnson from Poynessink creeke to Samuel Cliffs. John Akraman from Samuel Cliffs to Gilbert Wheelers."

Gilbert Wheeler's residence was in the neighborhood of Trenton, which shows the territorial extent of Upland county. The main road that required repairs appears to have crossed the Schuylkill and other streams at or near the head of tide water.

On June 12, messengers from Lord Baltimore, with letters to Governor Markham, arrived at Upland, but the Governor being on a visit to New York, James Sandelandes and Robert Wade dispatched a messenger to him, with the Lord Baltimore's communication, and also a letter from them, advising him that Commissioners were in waiting, ready to meet him at Bohemia river.

"The grant formerly made from Governor Markham to the inhabitants of Marcus Hooke att their request for the calling the name of the said Town Chichester, which said grant bears date the twentieth day of April, 1682, and was read and published in the court held at Upland June the thirteenth Anno 1682, according to order as a record thereof." This was the fourth court held under Governor Markham's administration.

At the first court under his government, the English currency of pounds, shillings and pence was introduced, but at this court there was a return to the

old currency of guilders, so difficult is it to change the established customs of a people. One verdict at this court is for 616 guilders, and there are several for a less number. "Skipps of wheat," also occur in the proceedings.

The next court in order was held on September 12, 1682. Governor Markham officiated as president, and was assisted by several of the justices that have been named.

The first grand jury that ever sat in Pennsylvania of which there is any record, was summoned to attend at this court. Their names, as given in the minutes of the court are: William Clayton, Thomas Brassey, John Symcock, Tho. Sary, Robert Wade, Lawrence Cock, John Hart, Nath[ll]. Allen, William Woodmanson, Tho[s]. Coebourne, John Otter and Joshua Hastings; being one half the usual number. These jurors were summoned in the case of Lassey, alias Lawrence Dalboe, and are called his "Grand Jury."

The first order for filing an administration account was made at this court. The administrator was directed to appear at the next or the following court, "and bring into the court the bills of the creditors or other satisfaction, signifying to the court the justness of each particular debt, and also to produce his receipts for what he hath paid." This is the last court held previous to the arrival of the Proprietary. Quite a number of Friends had arrived here since Markham came to the country. Among those who settled within the territorial limits of Delaware county, were Richard Fewe, John Kennerly, Thomas Cobourn, Jeremiah Collett, Richard Worrall, Henry Grubb, and John Simcock.

Before introducing the Proprietary into this land of promise, it may not be amiss to enlighten the reader in respect to the progress made in religious affairs by the Friends who had preceded him. At a monthly meeting held at Chester the 11th of the 7th mo. (September) 1682, it was agreed "that a meeting shall be held for the service and worship of God every first day of the week at the court house at Chester." It was also agreed "that there be three meetings in the week; the western part to meet at Chichester the 5th day of the week; the middle meeting at Harold at the house of William Woodmanson the 4th day of the week, and the eastern meeting at Ridley at John Simcocks the 5th day of the week until otherwise ordered." It was further ordered that "the monthly meeting for business be held the 1[st] Second day of the week in every month at the house of Robert Wade."

The world did not contain a more busy man than William Penn, from the time the charter for Pennsylvania was granted to him until he sailed for America. Besides the documents issued by him, that have already been mentioned, he incorporated a company with extraordinary powers and privileges, styled the "Free Society of Traders;" he published his "Frame of Government for the province of Pennsylvania, together with certain laws agreed upon in England by the Governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid Province;" he obtained from the Duke of York a release of any claims he might have to the province of Pennsylvania; and also two deeds of feoffment for the territory now constituting the State of Delaware—one being for twelve miles round New Castle, and the other for the balance of the territory below; he

wrote innumerable letters to his friends, and sundry epistles to the settlers and the Indians, besides being subjected to various importunities to part with his lands and to confer privileges on terms different from those which he had adopted and published.

With his mind thus overtasked with questions of the highest moment, would it not have been wonderful if he had committed no mistakes? Is it not strange that he committed so few? We may at this day be startled at some of the privileges granted to "The Free Society of Traders;" but may we not, with Penn's limited experience with corporations, believe in the sincerity of his assurance, that it was "a Society without oppression: wherein all may be concerned that will; and yet have the same liberty of private traffique, as though there were no Society at all." Certainly we may concede this much, when it is known that he resisted the "great temptation" of £6000 and two and a half per cent. acknowledgment or rent for a monopoly of the Indian trade between the Susquehanna and Delaware with 30,000 acres of land, the Indian title of which to be extinguished by the corporation. Penn's ideas of government were greatly in advance of the age in which he lived. The few errors he committed were the result of surrounding circumstances. No friend of humanity can quibble over these, when he reflects upon the mighty impulse that was given to the cause of free government by his many wise and prudent measures.

Having completed his arrangements in England, Penn sailed from Deal on the 30th of the sixth month (then August), on board of the ship "Welcome," Robert Greenaway commander, in company with about one hundred passengers, mostly members of the Society of Friends, the major part of whom were from Sussex. Great distress was experienced during the passage, in consequence of the breaking out of the small-pox, of which loathsome disease thirty of the emigrants died. Otherwise the voyage was prosperous, the vessel arriving at New Castle on October 27, 1682. On the next day, Penn having produced his deeds of feoffment from the Duke of York for the twelve miles surrounding New Castle, and also for the country below, the possession and seisin of the New Castle grant were formally given to him by John Moll and Ephraim Herman, who had been constituted attorneys for that purpose by his Royal Highness. At the same time, a number of the inhabitants signed a pledge of their obedience to the Proprietary. On the same day he commissioned justices for New Castle, and constituted Markham his attorney to receive the possession of the territory below from the attorneys of the Duke.

A letter addressed to Ephraim Herman in respect to summoning a court to be held at New Castle on November 2nd, and dated at Upland on October 29, shows that he had then arrived at his seat of government. He may have arrived the day before. The fancy of the artist has portrayed the landing of Penn at Upland; but neither the hour, the day, nor the manner of his landing, is certainly known.

He landed at Upland, but the place was to bear that familiar name no more for ever. Without reflection, Penn determined that the name of this place should be changed. "Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his

own society, who had accompanied him in the ship 'Welcome,' he said, 'Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I should call this place?' Pearson said 'Chester,' in remembrance of the city from whence he came. William Penn replied that it should be called Chester, and that when he divided the land into counties, one of them should be called by the same name." Thus from a mere whim, the name of the oldest town; the name of the whole settled part of the province; the name that would naturally have a place in the affections of a large majority of the inhabitants of the new province, was effaced, to gratify the caprice or vanity of a friend. All great men occasionally do little things.

Immediately after Penn's arrival, he dispatched messengers to Lord Baltimore, evidently for the purpose of procuring an interview and a settlement of their difficulties. He at the same time went to New York, to "pay his duty" to the Duke, by way of a visit to his government Upon his return he caused three counties to be laid off—Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks. The precise time and manner of making these divisions will probably be ascertained when the record of the doings of Governor Markham and his council is discovered. The lines on either side of Chester county, it will hereafter be seen, were not very definitely fixed for some time.

In pursuance of writs of election sent to the sheriffs of the several counties, elections were held for members of assembly. No list of the members elected has been discovered; the names of several appear in the imperfect minutes of their proceedings.

The first assembly was held at Chester, 4th of 10th mo. (December) 1682, being the second day of the week. The first business was the appointment of a committee on election privileges, consisting of Christopher Taylor for Bucks county; President Moore for Philadelphia, John Simcock for Chester, William Clark for Deal, and Francis Whitwell for Jones. "A committee for Grievance" was also appointed, viz: Griffith Jones, Luke Watson, William Sample, William Yardley, and Thomas Brassey. It was resolved that Ralph Withers "on extraordinary occasions, have leave from this house to be absent to-morrow." Then "the house adjourned to the 10th hour to-morrow."

"About the time appointed, the house sat." "Dr. Moore, president of the Society in Philadelphia," [of Free Traders] it was reported by the committee, "should be preferred as chairman." Then they called to account the sheriff of New Castle for undue electing a member to serve in assembly for that county. John Moll was declared duly elected from New Castle, instead of Abraham Mann.

John Simcock and Christopher Taylor were appointed a committee of "Foresight for the preparation of provincial bills. Then the House proceed further unto four more for the said committee, viz, W^m^ Clark, Nicholas Moore, president, Griffith Jones, and Luke Watson."

"It being moved that an address be sent to the Governor, by four select members, humbly to desire him to honour the house with a transmission of his constitutes; and thereupon appointed Thomas Holmes, surveyor general, Wil-

liam Clarke, Thomas Winn, and Edward Southrin, should go with the aforesaid address, and make a return of his answer in the afternoon." In the afternoon, "the Governor's answer by the four members was: that the constitutions they desired were not ready, but when ready he would immediately send them by one of his servants."

Rules and regulations for the government of the proceedings of the Assembly were adopted, some of which are not found in legislative manuals of the present day. "Offending members were to be reproved for the first offence; for the second reproval and fine of 12d., and so for each offence not to exceed 10s." A resolution was not before the House till "seconded or thirded." Any member presuming to pervert the sense of questions agreed to by the house, was to be "put out of the house." Two members were elected, "to inspect which party carried it by the major votes, on diversity of votes arising in the house." On the question, "whether the house now proceed or not," on a division, the noes go out; if for adjournment, the yeas. None to speak but once before the question is put, nor after but once. Most of the rules adopted are, however, substantially the same as those now used in legislative bodies, though given in the quaint language of the day.

A question propounded by the speaker—"Whether any absolute note of distinction betwixt one officer and another should be concluded on by vote as the carrying a white rod or reed," shows there was some disposition to follow the etiquette of the home government. This question was left in suspense.

A petition was presented "for an act of Union" between the freemen of the three lower counties and those of Pennsylvania. It was delivered by John Moll and Francis Whitwell, in the name of the rest of the freeholders, and "was accepted and approved of by the whole house." The act providing for the "aforesaid Union," after being regularly passed, was carried by the president and Christopher Taylor to the Governor, in order to get "his subscription as an established law."

A petition is presented to the Governor from the Swedes, Finns and Dutch, that he "would be pleased to make them as free as other members of this province, and that their lands may be entailed on them and their heirs forever."

"The printed laws and the written laws or constitutions" were at length brought before the house, and after having been altered or amended, were finally adopted. "The power of the Free Society of Traders was also debated." This ended the second day's proceedings.

"The house met again about half an hour past seven in the morning of the 7th day of the 10th month, 1682." The Governor, assuming the chair, expresses himself in an obliging and religious manner to the house." After having been consulted by the president on "divers material concerns," the Governor "urges upon the house his religious counsel." A debate of some warmth appears to have ensued in respect to the time to which the assembly should adjourn; twenty-one days appears to have been fixed on, at which the members of the lower counties "were in a great strait." Two members were thereupon

appointed to inform the Governor of it, who returned with intelligence that the Governor is willing "that the assembly adjourn for twenty-one days, which was done by order of the speaker." There was probably no meeting held at the end of twenty-one days, or at any other time by this first legislature. There are no minutes of such a meeting, nor laws of that date.

No list of members being given, the names of all the representatives from Chester county cannot be given. The following Chester county names appear incidentally in the minutes:—John Simcock, Thomas Brasey, Ralph Withers, and Thomas Usher. It would appear that the members of the "first Assembly" received no pay for their services. The next assembly did not, however, allow a question of such vital importance to pass by without being "argued."

"The great law, or the body of laws," embracing many sections or separate laws, was passed by the first assembly, besides the act of Union and Naturalization and the Act of Settlement.

All the acts except the last had been prepared and well considered, before being presented to the legislature. This act became necessary on account of the people of the several counties refusing to elect seventy-two members of council, and to assemble in mass to constitute the first assembly, as had been provided for by Penn in his "Frame of Government," and in accordance with the writs that had been issued to the sheriffs of the several counties. This act fixed the number of the council at three from each county, and the assembly at double that number. It also provides for other matters connected with future legislation. It was no doubt prepared at Chester on the occasion, and this fact explains why the Proprietary was not ready for the assembly when they met.

On what was considered the most reliable tradition, it has been universally believed that this assembly held its sittings in an old building which till recently stood on the west side of Filbert street, near the margin of Chester creek, and which was familiarly known as "the old Assembly house." It will be shown in another place that this building was erected several years subsequently to the sitting of the assembly. It is most probable that the first assembly sat in the "House of defence," as it was then the only public building erected in Upland of which we have any account.

Every material particular in respect to the first assembly has been given, because its sittings were held within the territorial limits of what was then Chester, but is now Delaware county. The next assembly under a new election was held at Philadelphia on March 12, following, where it continued to sit, with occasional meetings at New Castle, while the union with the Lower Counties lasted.

The last court for the county of Upland, embracing all the settled parts of Pennsylvania, was held on September 12, 1682. The first court for Chester county met at Chester on February 14, following, but from some cause adjourned till the 27th of that month without transacting any business. At this court there is a marked change in the aspect of things. The name of no Swede remains in the list of justices, and but two are found in the list of

jurors, and the Mr. that had always been appended to the names of the justices, and to that of the clerk and sheriff, is now uniformly omitted.

The form of attestation for jurors, adopted by Penn, is not given in the records of the Chester court. The following is recorded at New Castle, under date of February 22, 1682-3:

"The forme to bee used in ye Roome of ye oath for ye Jury as the same was de livered in Cort by ye Honobl William Penn vizt.

"You Solemnly promis in ye presence of God & this Cort that you will Justly try & deliver in yor verdict in all cases depending, that shall be brought before you during this session of Court according to evidence, and ye laws of this government to ye best of yor understanding."

The justices who held this court—the first for Chester county, as it had recently been established—were John Simcock, president; Thomas Brasey, William Clayton, Robert Wade, and John Boyer; the sheriff was Thomas Usher; the clerk, Thomas Revel. The jurors summoned were "William Rawson, James Browne, Jeremiah Collet, William Hewes, Walter Martin, Nathl Evans, Joshua Hastings, William Woodmanson, Thomas Cobourne, Albert Hendrickson, Joseph Richards, Edward Carter, and Thomas Vernon."

George Thompson appeared before this court to answer the charge of being married to one Merriam Short, "contrary to the laws of the province;" but no one appearing against him, he was discharged. The officiating priest, Lawrence Carolus, did not fare so well. He was bound over to appear at the next court for performing the marriage service for Thompson.

At the next court, "held at Chester for the County of Chester, on the 27th of the 4th month, called June, 1683," "William Penn, Esqr Proprietory and Governor," presided. The names of Otto Ernest Cock and Ralph Withers appear among the justices at this court. Among the grand and petit jurors there was a fair sprinkling of Swedes.

The following singular verdict was rendered at this court: "The jury find for the Plaint: and give him a cow and a calf, the same to be delivered within 7 days or 4£ 19s. 2d. at the choyce of the Plaint: or the value thereof in Porke, Beefe or Corne in the 8th mo: next & 40s. damages & Costs of suit."

It was "ordered by the court that a tax for defraying the public charges be raysed within this county; and in order to the effecting the same with justice and proportion, three of the magistrates of the county are to meet weekly."

"John Ward, for sundry Felons, committed to the custody of the sheriff, and made his escape with irons upon him." From this it may be inferred that at yet there was no building in Chester that would rank as a jail. This Ward had robbed James Sandelandes and George Foreman, whom the court ordered to receive back their goods. The early judicial proceedings of the province would indicate that a number of professional rogues had smuggled themselves over in some of the numerous immigrant vessels that were arriving about this time, or else had made their way here from other provinces.

The following constables were selected at this court: "For Chichester

liberty, Will[m] Hewes; Chester liberty, Thomas Cobourn; Derby liberty, Thomas Worth; Ammersland liberty, Will[m] Cobb; Concord liberty, Jn[o] Mendenhall."

Besides the regular county courts, there was established in each county another tribunal invested with the power of hearing and determining matters in litigation. The persons composing it were termed "Peace Makers," and were appointed by the courts. They possessed about the same power, and occupied the same position as arbitrators of the present day, but they were not appointed with reference to any particular case, and held periodical meetings. The court orders them "to meet the first fourth day in every month."

Among the cares that engrossed the attention of William Penn during his first visit to Pennsylvania, was the purchase of lands from the Indians. The boundaries mentioned in the numerous deeds to him from the Aborigines, are frequently uncertain and overlap each other; and while it cannot be doubted that he was careful to secure titles from the "right owners," it appears to have been his policy to liquidate any other claims that might be set up, and to take deeds from the claimants, rather than to engage in litigation with savages. One of these deeds, that gives us the Indian name of Chester creek, and embraces nearly the whole county east of that stream, commences thus:

"We, SECANE & ICQUOQUEHAN, Indian Schackamakers and right owners of y[e] Lands Lying between Manaiunk als. Schulkill and Macopanackhan, als. Chester River, doe this 14th day of y[e] fifth month, in y[e] year, according to English account, 1683, hereby grannt and sell all o[ur] Right & title in y[e] s[d] Lands Lying between y[e] s[d] Rivers, beginning on y[e] West side of Manaiunk, called Consohocken, & from thence by a Westerly Line to y[e] s[d] River Macopanackhan, unto William Penn Propriet[rs]' * * * &c.

The consideration is the usual quantity of wampum, blankets, duffils, kettles, guns, &c., but no rum, and to the deed are appended the peculiar marks of the grantors.

The next court was held on the 22d of the 6th month "called August." A civil case of vast importance, involving the title of the whole Island of Tinicum, was tried at this court. The case stands on the record: "Arnoldus Delagrange Pltff: Otto Erns[t] Cock——Deft: The Plaintiff sues and declares as Heire Tynnicum Island & premises." It will be remembered that Mrs. Papegoya had sold the Island to a Mr. De La Grange, who, it appears, was the father of this plaintiff. He dying soon after, his widow married Andrew Carr. Against these parties, in the court of assizes of New York, in 1672, Mrs. Papegoya obtained a heavy verdict, and was shortly afterwards put in possession of the Island, which she had sold to Otto Ernest Cock, previous to this date.

Abraham Man acted as attorney for the plaintiff, and John White for the defendant—neither of them being residents of the county. It was admitted that the plaintiff's father was legally possessed of Tinicum, but that ——— amount of purchase money was paid, and that, "the Lady Armgard Prince had tryall and execution thereupon & was put in possession of the same premises, and sold the same to the defendant." On behalf of the plain-

tiff it was set forth "that he the said pltff. (who was heir to the said Island,) at the time of the said Tryall & Execution, was under age and in Holland, and therefore could make no defence; and further that the said Heire (this pltff:) was not mentioned in the said tryall; the action being commenced against Andrew Carre and priscilla his wife, mistaken in the execution for the mother of the pltff: whose mother's name was Margaretta." The parties appear to have entered into an agreement pending the trial, in accordance with which the jury rendered their verdict in favor of the plaintiff, with costs and forty shillings damages; "The Pltf: paying to the Deft. Thirty seven-pounds & Tenne shillings," * * * "also delivering the Block house & peticulars in the same agreement mentioned."

The practice of acknowledging deeds in open court, under Penn's government, commenced with this court.

At the following court, "held on the 17th of the 8th month, called October," 1683, the inhabitants of Providence made their application to the court for a highway leading to the town of Chester. It was accordingly ordered by the court "that the grand jury doe meete on the 22d instant at Thomas Nossiters, there to consider the premises." This is the first time that the name of Providence has appeared as a division of Chester county. The grand jury "was empannelled to look out a convenient highway from Providence to Chester," but their report is not recorded. The name of Robert Eyre appears now for the first time as clerk of the court, in the place of Thomas Revel; and at the following court, held on December 14, Thomas Withers supplies the place of Thomas Usher as sheriff. In a case before this court, in which the plaintiff suffered a non suit, the matter was referred by the court to the "peace makers."

From the circumstance that several of Penn's letters written during the winter of 1683 were dated at Chester, it is believed that he resided at that place nearly up to March 10, when his first council was assembled at Philadelphia. The members of the council being now reduced to three from each county; those from Chester were John Simcock, Ralph Withers and William Clayton. The second assembly was convened at Philadelphia two days afterwards, and continued its session twenty-two days. But little was done at this session specially relating to Chester county except the establishment of a seal, the design of which was a plow. The first charter, which it was found impossible to conform with, in respect to the number of representatives, was, in an amended form, accepted from the Governor, "with the hearty thanks of the whole House."

This year the noted "Chester Mills" were erected on Chester creek, a little above the site of the present manufacturing village of Upland. Richard Townsend, who came over with William Penn, in a letter written in 1727, says, "After some time I set up a mill on Chester creek, which I brought ready framed from London; which served for grinding corn and sawing of boards; and was of great use to us." From this it might be inferred that Richard

Townsend was chiefly instrumental in the erection of these mills, which was not the case, he being only one of ten partners who furnished the means.

The partnership was established by virtue of a verbal agreement in 1682, probably before the partners left England, "for the erection of one or more water mills, by them intended to be built and erected in said Province [of Pennsylvania], and in gears, utensils and implements, proper for such an undertaking, and in all such lands buildings and conveniences as might be necessary to accommodate the same." The whole concern was divided into thirty-two equal parts, of which William Penn "was to have and bear five parts thereof, both in profit and loss;" Philip Ford, 5; John Bellars, 5; Daniel Whorley, 5; Daniel Quare, 2; John Barker, 2; Richard Townsend, 4; John Bickley, 2; Thomas Burberry, 1; and Caleb Pusey, 1. These partners agreed that Caleb Pusey should be agent and manager "of the joint concern," who accordingly, "soon after the first arrival of the Proprietary in the Province, obtained two warrants from him, for taking up lands to set the said mills upon." By virtue of these warrants two parcels of land—one on each side of Chester creek—were surveyed for the use of the mills; the whole containing but twenty acres. "Upon or near" this land, Caleb Pusey, "with the advice of the said Proprietary, and such other of the said partners, as then were in the Province, in the year of our Lord 1683, did at the joint charge of all the said partners, erect a corn mill," &c. These facts are taken from the recital of a deed for the premises, executed in 1705, and no doubt give a correct account of the establishment of what may be regarded as the first mill erected within the borders of Delaware county, unless the Swede's mill stood on the western side of Cobb's creek. When a saw-mill was attached to the Chester mill, is not known. A further account of this early improvement, with the disasters which befell it, will be given in the proper place, as we proceed.

The peculiar population, that in three or four years was to occupy the whole territory now embraced within the limits of our county had, before the close of 1683, gained a very permanent footing at four different points, viz: Chester, Marcus Hook, Darby and Haverford. From these points the new settlements rapidly diverged, and spread over the adjacent townships. At each of these places except Haverford, the first Quaker immigrants sat themselves down in the midst, or in the vicinity of a civilized people. The Welsh, who had in their native land bargained for a separate Barony of 40,000 acres, being excluded from the city liberties, were forced at once to plunge into the wilderness. They first occupied Merion and Haverford in 1682 with a very few settlers. These townships were rapidly filled up by the constant influx of immigrants from Wales, where the spirit of persecution against the Quakers was raging at this period; and from these townships the Welsh settlements soon spread over Radnor and the chief part of Newtown, and after a time extended over Goshen, Tredyffrin, and Uwchlan. But three settlements were made in Haverford in 1682—those of Lewis David, Henry Lewis, and William Howell. The number was largely augmented before the close of 1683.

Nearly all the early immigrants of mature age were Friends from con-

vincement, and many of them had suffered persecution. Under such circumstances it cannot be supposed that their religious meetings were suspended even during their passage, much less after their arrival. But we have no positive evidence that meetings of record were held either by the Friends of Darby or Haverford earlier than 1684.

Although monthly meetings had alternated between Chester and Marcus Hook, First day meeting for worship were not held at the latter place till the early part of 1683. The first appropriation, by Chester Monthly Meeting for the support of their own poor, was made this year. No regular burying-place appears to have been established at Chester till 1683, when, after the appointment of sundry committees, and some delay, a suitable piece of ground was fixed upon, which was ordered "to be fenced about as soon as may be." The ground thus selected continues to be the burying-place of the Society to the present day.

No evidence exists of a meeting for worship being held at Providence earlier than the commencement of 1684, and it is not certainly known at what particular place it was held. The earliest quarterly meeting was held at Chester, the 4th of the 12th mo. (February) 1684.

The minutes of both Haverford and Darby Meetings commence in 1684; the former on the 10th of the 2d mo. (April) and the latter on the 2d of the 5th mo. (July). There is some evidence that the business of a monthly meeting had been transacted at Darby a short time prior to the date of the first regular minute. The early meetings of Darby were held at the house of John Blunston, located nearly in front of the present Friends' meeting house in Darby, and near the mill race.

Three particular meetings were united to form what became, and was for a long time known, as "Haverford Monthly Meeting." These meetings at first were "The Schuylkill," Merion and Haverford; the monthly meeting being held alternately in private houses at each of those places. The first monthly meeting was held at the house of Thomas Duckett, which was located on the west bank of the Schuylkill, a short distance above the present site of Market street bridge.

Suitable burial-places for the dead, unfortunately, were among the earliest necessities of the first English settlers. Accordingly, it is recorded, that "att our monethly meeting held at John Beevan's house at Haverford, the 9th of the 8th moneth [October] 1684, it was ordered as followeth: "This meeting having taken to their consideration the necessity of a burying-place, it was ordered that Thomas Ducket and Barnaby Willcocks for Schoolkill, Hugh Robert and Robert David for Merion, George Painter and William Howell for Haverford, should view and set out convenient places for that purpose, respectively, for the meeting they belong to as aforesaid."

At the next monthly meeting, reports were made that burying-places had been laid out respectively for Haverford and Merion. The sites thus selected, with some enlargements, constitute the burial-grounds attached to these meetings at the present day. There was more difficulty in having the ground laid

out at the Schuylkill; but it was eventually effected, and its site is still marked by a few dilapidated grave-stones, that may be seen on either side of the street that passes under the Pennsylvania railroad, west of the Schuylkill, which was laid out through it. This monthly meeting was attached to the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting at its commencement, and continues so attached to this day.

Chichester Meeting was established as a monthly meeting in 1684, the first monthly meeting being held at Chichester on the 17th of the 1st month, (March). At their fourth meeting, a liberal subscription was made to enable a poor man to build a house.

Christopher Taylor having removed from Bucks county to the island of Tinicum, his age, ability, and learning at once secured him the position of presiding justice of the Chester court. The names of William Wood and John Harding also appear for the first time as justices at the court held in July, 1684. This court, "considering the necessity of defraying the charge of the Court-house and prison att Chester by a public levie, it was ordered that, according to law in that case provided, every man possessed of lands should pay towards the levie after the rate of one shilling for every 100 acres within this county; and every freeman should pay sixpence, being above sixteen years of age and not exceeding sixty; and every artificer not exceeding the aforesaid age of sixty, and above sixteen, 1s. 6d., by the pole, and every servant three-pence; and also non-residents, having land in this county, and not occupying the same, shall pay for every hundred acres after the rate of one shilling sixpence per hundred."

This is the earliest notice of a court-house contained in the Chester court records. In what building did the court sit, from the arrival of Governor Markham up to this time? Is it not most reasonable to conclude that it was in the "House of Defence," or "Country House," spoken of in the Upland court records? This building had been finished and fitted up, "fitt for the court to sitt in," only about seven years previously, and although the records of the court are silent in respect to the building in which its sittings were held, the minutes of the monthly meeting show conclusively, that up to September, 1682, they had been held in an edifice that was well known as "the court house at Chester." This being the case, is not the conclusion almost irresistible, that up to the period of the erection "of the court house and prison," for defraying the expenses of which a levy is now being made, that the court, as well as the "First day" meetings of the Friends, was held in the "House of Defence?" And in the absence of every other kind of evidence but tradition, is it not most reasonable to conclude that the first Assembly also sat in the same building? Additional facts will be presented in their regular order that will corroborate these conclusions.

The appointments by the courts of collectors "to gather the assessments" made for the erection of a court-house and prison, and other appointments made during this year, give a good idea of the progress that had then been made in the settlement of the county, and show the municipal districts into which it had been divided. As collectors, Thomas Worth and Joshua Fearne were

appointed for Darby; Mons. Stacket and William Cobb, "for Amoseland & Calcoone Hook;" Thomas Usher and Jeremy Collet for Chichester; Richard Crosby and Andrew Nelson for Providence; James Kenerly and Randolph Vernon for "Ridley and in the woods;" Richard Crosby and Edward Carter for Chester; Jonathan Hayes and James Stanfield for Marple; John Minall and Thomas King for Concord and Bethel.

For supervisors of the highways, the following appointments were made; "from Naaman's Creeke to Marcus Hook, alias Chichester, Walter Martin; from Chichester Creeke to Chester Creeke, John Childe; from Chester Creeke to Croome Creeke, Robert Taylor." John Hendrickson was appointed for Amoseland and Calcoone Hook, Michael Blunston for Darby, and for Marple, Thomas Person [Pearson].

So numerous had the live stock become that were allowed to range the woods promiscuously, that it became necessary for each farmer to have a particular mark and brand, and the law required that a record of these marks should be made. A goodly number of such records is found in the minutes of the court, and is continued through many years. The following are given as specimens of such records made this year: "George Maris' Cattle marks, a slit in the tip of the near year:—his Brand Mark G. M." "The ear mark of John Blunston of Darby, a crop in the near ear and a hole in the far ear:—his Brand Mark I. B."

At the court held in December, 1684, "Joseph Cookson was presented by Robert Wade for taking a wife contrary to the good and wholesome laws of this Province." He was ordered "to finde security in tenne pounds," but appears not to have been troubled any further about the matter.

The first report of "the Peace Makers" was made to the court this year, though, from its date, the case had been acted on nearly a year previously. It differs but little from an award by arbitrators, except that one half of the amount awarded was to be paid "in good and merchantable wheate and rye att the common market price on this river."

The acknowledgment of deeds, as has been mentioned, was now made in open court, and the practice was continued until the number acknowledged at a single court became a large item of business. The following is a specimen from the minutes of the September court of this year: "Arnoldus Delagrange past over a deed in open Court unto Christopher Taylor for the Island commonly known by the name of Mattinnaconk, bearing date the 2d day of the 12th month, 1684." At the same time, "Christopher Taylor, President, did, in open Court, deliver over a penal bond of performance for four hundred pounds at or upon the 1st day of November, 1685." Persons charged with the higher grades of crime were not tried by the county courts. The imaginary crime of Witchcraft was in those days placed among the most heinous; and hence it was that the celebrated Pennsylvania witch trial took place before Governor Penn and his council, sitting as a Superior Court at Philadelphia. The parties, who, in that case, were the victims of this most stupid of all superstitions, resided near the month of Crum creek, were in good circumstances,

and for aught that is known to the contrary, were quite as respectable as their accusers. The following is the record of the trial copied from the published minutes of the council, "held at Philadelphia y^e^ 27^th^ of the 12^th^ month, 1683." [February, 1684.]

"Margaret Matson's Indictm^t^ was read, and she pleads not Guilty, and will be tryed by the Country."

"Lasse Cock attested Interpriter between the Prop^or^ and the Prisoner at the Barr."

"The Petty Jury Impanneled; their names are as followed:—Jno. Hasting, foreman, Albertus Hendrickson, Robt. Piles, Robt. Wade, Nath. Evans, Edwd. Carter, W^m^. Hewes, Jer: Collet, Jno. Kinsman, Jno. Gibbons, Walter Martin, Edw^d^. Bezar."

"Henry Drystreet, attested, saith he was tould 20 years ago, that the Prisoner at the Barr was a Witch, and that several cows were bewitcht by her; also that James Saunderling's mother tould him that she bewitcht her cow, but afterwards said it was a mistake, and that her cow should doe well againe, for it was not her cow but another Persons that should dye."

"Charles Ashcom, attested, saith that Anthony's Wife being asked why she sould her cattle; was because her mother had Bewitcht them, having taken the Witchcraft of Hendrick's Cattle, and put it on their oxen; she myght keep but noe other Cattle, and also that one night the Daughter of y^e^ Prisoner called him up hastely, and when he came she sayed there was a great Light but just before, and an old woman with a knife in her hand at y^e^ Bedd's feet, and therefore she cryed out and desired Jno. Symcock to take away his Calves, or Else she would send them to Hell."

"James Claypool attested interpritor betwixt the Prop^r^ and the Prisoner."

"The affidavid of Jno. Vanculin read, Charles Ashcom being a witness to it."

"Annakey Coolin, attested, saith her husband tooke the Heart of a Calf that Dyed, as they thought, by Witchtcraft, and Boyld it, whereupon the Prisoner at y^e^ Barr came in and asked them what they were doing; they said boyling of flesh; she said they had better they had Boyled the Bones, with several other unseemly Expressions."

"Margaret Mattson saith that she values not Drystreet's evidence; but if Sanderlin's mother had come, she would have answered her; also denyeth Charles Ashcoms attestation at her soul, and saith, where is my daughter; let her come and say so."

"Annakey Cooling's attestation about the Gees, saying she was never out of her Conoo, and also that she never said any such things concerning the calve's heart."

"Jno. Cock attested, sayth he knows nothing of the matter."

"Tho: Baldings attestation was read, and Tho: Bracy attested, saith it is a true copy."

"The prisoner denyeth all things, and saith that y^e^ Witnesses speake only by hear say."

"After w^ch^ y^e^ Gov^r^ gave the Jury their Charge concerning y^e^ Prisoner at y^e^ Barr."

"The Jury went forth, and upon their Returne Brought her in Guilty of having the Common fame of a Witch, but not Guilty in manner and forme as she Shee Stands Indicted."

"Neels Matson and Antho. Neelson enters into Recognizance of fifty pounds a piece for the good behaviour of Margaret Matson for six months."

It is to be regretted that the charge given by the Governor has not been preserved, as it may fairly be presumed that it was upon his suggestions that the jury based their very righteous, but rather ridiculous verdict.

The following is a copy of the return made by the Sheriff of the election held by him for Chester County in 1684, with the omission of the recital of his warrant, &c.:

"I have accordingly made my Summons of the freeholders who hath made Choise of those persons following for the service aforesd by which I thus make my return: for the provencial Concel william wade [Wood] in ye room of Ralph withers; william Claiton for one year; for Assembly John Blunston georg maries Joshua Hasting, Robert wade Henry matukes Thomas usher.

"I Heare Declare that they was Lafully Chosen and may freely Appear to make up an Assembly according to Charter in witness whereunto I sett my hand and seale the 10th 3mo 1684.

"Th. Withers."

Having established a Provincial Court, a commission for the sale and transfer of lands, and having also conferred the executive power of the Province upon the Council, with Thomas Lloyd as its president, Governor Penn sailed for England, on the 12th of the 6th month (August) 1684, very much to the regret of many of the inhabitants, and arrived in England early in October. His difficulty with Lord Baltimore was the cause of his early return to his native country.

On February 6, following (1685), King Charles the Second died and was succeeded by his brother James, the Duke of York and Albany, who, on the same day, was proclaimed King under the title of James II. This information was communicated by William Penn in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, who on May 11, laid the same before the council. On the day following a formal proclamation was published by that body.

As yet, the boundary line between Chester and Philadelphia counties had not been permanently established. This matter was accomplished by the following resolution of the council, adopted May 1st, 1685, in pursuance of certain verbal directions left by the Proprietary.

"Whereas, the Governor in presence of John Symcock and Wm Wood, was pleased to say & Grant That ye bounds of the Countys of Chester & Philadelphia should be as followed, viz:

"That the bounds should begin at the Mill Creek and slopeing to ye Welsh Township, and thence to Schoolekill, &c. in obedience thereto and confirmation thereof.

"The Councill having seriously Weyed & Considered the same, have & doe hereby Agree and order that ye bounds betwixt the said Countys shall be thus; That is to say:

"The County of Chester to begin at ye Mouth or Entrance of Bough Creek, upon Delaware River, being the Upper end of Tenecum Island, and soe up that Creek, deviding the said Island from ye Land of Andros Boone & company; from thence along the several courses thereof to a Large Creeke Called Mill Creek; from thence up the several courses of the said creek to a W: S: W: Line, which Line devided the Liberty Lands of Philadelphia from Severall Tracts of Land belonging to the Welsh & other Inhabitance; and from thence E: N: E: by a line of Marked Trees, 120 perches more or less; from thence N: N: W: by the harford [Haverford] Township 1000 perches more or less: from thence E: N. E: by ye Land belonging to Jno: Humphreis 110 perches more or less; from thence N: N: W: by ye Land of Jno: Ekley, 880 perches more or less; from Thence Continuing the ye said Course to the Scoolkill River, wch sd Scoolkill River afterwards to be the natural bounds."

This line continues to be the eastern boundary of Delaware county to the north line of Haverford. The resolution of the council makes the next course

run easterly instead of westerly, and is probably a mistake, as Radnor township never extended further easterly than it now does.

In consequence of Christopher Taylor removing from Bucks county to Tinicum, there were four members of the council from Chester county, viz: Christopher Taylor, John Simcock, William Wood and Nicholas Newlin.

Charles Ashcom had held the office of deputy surveyor for Chester county under the surveyor-general, Thomas Holme, but the complaints against him were so numerous, and a misunderstanding having arisen between him and Holme, the council were obliged to issue an order prohibiting him from surveying any more lands in Chester county.

At a meeting of the Council, held on the 22d of the 7th month (September), 1685, information was received from Captain Lasse Cock that the Indians were willing to dispose of their lands between Upland and Appoquinomy. Thomas Holme, John Simcock, and the secretary (William Markham), or any two of them, were accordingly deputed to make the purchase. The result was a deed from about a dozen Indian kings and sachemakers, with unpronounceable names, executed on October 2nd, for "all the lands from Quing Quingus, called Duck creek, unto Upland called Chester creek, all along by the west side of the Dalaware river and So betweene the Said Creeks Backwards as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse." The consideration did not vary much from what was usual in such cases, except that it included forty tomahawks. This grant, with the one that has already been noticed, extinguished the Indian title to the whole of Delaware county.

Notwithstanding these sales of their lands, the Indians had no idea of yielding up the possession before they were required for actual occupation and culture by the whites. They roamed through the forest as freely as ever, and were, sometimes, rather troublesome to the border settlers. This year "the Complaint of y^{e} friends, Inhabitants of Concord and Hertford [Haverford] against the Indians, for y^{e} Rapine and Destructions of their Hoggs," was laid before the council. Other inhabitants of the Welsh Tract, besides those of Haverford, joined in the complaint; but what action was taken by the council to abate the evil, further than to send for "y^{e} respective Indian kings, with all speed," to appear before them, is not known.

In the proceedings of the Chester court for this year, several orders are made in respect to the new court house and prison. The collectors of the levy for their erection are to "be considered, for their time and paines, twelve pence in the pound;" Joseph Humphrey and Thomas Norberry are appointed collectors of the levy for Newtown, which now makes its first appearance as a township; Darby township is to pay Lassie Dalbo, or his assigns, "seven pounds two shillings & six pence out of the assessment for the court house & prison, if they see they can soe doe with safety;" and William Dalbo, "so much as he can make appear to be due for his work done on the court house and prison," out of the levies raised for that purpose in said township. Nor was the building to be exclusively occupied for judicial purposes and the incarceration of criminals. Its location, convenient to Chester creek, gave it

commercial advantages that were not overlooked in its construction. Hence it was ordered by the court, "that all people that shall make use of the court house for Sellerage of any Goods, shall for every Tonne pay after the rate of three shillings four pence a Tonne, for any time not exceeding a week; and for what time it shall continue afterwards, halfe soe much."

There was another levy ordered this year, partly, no doubt, on account of the new court-house and prison. This assessment imposed a tax of 2s. 6d. per 100 acres on lands belonging to residents, and 3s. on that of non-residents; on free male inhabitants, from 16 years of age to 60, a poll tax of 2s. 6d., and upon servants 1s. 3d. The collectors were authorized to receive this tax in good merchantable Indian corn at the rate of 2s. 8d. per bushel; wheat at 4s. 6d., and rye at 3s. 6d. Before the collection was made these prices were raised to 5s. per bushel for wheat, 4s. for rye, and 3s. for corn.

A practice had now become general for constables, and sometimes for supervisors, at the expiration of their official terms, to come into court, report "all was well," and receive their discharge. The following is given as a specimen of the usual minute made in such cases: "Samuel Bradshaw, Constable for the last year for Darby, made his returne, 'all was well,' whereupon Edmund Cartelidge was elected to serve and attested for the ensuing year."

Jeremy Collett held the office of sheriff this year. Robert Eyre was continued as clerk. The office of "peace makers" was held by Caleb Pusey, Randall Vernon and Walter Faucit. Their sittings had become such a regular business that it was known as "the monthly court."

Heretofore the usual punishment inflicted by the Court for criminal offences had been the imposition of a fine; imprisonment was out of the question, for want of a jail. This desideratum being now supplied, a reasonable hope might have been entertained that our Quaker justices would have been satisfied with the incarceration of the violators of the law. But imprisonment was an expensive mode of punishment that the early settlers, most of whom were in straitened circumstances, could not have borne. Hence the law of necessity prevailed over the pleadings of humanity; and we find our county court, for the first time, resorting to corporal punishment, just as they had been provided with the means of carrying into effect the more mild and humane sentence of imprisonment. The first sentence directing the infliction of corporal punishment was passed by the February court of this year, and what is remarkable, the place of its execution was not at the seat of justice. With the omission of the name, the following is the sentence pronounced: "——— ———, being convicted of stealing money out of the house of William Browne, was ordered twelve stripes on his bear backe, well laide on att the Common Whipping post at Chichester, the 4th Instant, between the 10th and 11th hours in the morning."

In the next case both modes of punishment are resorted to, being the first sentence of imprisonment: "——— ———, being lawfully convicted for abusing and menacing the magistracy of this county, was ordered twenty-one

lashes att the publick whipping post on his beare backe, well laid on, and 14 days imprisonment at hard labour in the house of Correction."

This sentence very clearly illustrates the ideas prevalent at this time, of the necessity that existed for maintaining the independence and dignity of the judiciary. Evidence of this feeling pervades the court records, from those of the Upland court, for more than half a century. At the same time another person "was fined, for his contempt of the court, 40s., in not appearing when lawfully summoned, and for abusing the officers of the court."

At the October court of this year it was "ordered that the township of Chichester extend its bounds as formerly laid out by Charles Ashcom, untill further order."

A sufficient number of Welsh Friends had now made settlements in Radnor to establish an independent meeting for worship in that township, the name of David Meridith, being the first that appears in the Haverford records as belonging to that particular meeting. The early meetings of Radnor were held at the houses of John Jerman and John Evans; the first marriage in Radnor being solemnized at the dwelling of the latter on the 2d of the 3d month, (May,) 1686, between Richard Ormes, of Philadelphia, and Mary Tyder, of Radnor. Notwithstanding the line had been run between Philadelphia and Chester counties, leaving Haverford and Radnor in the latter, the Welsh settlers of those townships had no idea of being separated from their Welsh friends of Merion, and still insisted on being included within the limits of Philadelphia county. Being attached to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, the Haverford Monthly Meeting contributed towards the erection of the Centre Square meeting-house, now being erected. The amounts subscribed by the several meetings will indicate the extent of the settlements at this time in the vicinity of each: Radnor contributed £1 7s. 6d.; Haverford contributed £6; Merion contributed £6.

From the south-western corner of the county the settlements had extended up into the country as far as Birmingham, at the commencement of this year. At the close of last year (1685) James Browne conveyed two acres of land to trustees for the use "of the people of God called Quakers in the township of Chichester." On this land, without much delay, it was agreed to build a meeting-house, and some time afterwards, to fence in a grave-yard. This is the site of the present Chichester meeting-house and burial-ground. The first subscription amounted to £36 4s., and was contributed by twenty-six persons. Up to this time the monthly meetings appear to have been held at Marcus Hook, (Chichester,) but in October, 1686, a monthly meeting, for the first time, was held at Concord, and for some years afterwards, the place of holding it was varied, but it was generally at private houses—at Edward Bezer's, in Bethel; at William Brainton's, (Brinton's,) in Birmingham; at John Kinsman's, in Chichester; at Robert Piles', in Bethel; at John Harding's, in Chichester, &c.

John Symcock was re-elected a member of council from Chester county for three years, and Francis Harrison to serve in the place of William Wood,

now deceased. David Lloyd, who appears to have just arrived in the country, presented to the council his commission from the Governor as attorney-general of the Province, dated the 24th of the 2d month (April,) 1686, and was duly qualified into office.

Our staid settlers were rarely much affected by events that were transpiring in England, but the affair of the Duke of Monmouth was too serious a matter to pass entirely unnoticed. The following order of the court is evidence that the justices were willing at least to make a show of their loyalty after the unfortunate result of the Duke's foray into England was known: "Ordered that the Sheriff take into custody the body of David Lewis upon suspition of Treason, as also the body of Robert Cloud for concealing the same, for that he the said Robert Cloud being attested before this Court, declared that upon the 3rd day of the weeke before Christmas last att the house of George Foreman, the said David Lewis did declare in his hearing that he was accused for being concerned with the Duke of Monmouth in the West Country." They were both bound over to appear at the next Provincial court.

A spirit of improvement now begins to show itself. Orders are issued by the court for the erection of two bridges—one "to Albertus Hendrickson, supervisor of the highways belonging to Chester, to forthwith erect a horse bridge in such a place as the grand jury have already laid it out"—the other "to Bartholomew Coppeck, supervisor of the highways for Croome creek, to forthwith erect a bridge in the Kings road over said Croome creek." Besides determining upon the sites of the aforesaid two bridges, the grand jury laid out and made "return of a highway from Bethel to Chichester (Marcus Hook) sixty foote broad." The return is given as a specimen of the manner in which roads were laid out in these very early times:

"Beginning at the side of Concord toward the river, on the street or Highway of Concord, first through the land of John Gibbons, his house on the right side—then through the land of Robert Southry late deceased, his house on the left side; thence through Robert Pile's land, his house on the right hand—then through Joseph Bushell's land, his house on the left hand—Then through Francis Smith's land—Then through Thomas Garrett's land, his house on the right hand—Thence through Francis Harrison's and Jacob Chandler's land down the point to a small branch of Naaman's Creek—Thence up the hill to the first inclosed field of Francis Harrison, the field on the left hand; then through James Brown's land, thence down to another branch of Naaman's Creek, through Walter Marten's land up to the point, his house on the right hand—Thence through Jeremy Collets land bearing toward the left hand, his house standing on the left hand—from thence to the lands of Chichester, beginning att the head of a small swamp, on the left hand—thence down Crosse the King's road or Highway towards the foot of the Hill, to a lyne tree marked with 5 notches,—thence downe to the river's side, the lyne between James Brown & William Clayton Jr."

At the following court, the inhabitants of Bethel and Concord presented a paper signifying "their good-liking of the road lately laid out by the jury to Chichester." Up to the present time a road has been continued over nearly the same ground.

Fence viewers, two for each township or district, are for the first time ap-

pointed this year. Also a lawyer, for the first time, appears in a criminal case, and "pleads as attorney to the King." This officer was Charles Pickering, who no doubt held his appointment under David Lloyd, who had been recently commissioned attorney general. This first legal effort on behalf of the Crown, though not successful in establishing the guilt of the prisoner, did not fail to mystify the case sufficiently to induce the jury to couple with their verdict of acquittal, that he was "guilty of suspicious circumstances in relation to the indictment;" upon which he was bound over to appear at the next court.

The very recently erected court-house and prison, it may be judged, from the following minute in respect to the sale of them, did not give satisfaction:

"The Court, in behalf of the county, have bargained and sold unto Robert Wade, his heirs and assigns, the court house and prison att Chester; upon consideration whereof the said Wade doe oblige himself, his heirs Executors & assigns to defray all charges which are already due from the first erecting said houses; provided, that from the day of the date hereof to the full end and term of two years and a half, the said Robert Wade shall have liberty to reimburst what moneys he have alread received of the levie raised in this county towards the purchase and building of said houses. Upon all which this Court engage to make the said Wade a firm and sure title to said houses and to give him lawful & quiet possession." "At the same time, James Saunderlaine for himself his heirs and assigns doe promise this Court a Convenient peese of Land in the town of Chester where they may erect a Court house and Prison, and to make a firm title to the same, to the proper use and behoof of this County."

The first court under the name of a Court of Equity for Chester county, was held this year. It was held by the justices of the common pleas, under the title of commissioners, as will be seen by the following extract from the record: "Att a Court of Equity held att Chester the 5th day in the 1st week of the 10th month 1686. Commissioners present:—John Blunstone, John Simcocke, George Maris, Bartholomew Coppock, Samuel Levis, Robert Wade, Robert Pile.—Robert Eyre Clerk." Only two causes were tried.

The municipal divisions of the settled parts of the county had not as yet been definitely fixed, and some appear to have been recognized by the court that never had any established boundary, and only a very temporary existence. Up to the close of 1686, officers had been appointed for the following places: Chester, Chichester, Providence, Amosland, Darby, Bethel, Concord, Springfield, Marple, Newtown, Birmingham, Northby, and Gilead.

Chichester included both townships of that name, and so of Providence and Darby—Calcon Hook having been added to the latter township this year. Northby included the whole or part of Aston, and Gilead was probably in Edgmont. During the following year, 1687, Ridley, Middletown, Aston, Thornbury, and Edgmont are recognized by the court as townships, and supplied by appointment with one or more officers.

Grand juries, which, for two or three years after the establishment of Penn's government, were hardly regarded as a necessity in the administration of justice, had now assumed an importance scarcely equaled by the court it-

self. Both public wants and the neglect of official duties were promptly brought to the notice of the court, while evil doers could scarcely hope to escape their scrutinizing vigilance. But holding office during the whole year, this vigilance, after a time, degenerated, in each grand juror, into a kind of Quaker Puritanical surveillance, and subjected to the exposure of judicial investigation every slight departure from strict moral rectitude. Many matters were presented that had better been rectified by the kind offices of the friends of the party; or the evils that resulted from their exposure, been allowed to pass into oblivion unnoticed. If there was anything to make the practice tolerable, it was the impartiality with which it was exercised; the justices of the court and even grand jurors themselves were sometimes the subjects of these presentments.

At the first court in this year, the township of Chester was presented "for not finding and making a foot Bridge over the mill creek (Chester Creek), in the Kings Highway hard by William Woodmancies." At the same court, Caleb Pusey "Petitioned against Thomas Coborne for setting a water mill above him upon Upland creek." But the court, "considering the premises, and finding it to be for the common good, dispenseth therewith." The propriety of erecting this mill was not wholly left to the decision of our county court. The petition of "about three score people inhabitants of Chester county" was presented to the Provincial Council, "setting forth the great want of a Mill in their parts, and requesting a permission for Thomas Coebourne to goe forward with y^{e} building, and setting up his mill on Chester Creek." Whereupon the Council express a willingness "to give incouragement to y^{e} Procedure of Thomas Cobourne in the finishing of his mill that he is now about, for y^{e} urgent necessity of y^{e} contrey, Reserving to y^{e} Gov^{r} his Proprietary Ship." This mill, it is supposed, occupied the site of what is now "Dutton's Mill."

At the June court, the want of a bridge over Chester creek, on the King's road, is again presented by the grand jury; the same want for Ridley and Crum creeks is also presented. Quite a number of persons were presented and fined for being drunk, and some for suffering others to be drunk in their houses; for selling liquor to the Indians, or for keeping an Ordinary without license. In one "liquor trial," the terms "Punch and Tife" are used by a witness as names for drinks then in use. Drunkenness appears to have been a growing evil, and, as at the present day, much of the time of the court was occupied with cases connected with the illegal sale or immoderate use of liquor. The following is among the presentments of the grand jury this year: "The Grand Jury doe also present Anne Neales, Widow, for keeping and harbouring doggs that worries and kills her neighbours Hoggs; as alsoe for deteining in her service one Indian boy Chato, who with the said dogg, have been found to worry & kill the neighbours hogs as aforesaid." Anne was fined 10s., although she denied the ownership of the vicious dog; and Andrew Friend became bound "to the King and Governor in 20£ for the Indian boy Cato's good [behaviour] towards all the Kings Leidge people."

The rapid spread of population over the whole extent of territory now in-

cluded within our county, created a necessity for highways. Hence we find the grand jury much engaged in this and the following year in laying out roads. A road was laid out from Birmingham to Concord, from thence to the bridge near Chester mill, and from thence to Chester. This road passed "the Hamlet of Bethell." Another road was laid out "from Edgmont to the Kings High way in Chester, being a sixty foote road;" another "from Newtown, Marple & Springfield to the landing at Amosland," and also one from Darby to Haverford. This last road was laid out "by the Grand Jury and other neighbours," under an order from the court "that the township of Darby finde out a convenient High way from thence to the township of Hartford."

Neither was the Provincial Council neglectful in providing our early settlers with highways. "Upon y^e^ Reading y^e^ petition of y^e^ Inhabitants of Radnor, Complayning y.^t^ part of y^e^ road y^t^ leades to the ferry of Philadelphia is fenced in, & more likely to be, it was Ord^ed^ y^t^ John Bevan, Henry Lewis, David Meridith, John Evans, Barnabas Wilcox & Tho. Ducket, meet within fourteen days, to view or agree upon as conveniently as may be, a Road from y^e^ Place aforesaid to y^e^ ferry, and y^e^ Like Convenient road from Darby to y^e^ ferry aforesaid, by y^e^ said Barnabas Willcox, Tho. Ducket, with John Blunston & Joshua fearne, by y^e^ time aforesaid, and to return y^e^ same &c."

The early records that have been examined in the preparation of this work, establish the fact that the wolves congregated very much in the vicinity of the settlements—that they were more numerous in the neighborhood of the Delaware after considerable settlements had been made, than when the country was first visited by the Dutch and Swedes. This is accounted for by the introduction of domestic animals, which furnished an easy prey for these voracious creatures. Their depredations had become so alarming, that this year it became necessary to order a levy for their destruction, as well as "other hurtful vermine." The rate of this levy was one shilling per 100 acres upon occupied, and eighteen pence upon unoccupied lands, and a poll tax of one shilling upon freemen between the ages of 16 years and 60, and sixpence upon servants of the same age.

The court, from time to time, has transacted business proper for an Orphans' Court, but the first court under that name was held "att Chester on the 3^rd^ day, in the 1^st^ weeke, of the 8^th^ month [October] 1687."

John Bristow was this year elected to the Provincial Council from Chester county, in the room of Francis Harrison. The executive power of the provincial government was now vested in five commissioners of state, any three of whom could act as deputy or lieutenant governor. The first to act in this capacity were Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, Arthur Cook, John Simcock and John Eckley.

A history of Delaware county would be incomplete without some account of what, in ancient times, was familiarly known as "The Welsh Tract." This intended Barony had its origin in the desire of the Welsh purchasers of Pennsylvania lands to be seated together, and in a promise exacted from Penn be-

fore leaving Wales, that this desire should be gratified. The survey of the Welsh Tract was authorized by the following warrant from the Proprietary:

"Whereas divers considerable persons among ye Welsh Friends have requested me yt all ye Lands Purchased of me by those of North Wales and South Wales, together with ye adjacent counties to ym, as Haverfordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, about fourty thousand acres, may be layd out contiguously as one Braony, alledging yt ye number allready come and suddenly to come, are such as will be capable of planting ye same much wthin ye proportion allowed by ye custom of ye country, & so not lye in large and useless vacancies. And because I am inclined and determined to agree and favour ym wth any reasonable Conveniency & priviledge: I do hereby charge thee & strictly require thee to lay out ye sd tract of Land in as uniform a manner, as conveniently may be, upon ye West side of Skoolkill river, running three miles upon ye same, & two miles backward, & then extend ye parallell wth ye river six miles and to run westwardly so far as till ye sd quantity of land be Compleately surveyed unto ym.—Given at Pennsbury, ye 13th 1st mo. 1684."

WILL: PENN."

"To Tho: Holmes, Surveyor-General."

In pursuance of this warrant, the surveyor-general, on the 4th of the 2d month (April), 1684, issued an order to his deputy, David Powell, and after reciting it he directs him "to survey and sett out unto the said purchasers the said quantity of land, there, in manner as before expressed, and in method of townshipps lately appointed by the Governor att five thousand acres for a townshipp and to be directed (for placing the villages of each township and division of the purchasors) by Thomas Lloyd Master of the Rolls who is principally concerned therein, unto whose care and prudence is recommended the ordering and managing of this affair to the content and satisfaction of the said purchasors and make me a true return of the original field work and protracted figures, as well as the distinct quantity of each purchasor, &c."

The survey was probably made before the end of 1684. Soon after encroachments were made by others within its limits, and particularly by Charles Ashchom, a very troublesome deputy surveyor. In consequence thereof the Welsh inhabitants petitioned to the Proprietary's deputies against these intrusions, who after they had "well weighed the mater, truly considered the case, and rightly understanding the Governors intention in granting the warrant," issued their mandate on the 25th day of the 5th month (July), 1687, forbidding such intrusions, and making void what had been done within the prescribed limits, which are given as follows:—"Beginning att the Schoolkill, thence running W. S. W. by the City liberties 2256 perches to Darby Creek. Thence following up the several courses thereof to New Towne Line, Thence up the said line N. N. W. 448 perches, Thence S. S. W. and by W. by New Towne, 988 perches, to a corner post by Crumb Creek, Thence down the several courses thereof 460 perches, Thence W. and by S. by a line of trees 1920 perches, Thence E. and by N. by a line of trees, 3040 perches, Thence E. and by S. 1120 perches, Thence S. S. E. 256 perches, Thence E. N. E. 640 perches, Thence S. S. E. 1204 perches, Thence E. N. E. 668 perches to the Schoolkill, Thence down the several courses thereof to the place of beginning."—The

only draft of the Welsh tract that has been found in the surveyor-general's office does not entirely agree with this survey.

The Welsh settlers not only contemplated having their settlements together, but expected to constitute one municipal district, in order that they might manage their affairs in their own way. They certainly had grounds for this expectation; and consequently when the division line was run between Philadelphia and Chester counties, through the Welsh tract, and separating the Welsh settlements of Radnor and Haverford from those of Merion, it gave rise to much dissatisfaction, which will be noticed hereafter.

The Monthly Meeting of Chester was this year removed to the house of Walter Faucet of Ridley, who had been recently authorized by the council to keep an ordinary. It would seem strange at this day to hold a religious meeting at a public house, but at that time and under the circumstances there was a real necessity for it. A number of the persons who attended this meeting resided at the distance of ten miles. Entertainment for themselves and horses was necessary, but from their numbers, to receive it without compensation, would have been oppressive.

The settlements about Darby increased very rapidly, and the settlers being all Quakers, it became inconvenient to hold their meetings any longer at a private house. This year John Blunston, at whose house the meetings had been held, acknowledged a deed in open court "for one acre of land in the township of Darby, to build a meeting-house thereon, to the use of the said township for ever, to exercise the true worship of God therein." The meeting-house was erected during the following year (1688). Its site was doubtless on the hill within the grounds now occupied as a graveyard. The minutes are silent as to character of the structure, except one, which records an agreement to have it "lined within." It was doubtless built of logs. The first marriage accomplished within it, was that of John Marshall to Sarah Smith, in February, 1689. Though built in 1688, it was not finished till the next year. At a monthly meeting held in October, 1689, it was "ordered that all belonging to y^{e} meeting, shall come every one a day, to worke at y^{e} meeting house, and that four come a day till all the work be done."

In 1687 it was agreed by the Chester Monthly Meeting "that Bartholmew Coppock, James Kennerly, Randal Vernon, and Caleb Pusey, do agree and contract with such workmen or men, as they shall think fit, to build a meeting house at Chester, 24 foot square and 10 foot high in the walls."

On March 1st, 1688, Urin Keen conveyed in trust to John Simcox, Thomas Brasey, John Bristow, Caleb Pusey, Randal Vernon, Thomas Vernon, Joshua Hastings, Mordecai Maddock, Thomas Martin, Richard Few, Walter Faucet, and Edward Carter, a lot in Chester, "beginning at said Urin's lot or Garding, and so running, 60 foot along and fronting the street towards the prison house, thence down the lower edge in Chester creek—thence along the creek 60 foot—thence to the place of beginning * * * to the use and behoof of the said Chester—the people of God called Quakers & their successors forever." It might be inferred that a new meeting-house was built about this

time, and upon the lot of ground thus conveyed. It will be seen, however, as we proceed, that the erection of the meeting-house was postponed for some time.

The evil resulting from the use of intoxicating drinks, being most striking among the Indians, the sale of it to them first claimed the attention of Friends. A strong testimony against the practice, was about this time received from the yearly meeting. The approval of this paper was attested by the signatures of the principal male members of the Chester Monthly Meeting to the number of seventy-six. This array of witnesses does not only show the magnitude of the evil as it existed among them, but it gives some idea of the extent to which the settlements had progressed at this early period. Seventeen persons give their approval of the same testimony on behalf of Chichester and Concord Monthly Meeting.

A portion of the minutes of Haverford Meeting, at about this period, being lost, the date of the erection of the first meeting-house at that place cannot be precisely ascertained. There are however undoubted facts to show that it was erected in 1688 or 1689. The first marriage solemnized at "Haverford Meeting House," was that of Lewis David to Florence Jones, at a meeting held 1st mo. (March) 20th, 1690.

The justices of the court were in the practice of holding what they termed "Petty Sessions," at other places than the seat of justice. Thus in the proceedings of the regular sessions it is recorded that "Richard Buffington was called to the bar to answer his contempt of an order of Petty Sessions, held on the 27th of the 10th month last at George Foremans'—Remitted, paying his fees." George Foreman lived at Marcus Hook.

It was ordered by the court "that Upper and Nether Providence and Ridley, doe for this time repair the Bridge in the King's road near Walter Fawsetts', upon Croome Creeke." The King's road, running from Philadelphia to the lower counties, was located higher up than at present. It crossed Ridley creek near Shoemakerville, and Chester creek above Upland. It was laid out, (if laid out at all,) so as to head the tide in the several creeks. Providence has heretofore constituted but one township.

On the 2nd of the 8th month, the grand jury report that they "doe lay out a street and a landing upon the creek to the corner soe far as over against the North West Corner of the court house fifty foote in breadth and from thence up to the said Chester towne for a street thirty foote in Breadthe."

One of the presentments of the grand jury was ——— ——— of Concord "for traveling on the first day of the week, being the 21st of the 8th month in the year 1688, with a yoke of oxen and a wayne, and a horse or mare before them." They likewise presented "the road between George Willards fence and Jonathan Hayes for being not passable; likewise the mill way to Darby creek, to be cut both in the township of Marple." This refers to the earliest erected mill on Cobb's creek, known as "Haverford Mill." The grand jury of this year fully maintain the character of that tribunal in these times for vigilance and diligence. Besides what has been mentioned, and a

variety of other presentments, all the roads formerly laid out were reviewed by them, without being more definitely located, or having their routes materially changed. A new road was also laid out from Thornbury to Middletown.

Notwithstanding the kind feelings that had been cultivated between the natives and the English settlers, the latter were not entirely free from apprehensions of danger. This is shown by a great alarm that prevailed this year, which was caused by two Indian women of New Jersey, communicating to an old Dutch inhabitant near Chester, the report of an intended insurrection of the Indians, which was to happen on the next fourth day of the week. Several influential Friends, being sensible that no reasonable cause for such an attack could exist, endeavored to appease the people. But the apprehension of danger, as is usual, increased the evidence of its existence. About 10 o'clock on the night preceding the dreaded day, a messenger arrived at Chester, out of the woods, and told the people that three families, about nine miles distant, were all cut off by the Indians. A Friend, then at Chester with two young men, about midnight proceeded to the reported scene of the outrage. They found empty houses, but no evidence of murder; their occupants under the prevailing alarm, having fled to the houses of their parents at Ridley creek. The master of one of these families, being from home, had been informed that five hundred Indians were actually collected at Naaman's creek in pursuit of their design to kill the English. So much was he alarmed, that as he was approaching his house, he imagined he heard his boy crying out "What shall I do, my Dame is Killed." Instead therefore of going to his house, he ran off to acquaint the government at Philadelphia, but was persuaded to return. The report, however, soon reached the city, when a messenger was immediately dispatched to Marcus Hook to inquire into the truth of it. He quickly returned with a confirmation of the report in a varied form—the 500 Indians were at an Indian town on the Brandywine; and having a lame king, they had carried him off together with all their women and children. The Council were sitting in Philadelphia, when one of them, who lived in Chester county, voluntarily offered himself to go to the Indian encampment, provided five others were named to accompany him; and to proceed without weapons. This being agreed upon, the party rode to the place designated; but instead of meeting with 500 warriors, they found the old King quietly lying with his lame foot on the ground, and his head on a pillow—the women at work and the children at play. When informed of their mission, the old man was displeased, and said the Indian women who raised the report ought to be burnt to death; adding that the Indians had nothing against the English, but at the same time reminded the men, that about £15 was still due on the land that had been purchased from them; which the messengers assured him should be paid. Thus terminated the most serious Indian trouble that ever befell the European inhabitants of the land now embraced within the limits of Delaware county.

At the earnest solicitation of Thomas Lloyd to be released from the cares of government, that worthy gentleman, with his associated commissioners,

was this year superseded by the appointment, by William Penn, of John Blackwell as his lieutenant governor.

Besides the Indian conveyances that have already been noticed, there was still another executed, in 1685, for all the lands "lying between Macopanackan als. Upland, now called Chester river or creek, and the river or creek of Pemapecka, now called Dublin creek, Beginning at the hill called Conshohockin, on the River Manaiunck or Skoolkill, from thence extends in a parallel line to the said Macopanackan als. Chester creek, by a South-Westerly course, and from the said Conshohocken hill to y^{e} aforesaid Pemapecka, als. Dublin creek so far as the creek extends, and so from thence North westerly back into y^{e} Woods, to make up Two full Daies journey as far as a man can go in two dayes from the said station of y^{e} s^{d} paralell line at Pemapecka, also beginning at the said paralell Macopanackan, als. Chester creek, and so from thence up the said creek as far as it extends; and from thence North Westerly back into the Woods to make up Two full Dayes Journey, as far as a man can go in two dayes from the s^{d} station of the s^{d} paralell line at y^{e} s^{d} Macopanackan als. Chester creek."

Some delay occurred before arrangements were made for ascertaining the western boundary of the above strangely described purchase; but when made, it will be seen by the following letter and annexed diagram, that it was not without ample preparations for obtaining the greatest possible distance out of the "two full Daies Journey:"

"Philadelphia." "To my very louing friends, Shakhoppoh, Secanning, Malebore, Tangoras, Indian Kings, and to Maskecasho, Wawarim, Tenoughan, Terrecka, Nessonhaikin, Indian Sakemakers, and the rest concerned."

"Whereas I have purchased and bought of you, the Indian Kings and Sackamakies for the use of Governor William Penn all yo^{r} land from Pemapecka Creek to Upland Creek and so backward to the Chesapeak Bay and Susquehanna Two days Journey, that is to say as far as a man can go in two days, as under the hands and seals of you the said Kings may appear and to the end I may have a certain knowledge of the lands backward, and that I may be enabled and be provided against the time for Running the said two days Journey, I do hereby appoint and authorize my louing friend Benjamin Chambers of Philadelphia, with a convenient number of men to assist him, to mark out a Westerly line from Philadelphia to Susquehannah, that the said line may be prepared and made ready for going the said two days Journey backward hereafter, when notice is given to you the said kings or some of you at the time of going the said line, and I do hereby desire and require in the name of our said Goven^{r} Penn that none of you said kings, Sakamakies or any other Indians whatsoever that haue formerly been concerned in the said tracts of land, do presume to offer any interruption or Hindrance in making out this said line, but rather I expect yo^{r} furtherance and assistance, if occasion be herein, and that you will be kind and loving to my said friend Benjamin Chambers and his company for which I shall on the Govern^{rs} behalf, be kind and loving to you hereafter as occasion may require.

Witness my hand and seal this 7th day of the 5th mo. called July, being the fourth year of the reign of our great King of England &c. and 8th year of our Proprietary William Penn's government. THOS HOLME."

This document is certified by Jacob Taylor, as being "a true copy from the

original." The diagram, which is without date, was probably made from a survey executed this year, and in pursuance of the foregoing notice. It shows that the line run passed directly through this county, the dwellings of four well-known early immigrants being marked on it within the limits of Delaware county.

Bartholomew Coppock was elected a member of the Provincial Council this year.

Towards the close of the year 1688, Governor Blackwell issued a new commission to the justices and sheriffs of the several counties. Those of Chester county had continued to act under their old commissions, which coming to the ears of his Excellency as he passed through Chester, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the next meeting of council to reprimand John Simcock, John Bristow and Bartholomew Coppock, Jr., who were justices of the court as well as members of council. After debating the matter "it was thought advisable and agreed that a General Sessions should be called," specially for the purpose of making proclamation of the new commissions of the justices of Chester county. This took place on the 19th of the 1st mo., (March) 1689, when the commissions constituting John Simcock, John Bristow, Bartholomew Coppock, Jr., John Blunston, George Maris, Francis Harrison and Nicholas Newlin, justices, and Joshua Fearn, sheriff, were read and published in due form.

Notwithstanding the line run in 1685 between Philadelphia and Chester counties put Haverford and Radnor in the latter county, the Welsh inhabitants of those townships refused to recognize the validity of the division. This led some of the justices and other inhabitants of Chester county to petition the Governor and Council on the subject. In their "Humble petition," they represent the county as "a small tract of Land, not above nine miles square and but thinly seated, whereby y^{e} said county is not able to Support the Charge thereof," and after reciting the division line run in 1685, ask that it may be confirmed, so that "the County of Chester may be in some measure able to defray their necessary Charge."

Nothing could be produced as authority from Penn for establishing the line, except verbal statements made to different persons shortly before he returned to England. The Governor required the persons to whom these statements had been made, to put them in writing; which being done, and Holme's map examined, the Governor and a majority of the Council expressed opinions adverse to the pretensions of the Welsh inhabitants. It was asserted that the Welsh had also "denyed themselves to be any part of the county of Philadelphia, by refusing to bear any share of the charges, or to serve in the office of jury's, and the like as to y^{e} County of Chester;—that the pretence thereof was they were a distinct Barrony, w^{ch} though they might be, yet that several Barronys might be in one and y^{e} same County."

Upon the application of Thomas Lloyd for a hearing, the subject was postponed till the next day, when he, in conjuction with John Eckley, appeared on behalf of the Welsh, but not being provided with anything but ver-

bal testimony, that Penn had intended the Welsh Tract as a Barony or County Palatine, as was contended by Thomas Lloyd, the decision of the Governor and Council was a confirmation of the original line. It is a remarkable circumstance that Penn's warrant for laying out the Welsh Tract, already given, was not adduced in this controversy, as it certainly recognizes the idea of a Barony.

Notwithstanding the decision of the Governor and Council, our Welshmen were not yet ready to yield the point. In an election for a member of Council and six assemblymen for Philadelphia county, fifty or sixty persons of the townships of Haverford and Radnor gave their votes by ballot with the freemen of the said county. The Governor and Council having decided that these townships were in Chester county, they "resolved y^{t} y^{e} Election of Jo^{n} Eckley (the member returned) was not a good Election according to y^{e} Charter;" whereupon a writ was issued for another election. In this election the freemen refused to vote by ballot, but *viva voce,* confirmed the election of John Eckley, unanimously. Some of the discussion that ensued in Council upon the validity of this procedure is given, as it explains the manner in which elections were conducted by our ancestors in these primitive times. After several members had expressed themselves satisfied with the return, "the Governor say^{d}: The former Election has been already determined not to be a good Election, and therefore that cannot be insisted upon."

"John Curtis say: I think it was a very fayre Election. In other places we are generally chosen by the Vote: and I think where they are unanymous, there needs no controversy." "The balloting box is not used in any other place but this county. We are elected by vote." "Griff. Jones answered, That was a mistake, for it is used at upland & all the Lower Countyes, by black and white beanes, put into a hatt, w^{ch} is a balloting in his sense, & canot be denyed by the Charter when it is demanded."

What a contrast between this simple mode of exercising the elective franchise by means of "black and white beanes," and the scrutinizing and expensive method that the dishonesty of politicians and the scramble for office have forced us to adopt in these latter days.

The Welsh troubles are now transferred from the Council Chamber to the court at Chester. The court made an order appointing John Jerman constable for Radnor, and John Lewis for Hartfort, [Haverford,] but these gentlemen did not come forward to be qualified into office. At the following court it was "ordered that warrants of Contempt be directed to the Sheriff to apprehend the bodys of John Lewis and John Jerman for their contempt in not entering into their respective offices of Constable (viz) John Lewis for Hartfort, and John Jerman for Radnor, when thereunto required by this Court." David Lawrence had been returned as a grand juror from Haverford, but, refusing to attend, was presented by that body and fined 10s. They also "do present the want of the inhabitants of the townships of Radnor and Hartfort and the inhabitants adjacent, they not being brought in to Join with us in the Levies and other public services of this county."

At the June court of this year the commission of William Howell, of Haverford as a justice, was read and published, and "he did afterwards subscribe to the solemn declaration, prepared by the 57th Chapter of the great law of this province;" at the same court William Jenkins, of Haverford, served as a juror, and at the December court John Jerman was attested constable for Radnor. This is the first official recognition by any of the inhabitants of these townships, that they were subject to the jurisdiction of Chester county. They seem to have given up the idea of a Barony, and with as good a grace as possible, submitted to the authority they were unable any longer to resist. By the close of the year, these townships were supplied with a full set of township officers, being the first appointed within their limits.

The King's road between Namaan's creek and Chichester creek, "not being cleared of logs," became a subject of presentment by the grand jury; also "the want of a foot bridge over the mill creek between this county and Philadelphia, it being the King's road."

In their watchfulness over the interests of the county the want of a proper accountability on the part of disbursing officers, did not escape the notice of the grand jury. In a presentment they ask for an account in detail—showing payments on account of the court-house and prison, the poor, wolves' heads, councilmen's fees, &c. The clerk is presented for extortion, and they likewise present "as a general grievance of this county, the want of a standard to try both dry measure and liquid measure," for they say "some are too big and others are something too little." They recommend the "Winchester measure."

New modes of punishment for crime are constantly introduced: T—— L——, a servant, for counterfeiting pieces of eight, is sentenced, "to stand at the public place of correction at the town of Chester, two several court days, 3 hours each day, with a paper of his crimes, written in capital letters affixed upon his breast." This punishment became what was known as "Standing in the Pillory." This is the first instance of its infliction, and that name is not applied to it in early times.

It was at the August court of this year that the appointment of a jury of women was made. It is the only instance found in the record. The infliction of corporal punishment had become very general in cases of *crim. con.* When pregnancy had ensued the punishment was delayed; and it was to decide a question of doubt in a particular case that the female jury was empaneled. "They make their return that they cannot find she is, neither be they sure she is not." The result showed that the punishment was properly delayed.

The freedom of speech was very much restricted in these early times. Prosecutions for slandering the officers of the Provincial government or the justices of the court were of frequent occurrence. In most instances the criminal expressions were nothing more than the wild ravings of drunkenness, or the boastful expressions of weak men who sought notoriety. For "speaking or uttering slanderous and dishonorable words against the life, person, and a government of the chief Proprietary, William Penn, as also against the life and person of this present Governor, John Blackwell, Esq.," the defendant upon

his own confession was fined £5. "For defaming John Simcock, one of the people's representatives in the Council, in the words that he was drunk at the last court at Chester, the party was bound to his good behaviour, & was to set up a paper of what his crime was."

At the June court of this year, the grand jury laid out a landing place and open street for the service of the county as follows: "beginning at the Northwesterly corner of the court house to low water mark, by Chester Creek and so of the same breadth by the said creek down to the Delaware River to low water mark, thence and also from the first mentioned corner of the Court house a public street 30 foot wide through Chester town."

Appraisements of the effects of decedents were made to the orphans' court. The names of some articles included in the inventories, sound strangely to us of this day, and the value put on others is equally remarkable. Thus, 1 doz. trenches is valued at 1s; 4 quaifs at 2s; 7 petticoats at £3; one pair of stays & two green aprons, at £2 10s, and a cow and calf at £1 10, &c.

Previous to 1689 the records of the Chester court furnish no instance of imprisonment as a punishment for crime for a period longer than a few weeks. This year there was a sentence for a year's imprisonment, in addition to corporal punishment.

John Simcock was re-elected to Council from Chester county, and the name of George Foreman appears as sheriff. William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen in 1689.

Probably nine-tenths of the population of the county were at this time members of the Society of Friends, and their plan of accomplishing marriages had become so common that it came to be looked upon with favor by persons not in membership, who indeed, sometimes asked and obtained permission to be joined in marriage in that way. Chester Monthly Meetings had permitted a marriage where one of the parties to it, "owned himself to be none of us, yet was willing to submit to the order of Friends." In Haverford Meeting, marriages of persons not members appear to have been allowed, as a matter of course, but in Chichester and Concord it appears from the following extract from the minutes of their meeting, that such parties were subjected to rather an embarassing examination previous to permission being granted to proceed. It was proposed by Friends to the young man and woman:

"1st Whether he did believe that was the truth which we professed, and walked in according to our measure—further showing that if we did not walk in the truth according to our measure given to us, we were but a community of men and women and not a Church of Christ—and then marriage would be as well by the law of the Province as among us; and your coming to us to propose your intentions of marriage and desiring our consent is as we are a church, which we cannot be without we walk in truth—Therefore whether thou dost believe that is the truth we profess, to walk in? His answer was yes he did believe it. Also the young woman was asked the same, Her answer was, I do believe it."

"2nd Whether you do believe that this way of marriage among friends is according to the order of Truth?"

"3rd Whether you do believe it is your duty thus to proceed? they both answered—yes."

"Friends said as Paul to the Church of the Romans—Chap. 14-1—Him that is weak in the faith receive you, but not to doubtful disputations."

"Whereupon friends left them to proceed according to the good order of truth, they having their parents consent thereunto."

However much the people of England were benefited by the accession of William and Mary to the throne, to Penn the change was the source of great trouble, serious disappointments, and, no doubt, of pecuniary loss. From having been the friend and favorite of the deposed monarch, James II., he came to be a suspected person under the new government; and, without having committed any offence, he was subjected to all the inconveniences that suspicion brought upon its victims at this period of alarm and distrust. He was arrested, held to bail, examined, discharged, re-arrested and imprisoned; and eventually driven into retirement. But his private interests suffered most; and particularly in having his matured arrangements for returning to Pennsylvania frustrated. His interests here had been greatly neglected, especially in the collection of quit-rents. As a consequence, more stringent instructions for their collection became necessary.

The too rigid enforcement of these instructions gave rise to dissatisfaction, which, in some instances, was not without reason. This was particularly the case in the Welsh Tract, where the commissioners insisted that the purchasers within its limits should pay the quit-rent on the whole 40,000 acres because it had been surveyed, or that others than Welshmen should be allowed to take up lands within the bounds of the Tract. The excuse offered by the commissioners for this stretch of their power, was the great damage the Proprietary had sustained from the want of seating and improving the Welsh Tract, and "the loss and hindrance to the well seating and strengthening the province." These allegations were destitute of truth, for up to this period the legitimate settlements within the Welsh Tract had progressed as rapidly as in other directions; and notwithstanding the commissioners, upon the refusal of the Welshmen to pay quit-rent on the whole Tract, granted patents to others within its bounds, the immigration from Wales was sufficiently rapid to substantially settle the whole territory allotted to them by Penn, as early as the adjoining districts were peopled.

The pathetic appeal made by Griffith Owen and other inhabitants of the Welsh Tract against the unwarrantable proceedings of the commissioners is worthy of particular notice, as it fully explains the peculiar kind of community our Welsh ancestors had hoped to establish in the land of their adoption. They say:

"Wee, the Inhabitants of the Welsh Tract, in the Province of Pennª, in America, being descended of the Antient Britains, who always in the land of our Nativity, under the Crown of England, have enjoyed that liberty and priviledge as to have our bounds and limits by ourselves, within the which all causes, Quarrells, crimes & titles were tryed & wholly determined by officers, magistrates [and] Juries of our own language,

which were our equals. Having our faces towards these countries, made the motion to our Gov: that we might enjoy the same here, w^ch^ thing was soon granted by him before he or we were come to these parts."

They then recite the fact of the grant and survey of the 40,000 acres, upon which they say there were already near four score settlements, besides "several scores of their men servants who were very desirous to have out their head land," and that some of their friends had been here awhile, and had returned for their families, friends and relations, &c.; "and now," they say, "to deprive these of their lands & Libertys which they depend upon when coming here, (& that in their absence,) we look upon it to be very unkind Dealing, like to Ruin many Families, as also a subtell undermining to shutt that Door against our Nation, which the Lord had opened for them to come to these Countreys, for we can declare with an open face to God and man that we desired to be by ourselves for no other End or purpose, but that we might live together as a Civill Society to endeavour to deside all Controversies and debates amongst ourselves in Gospel order, and not to entangle ourselves with Laws in an unknown Tongue, as also to preserve our Language, that we might ever keep Correspondence with our friends in the land of our nativity. Therefore our request is that you be tender not only of violating the Governor's promise to us, but also of being instrumentall of depriving us of the things which were the chief motives and inducements to bring us here," &c.

The commissioners having prejudged the case, their answer was of course not satisfactory, and the land within the Welsh Tract was thrown open for settlement to others besides the descendants of the "Ancient Britains," but the number who embraced the opportunity was not large.

John Blunston having declined to serve any longer as a member of Council from Chester county, William Howell was elected to serve in his stead. What is remarkable in the return of this election is, that it is signed by all the freeholders who voted, the number being 29.

Upon the petition of David Lloyd, "a road or street was laid out from his plantation to Chester creeke to the public landing place," as follows: "Chester, this 4^th^ of the 4^th^ month 1690.—We the Grand Inquest do lay out a street 30 feet wide, the one half of this public street to be on one side the line dividing betwixt David Lloyd's and the Green L. C. one half on David Lloyd's Land, the other half on the Green's side, note that this street begins at the public landing place at Chester Creek, and ending at the further side of Joseph Richards his lot near David Lloyd's house; note also, that if any part of the 15 foot on David Lloyd his side, which is laid out for the street, it must so remain."

The street thus laid out is now known in the borough of Chester as Filbert street, and we are thereby enabled with great precision to locate "the Green," a plot of ground well known at this period, and for some time afterwards, by that name. This Green was church land, and was no doubt secured by the Swedes in anticipation of the erection of a church at Upland. It is included in a patent for a larger tract granted to "Rev. Laurenty Caroly minis-

ter to the Swedes," April 8th, 1669. This patent includes the whole river front from Upland Kill to "Prissers Kill," and is referred to as "the minister's land," in a patent granted to Jurian Kene on the 4th of August of the previous year. "The Green" does not appear to have had any definite bounds till the 11th of the 7th month, (September,) 1684, when, upon a warrant of survey, a plot of nearly five acres in the form of a parallelogram, extending 12 perches along the east side of Upland Creek, and 65 perches along the river, was surveyed and laid out "unto Swedes in Upland township." It will be seen, hereafter, how this Church Glebe came to be appropriated to secular uses.

John Hoskins was presented by the grand jury for trespassing "upon the county's land belonging to the prison house in Chester." "James Sanderlands being called and examined about the above said land, declareth that he did give all that land on which the prison now standeth between the street and the creek at the first beginning of this government, for to build a prison upon."

This year Thomas Person [Pearson] and Peter Worrall were appointed "fence viewers," and as a consequence of this step in the road of improvement, John Thomas of Marple was presented by the grand jury "for keeping unlawful fences, and disturbing his neighbor's cattle." "Bethel Hamlet" is also presented "for not repairing the bridge in said Hamlet."

The Kings road crossing Chester creek at the head of tide, there was no public road extending directly from Chester to Chichester (Marcus Hook). With the view of rendering the intercourse between the inhabitants of those places less difficult, the grand jury laid out "a foot way six foot wide from Chester creek over against the common landing place . . . unto Chichester creek."

"A deed of foefment was delivered in open court by Thomas Powell unto Peter Taylor and Randall Maylin in the behalf of several others for a parcel of land lying in Upper Providence, for the use of a burying place, bearing date the second day of the seventh month 1690." This acre now constitutes Sandy Bank grave-yard.

No one can examine these early records of Chester county court without discovering that there had been an increase in the higher grades of crime. Persons of bad character had smuggled themselves into the Province with the early settlers, or had been banished from the neighboring counties or Provinces. With this increase of crime, more severe and more revolting punishments were resorted to. Whipping with "39 lashes well laid on his bare back at the cart's tail," was the sentence of a servant man in Chichester for stealing fourteen dressed deer skins; and, in addition, he was directed to be sold for eight years for his fine, costs, and to repay the losses occasioned by a former larceny. Banishment for collusion with a horse thief, and a forfeiture of one-half of the defendant's estate, in addition to one year's imprisonment, for adultery, were also among the sentences of this year.

At the September court, the name of Joshua Fearne appears both as a justice and as clerk of the court.

The disputes between Governor Blackwell and his Council were so fre-

quent that Penn was obliged to make a change in the executive department of the government. The executive duties now devolved on the Council, with Thomas Lloyd as president. This change rendered a new appointment of justices in the several counties necessary. The following persons were appointed for Chester county; John Bristow, John Beaven, John Blunston, Nich. Newlin ffrancis Harrison, Sam[ll]. Levis, James Sanderling, W[m]. Howell, Jo[s]. ffearne.

It was resolved and ordered by the council this year, "that each county shall hencefforward Elect or give their Suffrages according to Charter, viz.: by y[e] ballat." This mode of election has ever since prevailed in Pennsylvania.

The Friends' Monthly Meeting of Chester, now composed of the four particular meetings of Providence, Middletown, Springfield, and Chester, became more earnest in respect to the erection of a meeting-house on the lot that had been purchased for that purpose. A committee for each meeting was appointed to collect the necessary funds, and in the commencement of the following year it was agreed, "that John Bristow and Caleb Pusey do forthwith agree with and employ workmen in the building the meeting house at Chester, (with stone) on the place that was formerly bought for that purpose, the situation of which, as also the manner of building the same, is left to their own discretion, and that this meeting do defray the charge of the same, so that it exceed not above one hundred pounds, and that there be one convenient chimney at the least, and that the said John Bristow and Caleb Pusey do give account of what they have done."

The Welsh inhabitants of Haverford and Radnor have, at length, fully submitted to being annexed to Chester county. The names of several from those townships appear as jurors, and that of William Jenkins, of Haverford, as a justice of the court.

David Lloyd appeared on behalf of the recusant Welshmen, and assured the court "that they were willing to pay according to their proportions from the time they have been legally in this county; and after some debate it was agreed and acknowledged by David Lloyd, that the Welsh who are reputed to be within the bounds of Chester county, shall contribute towards paying the tax, the same being assessed and levied upon them as upon the inhabitants of Chester County according to due proportion & priority of residence and settlement, the inhabitants of the County of Chester indemnifying them the said Welsh from paying in Philadelphia and be at the charge of altering the patents and deeds which mention Philadelphia instead of Chester County; provided that such their contribution to the said tax shall not be prejudicial or made use of to debar them of any privileges the Proprietor is or shall be willing and capable to grant or confirm unto them." Thus ended the Welsh difficulty; and although the result was not in the end really prejudicial to the inhabitants of the two townships, it was certainly in violation of a solemn promise made to many of them before leaving their native country. The Welsh people, though placed in two municipal districts, in each of which they were greatly in the minority, did not for a long time lose their distinctive characteristics. The Welsh language prevailed for many years; and if tradition is to be relied up-

on, there were many Welsh Quakers who could not understand William Penn when he preached at Haverford meeting in 1700-1.

The strict impartiality with which the grand juries acted has been mentioned. As an instance of this impartiality, Caleb Pusey was foreman of the grand jury this year, and yet we find his name included in the following presentment: "We the Grand Jury present, Richard Parker, Caleb Pusey, George Foreman, James Sandilands, John Hoskins & Roger Jackson, for selling Beer &c. without license contrary to law."

The following presentment contains the first intimation of the existence in the county of the instrument of punishment to which it refers: "We [the grand jury] also present Edward Eglinton for breaking the Stocks in the town of Chester, and unlawfully letting out a prisoner against the Peace of the King & Queen &c." It will be seen hereafter that stocks were established at other places besides Chester. Punishment by means of the stocks was mostly for petty offences, and was inflicted by authority of a magistrate or chief Burgess of the village in which they were "set up." This punishment rarely forms any part of a sentence of the court.

The very temporary character of the prison erected since the establishment of Penn's government, a period of about ten years, may be judged of from the action now taken by the court in respect to the erection of a new one.

"The want of a prison having been presented by the Grand jury it was this Court (Oct. 1691) debated concerning the building of a new prison and work house for felons; and it was agreed by the Court that one should be builded, eighteen foot and twenty-six foot, all builded of stone, and John Bristow and James Sandilands are intrusted and impowered by the court as near as they can to complete the charges and make return of the same at the next County Court." It will be seen that this order of Court was not carried into effect.

Heretofore, it has been the practice for the justices of the court to hold an orphans' court at specified times, when the other courts were not in session. The present mode of proceeding is now initiated, with the exception that when the court turns its attention from other business to that properly cognizable by the orphans' court, the record informs us that "An Orphans' Court was called." This tribunal was also charged with various duties, that would be rather onerous upon orphans' courts of the present day. The inventories and accounts of executors and administrators were brought into court for personal examination by the justices, and, as "father of the poor," they put out apprentices. An instance occurs this year in which two minors, a boy and a girl, were put out till they were twenty-two years of age.

Making base coin appears to have been a common offence during the early settlement of the Province. At the last court of this year, ——— ——— of Haverford, was presented, not only for making base pieces of coin, but "for making stamps for others."

A road had been laid out from Marple to Chester. In 1691 the grand jury extended this road from a point not very distant from Rhoads' tan-yard in

Marple to a point near Radnor meeting-house. As nearly as can now be ascertained, the route of this road passed along the present Springfield road to the road that passes the Drove tavern; thence by the Presbyterian meeting-house to Darby creek, through a valley, the jury says, "called the dry hollow." The road then occupied the bed of the present direct road to the meeting-house; the route does not appear to have been varied in the least on account of hills. The grand jury also laid out a road, "from the King's road in Darby township to the landing place at Calcin Hook."

In 1691 the three lower counties were separated from the Province, much to the regret of the Proprietary. He appears, however, to have yielded his assent to the separation, by commissioning Thomas Lloyd as governor of the latter, and William Markham of the former.

As serious as has been the disagreements between those with whom the government had been entrusted, and which brought about its division, the elements of discord of a still more serious character, had gained a footing in the religious society to which a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the province were attached. This doctrinal feud was introduced into the Society of Friends by the teachings of George Keith, a man of ability and education, who had been an eminent minister amongst them. The Quakers of this county, always alive to every thing that affected the interest of the Society, took an active part in the controversy, and though many took sides with Keith, there was no division that resulted in the establishment of separate meetings within our limits.

In June, 1692, a meeting of Public Friends, in Philadelphia, issued the famous Testimony against George Keith, which was confirmed by the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, held in September. This document was signed by George Maris, Joshua Fearne, John Simcock, John Blunston and Walter Fawcet, ministers of the Society residing in Chester county. Previous to the time of issuing this testimony, no notice appears in the minutes of any of the Monthly Meetings of Chester county on the subject of the controversy.

Friends now begin to give their attention to the subject of schools. At a monthly meeting, held at Darby the 7th of the 7th mo. (September), it was agreed, "that Benjamin Clift is to teach scoole, Beginge ye 12th of ye 7th mo: and to continue one whole yeare, except 2 weekes." The annual salary of this worthy teacher, as appears by an agreement for employing him another year, was but £12. He probably boarded with his employers.

Up to this time the supervisors of the highways were appointed by the court, when the justices ordered "that every respective township within this county, for the future, from time to time, shall within themselves appoint supervisors and fence viewers, and make returns of the same to the county court from time to time." Our justices did not hesitate to legislate a little, occasionally, in these early times.

It was not uncommon for the court to notice abusive words spoken against any of its members. This practice was in accordance with the spirit of the times, but was evidently unattended by any beneficial results. A case,

such as the following, could hardly be allowed to pass unnoticed at the present time: "J——— M——— was called to the bar to answer a presentment of the Grand Jury, for abusing John Bristow and John Simcock, two of the King and Queen's Justices of the peace, in calling them a pack of Rogues, and the Jury was called & the said M——— did then, in open Court, affirm that the said partys was two of the greatest rogues that ever came to America. Whereupon the Court gave judgment that he pay a fine of five pounds & Costs of suit, &c. The said M——— was also fined 5s. for swearing."

From the following proceedings, in respect to laying out a road in Chester, it may be inferred that a public Dial was set up in that town. Upon petition of James Lownes and others, the grand jury was authorized "to lay out a road to the Dyall post straitway to the road for the convenience of both town and country." This road was laid out and returned as follows: "Beginning at the Dyall post and so running south 22 degrees West to low water mark; then beginning again at the Dyall post aforesaid thence running North 22 degrees East up the King's road, which said road or street is to contain thirty foot in breadth, and the said Dyall post is to be the western bounds thereof."

The same grand jury, at the same court, made what they are pleased to term, "a return of a road to Thornbury." Being brief, the "return" is given as another specimen of the manner these early road viewers performed their duties: "Beginning at a marked tree by Edward Carters, which was marked by a former Grand Jury, and so along a line of marked trees to John Baldwin's fence, and then by John's consent over a corner thereof through a corner of his field and so along to a black oak, being a corner of John Nield's land, and from thence down to John Nields field and by his consent over a corner thereof, and so through the creek, and up the hill, by Gilbert William's Barn."

The order for the erection of a new jail and work-house, made by the court in 1691, does not appear to have been enforced, and the grand jury again presents the want of such a building. The court having considered this action of the grand inquest, "agreed forthwith to build a prison," and did "order John Simcock & John Bristow to take care for the building of the same; and that the sheriff take care to levie the fines due to the public in order to defray the charges of the prison."

The following order for a levy, made at the January court of the following year, will show that the sheriff had not been very successful in the collection of "fines due the public." "Whereas the Grand jury have taken into consideration, the necessity of a prison, and the defraying of the charge of the county, have unanymously agreed to lay a levie for defraying the said charges as followeth, viz: Upon every male white and black from 16 years to 60, 3s. ——— every 100 acres belonging to persons resident, 3s.—and upon every 100 acres belonging to persons non-resident, 4s. 6d.; and the Court considering of it agreed to the same, and doth order that forthwith warrants be issued out of the levie, the same in every township, by the respective constables, one moiety to be paid, at or before the next County Court; and the other moiety, at or before the first of the 9th month following; and the constables shall [hold] a

town's meeting to make assessment for levying the same; and when account is taken of Males and Lands, to return a duplicate of the same to Chester or Darby, when we will be at both places, for the ease of the country, Justices met to receive the same, upon the 13th day of the 12th mo. next." This is the first instance in levying a poll tax, where no distinction has been made between freemen and servants.

It might be supposed that the prompt erection of the new jail was now a matter of certainty, but it does not appear that the above levy was ever made; owing, it is probable, to the desperate condition of the affairs of the Proprietary; for it was about this time that the King and Queen took the government of the Province out of his hands, and commissioned Benjamin Fletcher, the Governor of New York, to be captain general of Pennsylvania and the territories annexed. Be this as it may, a minute of the December court of this year shows that another levy was authorized for the erection of the new prison. It is in these words: "The Grand Jury presented the want of a prison in the county, and they have given in their judgment, that one hundred and fifty pounds will defray the charge—the order of the Court is that there shall be a levy forthwith for the raising of the sum for the defraying of the said charge."

At a Court of Petty Sessions, held at the house of John Hodgkins at Chester, early in the next year, an assessment was authorized for raising £150 for defraying the charge of the new jail, "at the true value of two pence per pound upon the real and personal estates of all the inhabitants of this county, seasable by the first act of the new laws—all freemen 6s. per head." This is the first *ad valorem* assessment made within our limits.

It was the custom for the grand jury, whose duties were about to expire, to meet and make their presentments of every presentable matter that had come to their knowledge since the adjournment of the previous court. After naming the justices present, sheriff and clerk, the minutes of each court, at this period, proceed thus: "After proclamation made and silence commanded, by the King & Queen's authority, and in the Proprietary's name, the Grand Jury was called over, and appeared and gave in their presentments and was discharged; and a new Grand Jury returned by the Sheriff was empannelled." A less number composed a grand jury then than at the present day—usually about fifteen.

Some idea may be formed of the mischievously inquisitorial character of Chester county grand juries at this period, from the fact that at one court two newly-married couples were made the subjects of presentment because a child was born, in each case, too soon after marriage. In one case, besides the court charges and a fine of 20s., both parties were sentenced "to attend at the common whipping post, and for the officer to declare their offence to the people;" while in the other case the fine was 50s., but the woman only was subjected to public exposure. This was more wantonly cruel than was inflicted in the former case, and consisted in standing at the common whipping post for one quarter of an hour with a paper on her breast, thus: "I here stand for an ex-

ample to all others for committing the most wicked & notorious sin of fornication."

Presentments by the grand jury of such cases as the above could have no beneficial result, but their watchfulness when directed to matters that concerned the public was often productive of much good, especially when seconded by the court. A bridge over Ridley creek having been several times presented, the court this year imposed a fine of £5 each on the supervisors of Chester and Ridley for their neglect to repair it. Such cases were not unfrequent.

While the courts at this period, and for many years afterwards, did not hesitate to sentence a freeman to be sold into servitude for a period of years, in order to liquidate a fine or some other dues, they were extremely vigilant in guarding servants against oppression by their masters. Upon the complaint of a servant that he had served out his time and had been turned off "without clothes fitting for a servant to have," the court ordered his master to "pay him" a hat, coat, waistcoat, breeches, drawers, stockings and shoes, all new, and also ten bushels of wheat or fourteen bushels of corn, two hoes and one axe. This kind of complaint was very common, and was denominated a claim "for the custom of the country." Justice Jonathan Hayes constantly interposes his dissent to the allowance of this "custom."

There was another duty the court had to perform in respect to children about being bound out to service. This duty consisted in determining their ages, and the time they should serve. This was termed "Judging" them. At the October court of this year "the boys that Mauris Trent brought into the country were called up to be judged." There were eight of these boys, and they were probably negroes. They were ordered to serve their respective masters till they arrived at the age of 21 years.

The grand jury laid out the following roads in 1693, viz: One from the townships of Upper Providence and Edgmont "to the limestone;" one from Newtown to Haverford Mill; one from Thornbury towards Chester, and they reported adversely to one application for a road, which is the first adverse report on the record.

Upon the petition of the inhabitants of Radnor to the Lieutenant Governor and Council "requesting a road to be laid outt from the upper part of the s^{d} township of Radnor unto marion ford," a warrant was directed by the Lieutenant Governor to lay out the same.

Upon petition of the inhabitants of Chester county to the Governor and Council, setting forth that they had long suffered for want of a division line between that county and New Castle, it was resolved, "that for the present convenience of the government and not for an absolute and final proprietarie division, (but that the inhabitants on the borders of both counties may know to which of the two to pay their levies, taxes, &c., and perform their countie services,) the bounds of New Castle Countie shall extend Northward to the mouth of Naaman's creek, and upwards along the S. W. side of the norther-

most branch, (excluding the townshipps of Concord & Bethell) and not to extend backwards of the northermost branch above the s^{d} townshipps."

It is a source of regret that the minutes of Haverford Monthly Meeting from the 5th mo. (July,) 1686, to the 5th mo., 1693, are wanting, because that meeting was more particular than any other in noting matters that would form interesting items for a local history. During this period, the meeting at the Schuylkill has ceased to be connected with this monthly meeting, but the register of marriages, still preserved, shows that the connection continued till 1688. The Haverford Monthly Meeting is now composed of the three preparative meetings of Merion, Haverford and Radnor.

It has been seen that the Welsh people, of which these meetings were almost wholly composed, refused till 1690 to attach themselves to any district in which municipal government had been established; claiming a promise from the Proprietary, that they should form a separate community, with a view of deciding all controversies and debates amongst themselves in their own language and "in Gospel order." The monthly meeting was doubtless the tribunal that regulated the secular as well as the spiritual affairs of our Welsh ancestors for seven or eight years after their first settlement; nor did they wholly entrust their civil matters to the officers of the law for some time after they had submitted to a division of the Welsh Tract between the counties of Philadelphia and Chester. Thus, at the monthly meeting held at Haverford in the 6th month (August,) 1693, it was ordered, "y^{t} Wm. Howell, Morris Llewelyn for Haverford, David Merideth, David Evans for Radnor, Griffith Jones, James Thomas for Merion, see y^{t} sufficient fences be kept in his respective neighborhood." And again in the proceedings of the following mouth, this minute occurs: "It is ordered by this meeting and consent of the inhabitants of the townships of Haverford and Radnor, in pursuance of a law in that case made y^{t} y^{e} inhabitance of y^{e} s^{d} two townships should pay 1s. per hundred toward y^{e} takeing of Wolves. Wm. Howell, William Jenkins, for Haverford, and David Meredith and Stephen Bevan for Radnor, to receive y^{e} s^{d} Taxe."

Previously to the disownment of George Keith, as has been mentioned, the minutes of the several monthly meetings are silent in regard to him. Since that time he is frequently noticed, but not with respect. The first is by Chester Meeting, which orders "that [copies] of the paper written by Jane Biles as a testimony against George Keith and his company and separation and abusing friends, (which said paper being read and well approved of), be obtained," to be disposed of "for the general service of truth." The first meeting-house at Chester appears to have been completed in 1693. A meeting-house at Radnor was also completed and brought into service about the same time.

The Society of Friends had been in advance of other religious sects in providing comfortable quarters for their horses at their places of worship. The first provision made for this purpose, of which there is any record, was at Haverford in 1694, when a committee was appointed by the meeting, "to get a stable made adjoining this meeting house."

In early times, township meetings assumed the right of enacting rules and regulations, or rather to make laws, for their respective townships. Unfortunately but few of the ancient records of our townships have been preserved. The following items have been extracted from the Darby township book:

"Agreed that this meeting begin at Eleven o'Clock in the forenoon, and that the constable give notice the first day before.

"And it is also agreed that the said town's meeting be held on the third day of the last week in the twelfth month, (yearly) to appoint officers for the ensuing year, at which time the officers is to give up their accounts.

"Agreed that none of the inhabitants of this Town take any horses or mares either to keep in winter or summer, nor no cattle in summer except they keep them within their own fenced lands, upon the penalty of five shillings per head for every month."

The above extracts are without date, but stand on the record immediately above the following. It may therefore be inferred that they were enacted at the same, or at an earlier period.

"Agreed by the Townsmen of Darby at the meeting house, upon 26th day of the 12th month, 1693-4, [Feb., 1694,] that whatever handy-Crafts men shall offer himself to inhabit in the township, shall first continue forty days as a sojourner, to have the approbation of the said township; whither he shall be received as an inhabitant or no; and that no person shall dare to receive any stranger as an inhabitant before such probation and grant of said Townsmen.

"Signed on behalf of the Town of Darby, by THO. WORTH."

"Agreed at a Town meeting 1693-4, That Tho. Worth shall as Clerk of the Town, signe all public agreements in behalf of the town, and the same shall be as binding as if every mans particular hand was at the same."

The Court proceedings of this year are introduced by imposing upon Mary M——— a fine of "five shillings for her lying."

A road was laid out "between Radnor meeting house and the Schuylkill ford;" and also one "from John Longworthy's house to a road between Chester and Radnor."

One Philip England claimed the monopoly of the ferry at High street on the Schuylkill, but from some cause, the Friends of Haverford Monthly Meeting, with the assistance of some Friends of Darby, supported a ferry in the vicinity of that kept by England, and employed a man named Nathaniel Mullinax to attend it. England petitioned to the Governor and Council to support him in his monopoly, which they eventually did, on the ground that the ferry was the Proprietor's right, a grant of which was held by England. The decision of the Governor was accompanied by a prohibition against all others "using anie other ferrie within foure miles distance on either side of the river, of the proprietors ferrie."

A report made by a committee of the Council this year, giving the amounts raised in the several counties upon an assessment of 1d. per pound, will give some idea of the relative progress that had been made in the different counties:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
County of Philadelphia, . . .	314	11	11	County of Chester, ...	65	00	07
" New Castle, . . .	143	15	00	" Bucks	48	04	01
" Sussex, ...	101	01	09				
" Kent, ...	88	02	10		£760	16	2

At this time the settlements had spread in Chester county but little beyond the territory now included in Delaware county.

There appear to have been great losses of stock and cattle during 1694, from want of provender.

"The want of a Bridle road between the broad road near James Brown's house in Chichester [Marcus Hook] and Chichester creek and from thence to Chester creek," was presented by the grand jury at the March term of 1695. A similar presentment had been made at the previous session of the court. The necessity of such a road will be understood, when the reader is informed that the King's road did not, up to this time, pass through Chester, but crossed both Ridley and Chester creeks at the head of tide; there being no bridge over the creek at Chester, and no public road from thence directly to Marcus Hook.

The Grand Inquest, after having examined the accounts of the county recommend a levy of a penny in the pound, which was ordered by the court, "for finishing the prison and defraying of the old debts & for wolves heads;" also for the relief of the poor. The grand jury also on this occasion performed the duty of county auditors, and "having examined Jeremiah Collet's [the treasurer's] accounts, finds them to be true accounts, and finds him to be indebted to the county, the sum of eighteen shillings and eleven pence, and the county to be indebted to Thomas Smith the sum of 18 pounds 19s. and 4d." The next grand jury held a meeting on the 2d of October, to consider the affairs of the county. The following interesting record of their proceedings is given at length:

"We the Grand Jury by the King's authority, finding that the county is in debt by the accounts that the last Grand Jury presented; that the County Treasurer is out of purse, and others in the concerns of the county charge; and that the prison is not yet finished, and several wolve's heads to pay for: We the Grand Inquest have taken it into our consideration to lay an assessment upon the county for to pay the Judges expenses, which is to be paid to Joseph Wood, Sheriff of Chester County, and what was disbursed by the said Treasurer of said county concerning the building of the prison, and to finish the said county prison, with as much expedition as may be, and the said levy to be raised as followeth:—on all real and personal estates, at one penny per pound and three shillings per head on free men, (viz) every acre of cleared land, and being in tillage, at one pound per acre; and for every hundred acres of rough land by the river, at ten pounds per hundred, and for every hundred acres in the woods, at five pounds per hundred; for all horses and mares from three years old and upwards, at 3 pounds; for every colt one year old and upwards, 20 shillings; for all cows and oxen, from three years old and upwards, £2. 10*s;* for all cattle one year old and upwards, at one pound: for all sheep a year old and upwards, at six shillings a piece; for all male negroes, from 16 years old and upwards, to sixty, 25£ per negro; for all female negroes from 16 years old to sixty, at 20£ per negro; for Chester mill at one hundred pounds, Joseph Cobourn's at £50, Darby mill at one hundred pounds, Hartford [Haverford] mill at 20£ pounds, Concord mill at 10£ pounds; Jasper Yeates for his estate and calling 200 pounds, Caleb

Pusey for his estate and calling 100 pounds, Jeremiah Collett for his estate and calling 30 pounds, Nathaniel Newlin for his calling 20 pounds; all ordinary keepers, for their callings, 20 pounds; for all handicrafts that followeth no plantation for calling, 3 shillings a piece.—Subscribed by this present Grand Inquest."

From the above extract we learn many interesting facts. There were five mills in the county at this early date, besides the Swedes' mill on the Philadelphia county line. The dates of the erection of the Chester mill, and Coburn's mill have already been given; and a presentment of the grand jury made in 1688, shows that the Haverford mill was then erected. This mill was on Cobb's creek, near the place where that stream is crossed by the road leading past Haverford meeting-house. Of the Darby mill and Concord mill, the author has not met with an earlier notice. The Concord mill occupied the site of the mill now owned by Samuel Leedom. A mill was shortly afterwards built lower down the stream by Nicholas Newlin, but not so low down as the mill owned by John Hill.

While it is not presumed that the full value of property is given in the assessment, the relative value may be relied on as nearly correct. We thus see that cleared land, under tillage, was ten times as valuable as unimproved land near the river, and twenty times as valuable as unimproved lands further back, etc.

Maurice Trent, before mentioned, brought another set of boys into court to be "judged." Their respective periods of servitude were accordingly fixed by the justices. It had become a common practice at this period for servants who had run away, or in any other manner caused loss or expense to their masters, to be brought into court for the justices to determine, what additions should be made to their terms of servitude, as an equivalent for such loss or expense.

At this time, there was considerable trade at Chester, and also some at Marcus Hook. Hence we find appointments of officers connected with its proper regulation. Edward Dangger was this year "attested Geager and Packer and Culler of this County of Chester."

The arbitrary rule of Governor Fletcher, under which Quakerism found but little favor, continued about two years, when the King and Queen were pleased to restore the government of the province again to William Penn, very much to the satisfaction of the people. The affairs of the Proprietary were not, however, in such a condition as to allow him to visit the country, and Thomas Lloyd having died, he again commissioned his cousin William Markham as his deputy.

It came to the knowledge of the Concord and Chichester Monthly Meeting, about this time, that two young persons of the latter township, were engaged in certain studies and practices that, at this period, were regarded as very dangerous. The serious gravity with which the subject was treated by the meeting is really remarkable.

"Some friends having a concern upon them concerning some young men which came among friends, to their meetings, and following some acts which friends thought not fit

for such as professed the truth, to follow, viz: Astrology and other arts, whereupon it was stated to the meeting concerning Astrology and other Sciences, as Geomancy and Chiromancy and Necromancy &c.—It was debated and the sence of this meeting is, that the study of these sciences brings a veile over the understanding, and a death upon the life."

The meeting ordered the young men, as well as their father, to be spoken to on the subject. The conference with the former is given as follows:

"Philip Roman and his brother Robert, friends of Chichester, was speak'd to about those arts and sciences above said; they seemed to disown that is mentioned except the Astrology. Much was said to them, but it was not received. At last they proposed to the meeting, if they thought well of it, to confer with Nicholas Newlin and Jacob Chandler, and if they could convince them that it was evil, they would leave it."

The meeting accepted the offer of the young men. At the next meeting (January, 1696) the committee reported that they had conferred with the young men, and there had been "many arguments on both sides—at length, Philip concluded with us that he did not know that he should use that art of Astrology again, for he had denied several that came to him to be resolved of their questions already. Robert promised the same but with this reserve—unless it was to do some great good by it. From which belief of some great good, we could not remove him." This was not satisfactory to the meeting. Philip was required "to give forth a paper to condemn his practice of resolving questions in Astrology, concerning lost and Gain, with other vain questions." The meeting gave out a similar paper against Robert.

The subject of these dark practices was also brought before the Chester Quarterly Meeting, which body appears to have taken a rather rational view of the subject for the times. The following is an extract from the preamble of a long testimony published by that meeting, early the year 1696:

"Whereas the meeting being acquainted, that some persons under the profession of truth, and belonging to this meeting, who professing the art of Astrology, have undertaken thereby to answer questions, and give Astrological Judgments concerning persons and things, tending to the dishonor of God, and the reproach of Truth and the great hurt of themselves and those who come to inquire of them; and whereas, it is also reported that some professing truth among us seems too much inclined to use and practice Rabdomancy, or consulting with a staff, and such like things, all which have brought a weighty exercise and concern upon this meeting, as well because of the reproach, that is already brought upon the truth hereby, as also to prevent, as much as in us lies, its being further reproached by any among us that may attempt to follow the like practices for time to come, &c."

But this business did not end with the meeting. An offence so serious as the practice of Geomancy could not escape the vigilance of the grand jury, particularly as the foreman lived in the same neighborhood with the parties. In bringing the matter to the notice of the Court they say: "We the grand Inquest by the King's authority, presents Robert Roman of Chichester for practicing Geomancy according to hidden, and divining by a stick. Walter Martin, Foreman."

With the view of effectually eradicating the evil, it became necessary to destroy the implements of mischief by another presentment, which is thus recorded: "We the Grand Inquest by the Kings authority presents the following books: Hidons Temple of Wisdom, which teaches Geomancy, and Scots discovery of Witchcraft, and Cornelias Agrippas teach Necromancy. Walter Martin, Foreman." Upon which "the Court orders as many of said Books as can be found be brought to the next court." The following minute records the closing scene of this ludicrous judicial procedure: "Robert Roman was called to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury the last Court; he appeared and submitted himself to the Bench. The order of the Court is that he shall pay five pounds for a fine and all charges, and never practice the arts, but behave himself well for the future, and he promised to do so, whereupon he is discharged for this time."

Two young men were presented at the next court "for running a horse race on the first day of the week." They each got off with a fine of 5 shillings, thus proving that the practice of *Geomancy* in those primitive times was a twenty fold greater offence than Sunday horse racing.

"John Simcock brought in his account.—The County of Chester debtor to John Simcock, for balance of his account to the year 1695, the sum of £28 2s. John Simcock debtor to the sale of the old Court house, the sum of £57.—By balance remains due John Simcock £28 18s." This must have been the court-house erected in 1685, the expense of which does not as yet appear to have been fully liquidated, as William Clayton makes complaint that "there is due to him £18 1s. 6d. for his father's salary and work on the old Court house." Nor is this remarkable, as by a presentment of the grand jury, it is shown that taxes laid on large tracts of land in 1685, for the erection of the court-house and prison, were still due.

In 1696 a road was laid out "from David Meridiths plantation to Haverford Meeting house." This road passes White Hall and west of Haverford College. The court orders Ellis Ellis, supervisor of Haverford, to cut and clear the road way, "that leads to the limestone hill from Darby through Harford."

The several meetings composing Chester Quarterly Meeting subscribed £85 8s. 4d. towards building a meeting-house in the city of Philadelphia. The meetings composing Haverford Monthly Meeting also subscribed, but the amount is not given. The minutes of that meeting show that the location of the meeting-house to be built in Philadelphia was "in y^{e} second street near the market place."

The following minute from the Haverford Records, is the authority upon which the Friends' meeting at Newtown was established: "William Lewis and some other friends having proposed to this meeting, to settle a meeting at Newtown, they are left to their freedom therein." It is dated 11th mo. 14th 1696 O. S. Before the close of the year, Thomas Jones was ordered by the meeting "to acquaint friends of Chester Meeting, that the meeting lately set-

tled at Newton is done wth ye consent of this meeting, in order to have their approbation therein."

Notwithtanding the Governor and Council in 1694 sustained England in his claim to a monopoly of ferrying people over the Schuylkill, the following extract from the Haverford Meeting Records shows that this monopoly was not continued by the Proprietary's government when restored, and that a ferry was again kept up by the monthly meeting: "David Evans & Daniel Humphrey are ordered by this meeting to collect twenty shillings out of each of the meetings of Haverford & Radnor and the rest y^{t} are unpaid of the subscription towards the ferry, to pay Nath: Mullenex's wages."

Notwithstanding that this meeting and others occasionally gave their attention to secular affairs, there was no falling off by the members in the performance of their moral and religious duties. It is really wonderful, the amount of patient labor that was bestowed about this period in preserving the church in its purity; in counselling and advising the rising generation, and in reclaiming the wayward. And it is even still more wonderful to see the large amounts that were appropriated to charitable purposes. This was particularly the case among the Welsh Friends. Every reasonable want was attended to. If a newly arrived immigrant, or a "poor friend" stood in need of a house, it was built for him; of a plough or a cow, he was provided with one. The fields of the sick and the weak were not allowed to remain uncultivated, and their pecuniary wants and other necessities were liberally supplied. Nor was their care in these respects confined to their own little communities. Wherever suffering humanity was found, our Quaker ancestors were ever ready to contribute liberally to its relief.

In 1697 the meetings were made acquainted with the distressed condition of the people of New England; "the great want and necessity of Friends and others, by reason of the Indians making inroads upon them, burning and destroying their habitations and the lives of many, and by reason of the failing of their crops." The relief afforded was prompt and liberal. Haverford Monthly Meeting subscribed £60 14s. 11d.; Chichester, Concord, and Birmingham, £37 5s. 3d.; and Chester, £32 2s. 11d. The amount subscribed by Darby is not given.

There was a subscription made this year of £86 by the Friends of Concord, Birmingham, and Thornbury, towards the erection of a meeting-house—it is supposed at the first-mentioned place. The subscription list contains thirty-four names. From its heading, it is very apparent that some of the members were imbued with Keithian doctrines. A list of those who contributed towards fencing the grave-yard is also given.

As traveling by land increased, the inhabitants of Chester felt more strongly the inconvenience of being located at a distance from the King's highway—the main thoroughfare of travel between the northern and southern Provinces. To bring the main road through the town, a bridge over the creek would be required, and to secure this object, "several of y^{e} Inhabitants of y^{e} town & countie of Chester & others," presented a petition to the Governor and

Council. But this petition was met by a strong remonstrance, and after the matter had been considered in "Grand Committee," that is, a meeting of the Council and Assembly together, it was put "to the vote of y^e^ s^d^ grand committee, whether a bridge should be built over the navigable part of Chester creek, as is petitioned, it was carried in the negative, *nemine contradicente*." So ended the matter at this time.

At the July court a deed was acknowledged to John Simcocks, John Blunston, Samuel Levis, Jasper Yeates and Jonathan Hayes, the justices of the county, "for all that piece of land whereon the new court house stands, contayning in breadth to the street twenty-nine foot back to Chester creeke, unto them and theyr sucksessors for ever;" the deed bearing date the ninth day of the fourth month called "June An. Dom. 1697."

A road was in 1697 laid out "from Henry Hames, (in Marple) to Haverford Meeting House." The closing part of the report of the grand jury in laying out this road is rather remarkable for the evanescent character of the land marks they fixed on to identify the route they selected. When they approach the meeting-house they say: "running up the said line betwixt William Howell and David Lawrence—making the fence the middle of the road till it comes to the fence where we pulled downe, and so to the meeting house where we end. Andrew Job, Foreman."

There was also a cart-way reported, "for the convenience of the county, from the corner of Walter Faucetts fence to Darby." This is the first laying out of the King's highway between the points mentioned.

The number of servants brought into court to be "judged," has greatly increased. More than thirty were brought to a single court. In some instances the justices direct that they shall be taught to read and write.

The justices were exceedingly strict in seeing the law enforced against persons who failed to comply with the legal enactments on the subject of marriage. In one case, the grand jury presented the parties and all the witnesses, and in another case one Matthew Risley was sentenced to receive thirteen lashes for attempting to marry persons contrary to law, although it was proven on the trial that it was a joke practiced on him—the parties being both men.

Corporal punishment is becoming more common. A man was sentenced to receive thirty lashes on his bare back, well laid on, for the larceny of one bushel of wheat.

A grand jury, of which George Pearce was foreman, made a presentment against a law that took the business of levying taxes out of their hands and placed it in the hands of six assessors. They desired "that the six assessors might be laid aside, and that the grand jury, which are the body of the county, may have the order of such things as formerly."

A Provincial Court is occasionally held at Chester. At one held in October, 1698, before which there was but one case, John Moore appeared as counsel for the "Appellant," and David Lloyd for the "Appellee."

In the appraisement of 700 acres of land situated in Providence, taken in execution by the sheriff, it will be seen how little land had improved in price,

independently of the improvements. The land was valued at £80; "One house, barn, orchard nursery and Garding at £160;" and the wheat in the ground at £18.

Haverford Monthly Meeting now appears to be disposed to get rid of the municipal concerns with which it has heretofore been burdened. To accomplish this object, it was concluded by the meeting "that there be a towns meeting held at Haverford to regulate matters and decide controversies, the first third day of the third month, for the townships belonging to this monethly meeting, & then to appoint meetings & adjourn the same as they think convenient." The minutes of these town meetings have not been discovered. The monthly meeting has been constantly held at Haverford since the erection of the meeting-house at that place. Now it is agreed to let the monthly meeting alternate among the several meetings composing it, viz: Merion, Haverford and Radnor. It still retained the name of "Haverford Monthly Meeting."

The Friends of the Quarterly Meeting of Chester county became dissatisfied "that some Welsh Friends live within their county, and yet join with friends of y^e^ county of Philadelphia in their monthly and Quarterly meetings." John Bevan, William Howell, Row. Ellis and Rees Thomas were appointed by the Haverford meeting "to remind them of the conclusion made betwixt them & the Welsh friends, that their meetings should not be separated." This effort of the Friends of the Chester Quarterly Meeting failed, and the meetings that then composed the Haverford Monthly Meeting have remained attached to the Philadelphia Quarter to this day.

The Keithian doctrines had found more favor in the meetings that composed Concord Monthly Meeting than in any others located in the county. There was one disownment by that meeting in 1698 of a prominent member, expressly on that ground, and the minutes furnish evidence that others had quietly separated from the Society without any formal disownment. Some of these subsequently returned, made an acknowledgment of their error, and were restored to their former standing in the Society. This was also the case in other meetings, but not to so great an extent.

In Darby Meeting, a father having unreasonably refused his consent to the marriage of his daughter, the couple, after having made legal publication of their intentions, went before John Blunston, a justice of the peace, and also a member of meeting in high standing, and were legally married. The parties, and the father of the bride, were dealt with by the meeting, but the part taken by the magistrate was not called in question as being an offence against the rules of the Society.

The practice of holding preparative meetings by the Society of Friends here, commenced about this time.

In the minutes of Darby Meeting for 1699 there are several entries in respect to the building of a new meeting-house. At length it was agreed "that a meeting house sixty foot one way and twenty foot added to the side 21 foot wide in the cleare be built." A portion of this meeting-house is still standing, inside of the grave-yard at Darby.

The young people among Friends were very much restricted in these early times in the matter of courtship and marriage. The meeting at Haverford ordered, "that all young men among friends make known their intentions to their parents or guardians before they acquaint y^e^ young woman's relations, and to make it known unto the woman's parents or Guardians, before they speak to them, and if any do otherwise, that they shall condemn the same before they proceed any farther. * * *" About the same restrictions, it is believed, prevailed generally in the Society.

David Lloyd presented a petition to the Council, setting forth that he had purchased a small parcel of land at Chester, "called the Green, w^ch^ Lyes very commodious for building a town. It fronts to both Chester Creek & delaware river, and is protracted, & a market place Laid out, with Streets by y^e^ Surveyor General, as by the mapp to the said petition annex't appears." He asked the board "to allow and confirm the s^d^ model as the law in that case directs." But in this he was opposed by Jasper Yeates, who regarded the Green as church land, and was unwilling that David Lloyd should "obtain an act of Assembly to strengthen a pretended title of his to the green Lying before Upland." So the matter rested for the present.

The inhabitants of Chichester [Marcus Hook] this year petitioned the Council, "requesting a weeklie markett & two fairs in the year; after a full debate y^r^upon, The Leivt. Gor & Council granted y^m^ a weeklie market on fridays, to be kept in Broad street as is desired."

Edward Shippen, Cornelius Emptson, and William Biles, as judges, held a Provincial Court this year at Chester, assisted by the county justices. After John Moore and David Lloyd, as attorneys, had had "several debates about the cause depending," the parties "referred the matter wholly to three judges on the benches as arbitrators," the parties to be bound by the decision, which was immediately made.

At the June court, Joseph Edge, the constable of Chester, presented Henry Barnes, "for calling our Governor Penn a Rogue," &c., &c. The rest of the constables returned "all was well." For very many years after this date the same return was made, when a constable had no breach of the peace to report. It was also a practice to read the newly enacted laws, in open court immediately after the grand jury was called.

The last road laid out by a grand jury was from the neighborhood of Birmingham and Thornbury to Joseph Cobourn's mill and Caleb Pusey's mill, the report of which was made to the June court. The same court made the first appointment of six viewers to lay out a road in the manner now practiced. The appointment was to lay out "a convenient cart road," for Robert Smith of Darby. The court ordered, "that two supervisors, to witt, Thomas Fox of Darby, and Matthias Morton of Ridlye, to make good that new road from Walter Fawcet's fence to Darby, sixty foot wide."

If the people of Chester did fail in obtaining permission to build a bridge over the creek, they were determined to divert some share of the travel of the King's road through their town. With this view, Ralph Fishbourne exhibited

to the October court of 1699 a petition, "with many hands of the inhabitants of the County for a convenient road way from the west side of Chester Creek, where the ferry is to be kept, for to lead to the now King's road." The court accordingly appointed six viewers "for to go and lay out the said road way in the most convenient place they can for the conveniency of the Inhabitants."

That dreadful scourge, the yellow fever, prevailed in the city of Philadelphia in 1699, producing the greatest consternation and alarm among the people. The September court at Chester adjourned without transacting any business, and though the cause is not given on the record, it may reasonably be inferred, that the malady had made its appearance at that place. After a very protracted voyage, William Penn arrived in the Province with his wife and family, with the avowed intention of ending his days in Pennsylvania. He landed at Philadelphia in the beginning of November, after the ravages of the fever had ceased.

When proceeding up the Delaware, Penn left the vessel, and spent one night at the house of Lydia, the widow of Robert Wade, in company with Thomas Story, who had recently arrived from a religious visit to Virginia. Before proceeding to the vessel in the morning, he crossed over to the east side of the creek in a boat, "and as he landed, some young men officiously, and contrary to express orders of some of the magistrates, fired two small sea pieces of cannon, and being ambitious to make three out of two, by firing one twice, one of them darting in a cartridge of powder, before the piece was sponged, had his left arm shot to pieces; upon which, a surgeon being sent for, an amputation took place."

After the government was restored to Penn, a new constitution had been adopted under the administration of Markham, which was not satisfactory to the Proprietary. An entirely new council was elected; and from Chester county, David Lloyd was returned for three years, Caleb Pusey for two, and John Simcock for one year. Many new laws were passed shortly after the arrival of the Proprietary, which were duly read at the opening of the March court at Chester.

Ralph Fishbourne now appears as a justice, and Henry Hollingsworth as clerk of the court. In a prosecution for highway robbery, John Moore appeared as attorney for the King.

That everlasting subject, the court-house and prison, again claimed the attention of the court and grand jury, who ordered them to "be forthwith repaired for a present necessity * * * that the two back-rooms in the prison be arched over with a brick in length, and be furnished with sufficient doors, and the whole prison to be laid over with beams close together, and planked on the top of them." Provision was also made for a pair of stocks and a whipping-post; all to be at the county's charge.

The justices appoint "four substantial freeholders," as assessors to assist them in levying the necessary taxes; but the duty now performed by assessors was then performed by the constables, while the justices and assessors supplied the place of county commissioners of the present day.

Among the presentments of the Grand Jury was that "——— ——— did frauduently expose peces of lead and potshards unto John Stubbs of this county for current silver of the Province."

The court and grand jury authorized a levy towards the close of this year of 3d. in the pound, and 12 shillings poll tax. In anticipation of this duty, three of the grand jurors, though present, refused to serve, and submitted to a fine of 20 shillings each; it being understood that the tax was for the defence of the Province. This tax amounted to £325, and was laid by the assemblymen and assessors of the county, in pursuance of a law lately enacted at New Castle.

What is now known as "the old end" of Haverford Meeting House was built this year, at an estimated cost of £158. It was built as an addition to a former meeting-house, which was replaced by the present "new end" in the year 1800—one century afterwards. The old meeting-house was without a chimney, being warmed by a kind of stove, or furnace, placed on each side of the building, and supplied with fuel from the outside of the house. Only the top of these stoves were of iron, and the smoke escaped by flues opening on the outside of the wall, a few feet above the opening through which the fuel was introduced. Part of this arrangement is yet conspicuous in the walls of the old meeting-house.

Clarkson records the attendance of Penn at a general meeting of the Welsh Quakers at Haverford—doubtless in their then newly erected meeting-house. If tradition is to be relied on, a goodly number of our Welsh ancestors were so little acquainted with the English language, that they were unable to understand the sermon preached by the Proprietary.

On another visit to Haverford, an anecdote is recorded of the Proprietary. A little girl named Rebecca Wood was walking from Darby, where she resided, to Haverford Meeting, when Penn, who was on horseback, overtook her, and inquired where she was going. Upon being informed, "he with his usual good nature, desired her to get up behind him; and bringing his horse to a convenient place, she mounted, and so rode away upon the bare back, and being without shoes or stockings, her bare legs & feet hung dangling by the side of the Governor's horse."

From the first settlement of the country up to this time, disownments from the Society of Friends were very rare. The first minuted loss of membership in Chester Monthly Meeting occurs this year. By repeated visits, and patient careful and judicious management, nearly every offender was reclaimed and restored to his former standing in the Society. Some thus restored by careful dealing, afterwards became the pillars of the church. The growth of the Society now appears to be rapid, both in numbers and means; new meetings are being established and new meeting-houses erected. In 1699 a new meeting-house was proposed to be erected "by the Friends belonging to Thomas Minchall's meeting, at the burying ground by Thomas Powell's" This burying ground is now known as Sandy Bank. The committee appointed to fix the site of the meeting-house, decided that, "the farther end of Thomas Minshall's

land by the high road side," was the best location. Thomas Minshall donated an acre of land for the purpose and the meeting-house was erected and ready for use this year. It occupied the present site of Providence Meeting-house.

Early this year a committee fixed a site "for a meeting house, for friends of John Bowater's Meeting * * * upon the land or lot belonging to the meeting's burying place." This is the site of the old meeting-house in Middletown. The house proposed to be built may not have been completed before the next year.

A meeting-house was also erected at Springfield this year for the accommodation of the meeting that had been held at the house of Bartholomew Coppock. It is not known that it was occupied earlier than the 26th of the 3d month (May), 1701, when Chester Monthly Meeting was held there.

Evidence of the existence of Episcopalian organizations within the limits of our county now begins to dawn upon us. In the History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, we are told that "the Swedes and Dutch settled in this Province [Pennsylvania] had some ministers among them, but the English had none till the year 1700, when the Reverend Mr. Evans was sent over to Philadelphia by Bishop Compton." After describing the labors and success of Mr. Evans, the author goes on to say, that "a hearty love and zeal for Religion spread so wide, that there arose soon several congregations, in other parts of the country; Mr. Evans was forced to divide his labours among them, as often as he conveniently could, till they might be formed into Proper Districts, and the ministers sent over to them."

"He went frequently to Chichester, Chester and Concord, to Montgomery and Radnor, each about 20 miles distant from Philadelphia, and to Maidenhead in West Jersey, 40 miles distant. This travelling was both fatiguing and expensive, yet he frequently visited those places, being determined by all means, to lose none of those he had gained. But Montgomery and Radnor next to Philadelphia had the most considerable share in his labors." There is no notice of a church edifice at either of the places named, except Philadelphia. Mr. Evans was, in part, supported by the royal bounty of King William and not at all by the Society.

Since the establishment of a mill at Darby, the Swedes' mill appears to have attracted less attention. A conveyance made this year by the widow of Neals Laerson, and her son, Andrew Friend, of one twenty-third part of this mill and appurtenant land, to William Cobb, shows that it had been held by a joint-stock company of Swedes. Having passed into the hands of William Cobb, the creek on which the mill was located, after a time, acquired his name.

The people of the town of Chichester [Marcus Hook] were not satisfied without the privilege of holding a fair, which it appears they had enjoyed under the administration of Governor Markham. "Because some complaints had been made against fairs in general," the grant of a fair to Chichester was made by the Council conditionally; it was to be suppressed when the government thought fit to suppress others. The people of the town of Chester concluded that this grant of a fair to Chichester was intended to supersede one of the two

annual fairs that their town had enjoyed for about eleven years, under a grant from the Governor and Council. Upon application a fair, in the usual course, was ordered to be held, and the privilege of holding two annual fairs and a weekly market, was soon afterwards confirmed to the inhabitants of Chester by a charter from the Governor.

At the March court, it was "ordered by the justices and grand jury that the old court house be set on sale the 6th day of the 3d month next, and in order thereto, papers be set up to give notice that it is to be sold at vandew." And at the same court, in respect to a prison, it was "ordered that Jasper Yeates, Ralph Fishbourn, Joseph Cobourn and Andrew Jobe be supervisors for the building of a new prison upon the ground bought of James Sanderland, and we order them to imploy workmen & to provide materials for performing and carrying on the said work, and the said supervisors are empowered to receive the levy from the collectors as they are raised and to pay the workmen and to do all things material for the said work; and they are to build the said house 25 foot long and 18 foot wide in the clear, or thereabouts, as they see cause—the said house to front high street, and at the north corner of the ground."

At the December court, "James Sandiland by his attorney, David Lloyd delivered a deed to John Blunston, Caleb Pusey, Ralph Fishborn, Robert Pile and Philip Roman for a piece of land being 120 foot square in the township of Chester," for which land, the grantees at the same time delivered a declaration of trust, showing that the purchase was for the use of the county. At the same court, it was agreed by the justices and grand jury "to repair the court house and prison with all possible speed, and they appoint Walter Martin, John Hoskin and Henry Worley to be supervisors and oversee the work and to agree with workmen, provide materials and finish the said work with all expedition, and to provide a pair of stocks and whipping post."

Eastown was organized as a township this year. The new roads laid out have become so numerous, and the reports of their location so indefinite, that a further notice of them would prove tedious. It will therefore be omitted, except in very particular cases. The tax laid for the support of the government was very unpopular. So much so that the constables returned that the inhabitants were unwilling to pay or delayed payment, whereupon it was ordered by the court "that a warrant be issued to the sheriff to collect the said levy."

The establishment of Newtown meeting by Haverford Monthly Meeting has already been mentioned. This was not regarded with favor by the Chester Quarterly Meeting which had considered the connection of Haverford and Radnor Meetings with Philadelphia as an innovation on its appropriate jurisdiction. Complaint was at once made, first to Haverford, then to the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, and finally to the Yearly Meeting, which decided, "that Newtown Meeting may remain as it is, and may belong to Philadelphia; but for the future the Welsh Friends are not to set up any more meetings in the county of Chester without the consent of (Chester) Quarterly Meeting."

The Welsh settlements had extended into Goshen, and the Haverford Monthly Meeting had already authorized or were about to authorize a meeting to be held there. The decision of the Yearly Meeting made it necessary for the Goshen Friends to make application to the Chester Quarterly Meeting, which was accordingly done, and permission was obtained in the following year, to have a meeting at Goshen, "every other first day."

Notwithstanding the jurisdiction over the Goshen Friends could no longer be claimed by the Haverford Monthly Meeting, the members of that meeting for a long time continued to extend a tender care over them, to supply their wants and to unite with them in their meetings. Even the next year the Friends of Haverford Meeting contributed £16 9s. 8d. to aid Robert William of Goshen in building a house, he having received Friends "Kindly and open hearted," and keeping the meeting in his house. At the same time £12 5s. 2d. was contributed to Cadwalader Ellis and brother, also of Goshen, "whose house had been burned by fire, and his mother and brother having lost most they had." These acts of kindness, taken in connection with a common ancestry and language, produced a more familiar and friendly intercourse between the Goshen Friends and those of Haverford Monthly Meeting, than existed between them and the monthly meeting to which they formally belonged.

The name of Marcus Hook had been changed to Chichester by Governor Markham and his Council before the first arrival of the Proprietary. Upon petition of the inhabitants of the venerable town, the Governor by letters patent confirmed the name of Chichester, and granted to the people of the place the usual privileges enjoyed by boroughs.

Governor Penn received intelligence from England which compelled him to embrace the earliest opportunity to return. The crown had become jealous of its Proprietary governments in America, and desired to convert them into regal ones. For this purpose, a bill had been introduced into Parliament, and was only postponed at the earnest solicitation of the friends of Penn, until he should return. This rendered his early departure necessary, and he accordingly sailed from Philadelphia on the 1st of November, 1701. He never returned to Pennsylvania.

A very unpopular act was passed this year in the shape of a law directing all located lands to be re-surveyed at the expense of the Proprietary—he exacting payment for all surplusage, which was found to be great in this county.

Before leaving, Penn by letters patent established a Council of State, composed of ten members, of whom Caleb Pusey and John Blunston were from this county. He also appointed Andrew Hamilton, one of the proprietors of East Jersey, deputy governor.

The boundary line between the counties of Chester and New Castle had only been temporarily established. A warrant was granted in 1701 to run the circular line, directed to Isaac Taylor of Chester county, and Thomas Pierson of New Castle county. The running of the circular line was no easy task. The cost was imposed on the two counties instead of the Province, and to judge from the following report of the grand jury on the subject, it may be

concluded that the worthy surveyors were not overpaid: "We the Grand Jury from this County, having duly considered and carefully adjusted an account of charges contracted by running a circular line dividing this County from the County of New Castle and settling the boundaries, and having duly and deliberately debated, every article of the said account, do allow the sum of twenty-six pounds nine shillings due, to be paid by this County for said work. James Couper, Foreman."

Notwithstanding the court and grand jury last year directed that the court-house should be repaired "with all possible speed," we find the grand jury of this year presenting "the necessity of a court-house, and that all such as have not paid their levy, may be forced." They also added, that in case of emergency, for the speedy perfection of said work, "we the grand jury request that the justices take care to raise money as the law directs, for we are sensible that law and justice cannot have its perfect course without such houses for their distribution as aforesaid." No new court-house, however, was erected till 1724.

From the presentments of the grand jury and orders made by the court from time to time, it appears that the court-house was on this occasion only repaired, and that a new jail was erected, the latter occupying the site, it is believed, of the building last used as a jail in Chester, and may have been part of that building. It will be seen hereafter, that at this period there was still a building known as the "old court house."

Several roads were laid out this year. Among the number was one from "Limestone Hill to Springfield meeting House."

Among the numerous presentments made by the grand jury, there are several for neglecting to keep the roads in repair. Thus, the townships of Chester, Ridley and Darby are presented "for neglecting to repair the Great road between Chester and the Philadelphia county line, & for want of convenient bridges over the creeks." They also request that care be taken for a bridge "over Mill Creek, that parts this county from Philadelphia. In respect to the width of roads, the court made the following order which does not appear to have been enforced: "Ordered, that all Cart roads, laid out by order of Court, and allowed, shall be fifty feet broad, as the two roads laid out from Upper and Nether Providence to Darby and Caleb's mill and all others."

An Episcopal church was established this year on the site now occupied by St. Martin's church, at Marcus Hook. Walter Martin, a well known inhabitant of Chichester, by a singular deed of gift, in the year 1699 conveyed to the inhabitants of Chichester an acre of ground for a church or free burying place; the inhabitants to build a church, chapel, or meeting-house, to the honor and service of God, "Quakers or reputed Quakers only excepted."

The privilege of securing the lot by the erection of a church edifice, was confined to such as owned "the two ordinances of the Sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, viz: water baptism, that is by sprinkling or dipping; and the Lord's Supper of bread and wine; and such as own the resurrection of the bodies of the dead, and own the ordinances of singing of psalms in the

praise of God in the Congregation or in their families, and such as own the taking an oath on the Bible according to the laws of England, if lawfully called thereto for the confirmation of the truth."

A record in the vestry-book of St. Martin's church shows that the lot was secured to the Episcopalians by "Sundry persons, adventurers from England, Scotland, and Ireland, into the Province of Pennsylvania, being well principled in and affected to the pure Apostolick and primitive doctrine and discipline of the truly Episcopal and Protestant Church of England," who purchased, in 1702, an old frame house from Jane and Tobias Hendrickson, for about £5, and removed it upon the lot conveyed by Walter Martin for a church yard. It was fitted up for divine worship the same year.

The evidence in respect to the time of the erection of St. Paul's Church at Chester is somewhat contradictory. In one account, contained in the History of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts," the church is represented as having been completed in 1702, while a letter from the congregation to the Society, written in 1704, and contained in the same book, may be construed to mean that it was "not then quite finished."

Gwynedd or North Wales, East of the Schuylkill, was settled with a later immigration of Welsh people than those who had settled Merion, Haverford, and Radnor. Many of them were relatives or personal friends of the earlier settlers of the three townships, and being Quakers, they at once united with them in their meeting affairs. The Gwynedd Friends now appear at the Haverford Monthly Meeting, as representing an independent preparative meeting in connection with it. A first day meeting for six months is also established at Plymouth by the Haverford Monthly Meeting. In the following year Plymouth Meeting was also established as a preparative meeting.

A great difficulty had occurred among Friends in respect to the payment of a levy authorized for the support of government. Many of them had refused to pay, on the ground, it is supposed, that some part of the money would be appropriated to military purposes. The matter was at length brought before the Chester Quarterly Meeting, which body, after due consideration, and the avowal that the Society "have been always ready and willing to assist and support civil government," did order "that all be advised not to refuse the paying any levys lawfully demanded; and if any be stubborn and not take advice by their brethren, that they be speedily dealt with, and truth kept clear."

The decision of the yearly meeting, in respect to Newtown Meeting, excluded the Haverford Monthly Meeting from extending its jurisdiction over any other meetings in Chester county. Upon application, the Chester Quarterly Meeting now authorizes the Friends of Goshen to establish a meeting "every other first day at the house of Griffith Jones."

"Chester [preparative] Meeting, proposeth their intentions of purchasing in the town, which this meeting approves of, provided they preserve and keep in good order the old Burying place."

King William died January 18, 1702, but it was not till July 10th, that

his successor, the Princess Anne, of Denmark, was proclaimed at Philadelphia as Queen of England.

But the most important event of the year was the legislative separation of the three lower counties from the Province. Before leaving the country, Penn had given his reluctant assent to this separation, to take place at any time within three years. It was now accomplished, very much against the wishes of Governor Hamilton. From this time the separation was final.

It appears from the Warrant of Survey, the original of which is filed in the Surveyor General's office, that up to about the time William Penn returned to England, a tribe of Indians, known as the Okekockings, were seated within the present limits of Delaware county. This tract to which the Indians were removed, is located in the township of Willistown, in the present county of Chester.

Early in 1703, Governor Hamilton died. The Council, with Edward Shippen as its president, administered the affairs of the government till the end of the year, when John Evans, the newly appointed governor, arrived.

Upon the petition of Humphrey Ellis, Daniel Lewis, and fifty-eight others, "the principal inhabitants of y^e^ Welsh Tract," to the Council, Samuel Richardson, David Lloyd, Rowland Ellis, Wm. Howell, Wm. Jenkins, and Richard Thomas, were appointed to view certain roads that had been laid out, and "to lay out and survey one direct road of fifty foot in breadth, as convenient in all respects as may be, both to y^e^ inhabitants and settlers of y^e^ interjacent lands & travellers, Leading from Willm. Powell's ferry, on Schuykill & passing Haverford meeting House to y^e^ principal part of Goshen Township, and thence continued in a direct course to y^e^ upper settlements on Brandywine." * * *

The laying out of this road indicates that the settlements were rapidly progressing westward. This is corroborated by the additional fact that the Friends of Goshen were sufficiently numerous to erect a meeting-house this year, at which the quarterly meeting ordered a meeting to be kept every first day, except the last first day in every 10th, 1st, 4th, and 7th months, at which times it was ordered "to be kept at David Jones' at Whiteland in the Great Valley." There was also a meeting ordered to be kept at "the Goshen meeting house," every sixth day. The "Goshen meeting house," here referred to, is the meeting place at Robert Williams, as will be seen hereafter. The next year the Whiteland meeting was discontinued, and ordered to be held at "Robert Williams in Goshen." Although a meeting-house had been erected at Springfield for some time, the deed for the ground (two acres) was not delivered till 1703. It was conveyed by Bartholomew Coppock, Jr.

The earliest record that has come under the notice of the author, in which a burying-place at Chester is mentioned (other than that of the Quakers) is the will of John Johnson [Jan Jansen] "of Markes Creek," dated 1684-5. He desires to be buried "in Chester alias Upland." The testator was a Dutchman, and doubtless an Episcopalian, and hence it may be inferred, that the burying-place mentioned was one belonging to an organized congregation of Episco-

palians at Chester. But the fact that the testator designates the burying-place by the name of the town, and not by that of the church, is very strong, though not conclusive evidence, that no church edifice had been erected at the time of making this will; and that the establishment of an Episcopal burying-place at Chester, by that Society, preceded the erection of a church edifice, of any kind many years.

The ground at Chester, known in ancient times as "The Green," was church land, but it belonged to the Swedes. It was much nearer the river than St. Paul's Church. The Swedes never had a church at Chester, and the fact, that in parting with their church lands at that place, they make no reservation of a burying-place, is most satisfactory evidence that no part of these lands had been appropriated to the interment of the dead. From all the facts and circumstances that have come to the knowledge of the author, he has arrived at the conclusion that the Episcopalians had no church edifice at Chester, prior to the erection of the old St. James' brick church, recently demolished, and that it was erected between the years 1702 and 1704.

The presentments now made by the grand juries have become very numerous. The necessity of a pair of stocks and a whipping-post, in the town of Chester, is again presented, and the township of Chester is presented for not erecting the former, and for not clearing the road. In fact many of the presentments are "for not clearing the roads."

At the last court in 1703, the grand jury presented "the old court house as being a nuisance to the town in case of fire, and also the chimney of Henry Hollingsworth in Chester town." In consequence of this presentment, the court "on deliberate consideration orders that the said house be pulled down, and that Jasper Yeates, chief burgess of the borough of Chester, shall see the said order performed."

Since the first settlement of the county, the sentences of imprisonment, by the court, have been very rare. For many years past there has been none until this year, when ——— ——— was ordered "to remain in prison till he give security for his good behaviour."

The following is a sentence on a man servant of Richard Woodward, for stealing a horse, saddle, bridle and wearing apparel from Jonathan Munrow: "That the said ——— ——— shall serve his said master and Jonathan Munrow, or their assigns seven years, (which time is to be equally divided betwixt them, and they to be at equal charge,) and to wear a T according to law."

"West town" makes its appearance as a township in 1703—its first constable being Richard Buffington.

The attention of the justices was frequently called to matters that would now scarcely claim the attention of our courts. Thus, an apprentice boy complains that his master had not freely performed his duty in teaching him to read and write. The court directs the master "to put the said servant to school one month, and to instruct his said servant another month."

An illegitimate child is brought to the court, whose reputed father could not be found out. The court ordered the child "to be called John Thorley."

Tavern licenses were granted by the governor, but none could apply but such as were recommended by the court. The application for these "recommendations" were rather annoying.

At the May court, this year, a commission from Governor Evans to Jasper Yeates, Caleb Pusey, Jeremiah Collett, Philip Roman and Jonathan Hayes was read, when they were qualified as Justices.

In the year 1701, an act was passed authorizing the erection of a bridge over Chester creek, in the town of Chester, and ordering the justices of the county court of this county "to lay out a road from the Kings road that leads to New Castle and Maryland, near as may be to Ralph Fishbourn—the intended place for a bridge over Chester creek." The road was not laid out till this year, when it appears the bridge was completed. But another trouble presented itself; for some of the inhabitants of Chichester "did declare they would never cut nor clear" the said road. But the court got round the difficulty by ordering "the inhabitants of Chester, with such others as are willing to assist them, at their own proper charge, for the more effectual answering the said law, and speedy accommodation of all travellers, to cut and clear the road as they had laid it out." The Chester people were very anxious for the road, and the work was soon accomplished, and a report thereof made to the next court. The great thoroughfare, by land, from the north to the south now, for the first time, passed through Chester.

Application was made in 1704 to the Chichester and Concord Monthly Meeting of Friends, by John Bennett and Elizabeth Webb, "on behalf of the inhabitants of the upper part of Birmingham and Brandywine creek," to have a meeting at the house of John Bennett. This application was granted and afterwards confirmed by the quarterly meeting. Birmingham meeting had its origin in the meeting thus established.

There appears to have been an unusually great rain on the first of May this year—so unusual that the circumstance is recorded in the minutes of Chester Quarterly Meeting.

What is now known in the Society of Friends as a Preparative Meeting being a thing of recent introduction, Darby submits the manner of their preparative meeting to the Quarterly Meeting for their approbation. They also make the inquiry, Whether persons intending marriage may appear by writing at the preparative meeting. The answer was: "they may not, but by themselves or friends."

Goshen, Whiteland, Willistown, Kennet and Marlborough now appear to be organized as townships, and return constables to the court.

The law requiring applications to the Governor for license to keep tavern, had the effect of lessening the number of legalized public houses. Some still persisted in selling liquors without license, but through the vigilance of the grand jury, few were allowed to escape the penalty of the law. The court did not in every instance at once cut short the traffic in liquor by persons whom they could not cordially indorse. As an instance of the leniency of the justices in this respect, John Test was recommended to the Governor "for a license to

sell strong liquors by retail for six months and no longer, in consideration that he now hath liquors lying on his hand, which cannot, without great damage, be vended as is supposed in much less time." John Test kept tavern in Darby.

A Supreme or Provincial Court was held in Chester this year in which John Guest and Jasper Yeates officiated as justices. This court declined to try an indictment for burglary, on the ground that it had no jurisdiction in the case.

Instead of grand jurors holding their office for a year as formerly, there is now a new grand jury called at every court. Many of their presentments have the form of regular indictments, but others bear unmistakable evidence of having been drawn up in the grand jury room, of which the following is a specimen: "We the Grand Jury do present the want of a good lawful bridge over the Sweed's mill creek, and also over Darby creek, and also over Crum Creek, and to have the Queen's road made good, laid out according to law through Darby township & the township of Ridley to clear the road and mend the bridges."

At the close of the year 1705, an act was passed by the legislature "to assure, grant and convey unto Ralph Fishbourne of Chester, Gent, one messuage, Cottage, house or Tenements and lot of land thereunto belonging, situate in Chester, in the county of Chester aforesaid, formerly known by the name of the old Court house, to hold to the said Ralph Fishbourne, his heirs and assigns forever." This court-house was built in 1685.

Governor Evans was a young man, and was alike destitute of correct principles and good morals. He hated the Quakers, and in order to test their doctrine of non-resistance, he restored to a trick so contemptible in character, that it should at once have insured his dismissal from office. With one French, who was stationed at New Castle, and others, he concerted a plot, to raise an alarm, by announcing the approach of hostile vessels. On the appointed day, (May 16, 1706,) French sent a messenger to the Governor in the greatest haste, with the false news, which the Governor and others in the plot pretended to believe, and did not fail to circulate far and wide. The Governor, in order to play his part the better, rode through the streets of Philadelphia on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand, in the greatest apparent consternation. This false alarm must have reached Chester before it reached Philadelphia, but no document has been met with in which the subject is mentioned. By evening of the same day, the untruthfulness of the story became known, and its authors were glad to hide themselves in order to avoid the just indignation of an insulted people.

The Great Southern road, as originally laid out, crossed Darby creek at nearly the same point where it now crosses—just at the head of tide. The place of crossing Crum, Ridley and Chester creeks was also at the head of tide water, and the main route of the road had a general direction to suit these points for crossing the creeks. A bridge had been built over Chester creek at Chester, and the road had lately been varied at that point. Upon the petition of the inhabitants of the town and county of Chester to the Governor and

Council, Jasper Yeates, Caleb Pusey, Jeremiah Collet, Robert Barber and John Hendrickson, were appointed "to lay out the Queens road on as direct a line as may be from Darby to answer the bridge on Chester creek." At the same time the Council ordered, that "if there shall be occasion for building a bridge over any Navigable Creek or water, for the greater convenience of Travelling the said road, that such bridge shall be so built, that the same may in no wise hinder any boats from passing, either up or down such creek or water." The road was promptly laid out in pursuance of this order of Council, and the justices of the court at once directed the supervisors of Chester, Ridley, and Darby to be notified by the sheriff to clear the same. This does not appear to have been done; for, agreeably to a draft submitted to Council in 1747, by Joseph Bonsall and John Davis, scarcely any part of the road then travelled corresponded with the road laid out in 1706—the travelled road, except for a very short distance, being from twenty to forty perches or more south of that laid out in 1706.

By agreement between the Philadelphia and Chester Quarterly Meetings, Newtown Meeting was transferred to the latter. There was also a preparative meeting extablished at Nottingham this year, by the Concord and Chichester Monthly Meetings.

Under directions from the quarterly meeting, action was taken in the several monthly meetings of the Society of Friends on the subject of gravestones. The committees appointed on that subject by Chester Monthly Meeting found but "six small stones to the graves." It was "the sense of the meeting," that they "be sunk or taken away." At Darby, where gravestones appear to have been more common, the request for their removal was directed to the relatives of the deceased. The task was, therefore, very reluctantly performed, and in some cases the relatives disregarded a request so much at variance with their feelings. Eventually the subject gave rise to considerable dissatisfaction in this meeting and others.

It does not appear to have been the practice, in early times, for the Society of Friends to keep a record of the voluntary relinquishment of membership. It is therefore impossible to ascertain the number who took sides with George Keith. Some of them returned to the Society, made an acknowledgment of their error, and were kindly received. Others did not, and are spoken of in the Society as Separatists. Between these and the Society of Friends no very friendly feeling existed. In 1703, Newtown Meeting reported to Haverford Monthly Meeting, with which it was then united, "that divers that had formerly separated from Friends, desire to join with them in their burying-place." It was the judgment of the meeting, "that they should not be concerned with them while they so continue." And again, this year, "W——— T——— of Newtown attending the funeral of a child of one of his neighbors, a Separatist, and one of the Separatists going to prayer, he unadvisedly took off his hat, which he acknowledges to be a scandal to the truth, and is sorry for it."

A proposition was made last year, to Chester Monthly Meeting, by the Goshen Friends, "for building a meeting house and having a grave-yard near

Edgment road in Goshen," but no action was then taken. This year the proposition is renewed in these words: "Friends of Goshen meeting laid their intention, of building a meeting house near Robert Williams by the Burying ground, which this meeting hath nothing to object against." A meeting was at the same time authorized to be held once a month in Whiteland, and once in six weeks at James Thomas' in the Valley.

At the February court of this year, Jeremiah Collett, constable of Chichester, was presented by the grand jury for neglect of duty, in not presenting Mordecai Howill, "for working and suffering his children and servants to work and do servile labor on the first day of the week." What was done with Mordecai Howill does not appear, but the poor constable, after pleading guilty, was sentenced by the court "to pay a fine of five shillings and his fees, and then go Quitt."

Heretofore all bridges have been a township charge. All the bridges on the recently laid out Queen's road, and all bridges on roads leading to the same, are directed by the court to "be erected, repaired and maintained at the public charge of the county of Chester." This order of the court does not appear to be in pursuance of any law on the subject.

The first report of damages by reason of laying out a public road, was made to the November court of this year. The damage was laid at £5, for "passing over Joseph Richard's manured land."

At the following February term, three constables were appointed by the Justices, "to attend this court." This is the first instance of such an appointment, furnished by the records of the court.

The following is a part of the proceedings of a Court of Private Sessions, held in December, 1708: "Whereas there is a necessity for a new door for the prison, being the common gaol, ordered that Henry Hollingsworth, clerk of the said county, forthwith cause a door for the said prison to be made and grated with Iron bars on the outside, and so finished that it may be secure from either cutting or firing by prisoners." Most of us who have served as grand jurors, in visiting the old prison at Chester, will recollect this grated door.

At the May term, "Thomas Clarke appeared in open court and was qualified attorney general for the county of Chester, according to law." This is the first appearance of such an officer, though occasionally an attorney has represented the Crown in a particular case.

The administration of Governor Evans was as unpopular as the foolish conduct of a profligate young man, filled with conceit, could make it. His altercations with the Assembly were constant; but at length that body, aided by other real friends of the Province, secured his recall. He was superseded in September, by the appointment of Colonel Charles Gookin, who did not, however, arrive in the Province till the following March.

A new commission was issued to the justices of the several counties. Those appointed for Chester county were: "Jasper Yeates, Caleb Pusey, Philip Roman, Jon^{a}. Hayes, Tho^{s}. Powell, Nicholas Pile and Henry Pierce."

The constant altercations between the Governor and Council on the one side and the Assembly on the other, during the administration of Governor Evans, were such an impediment to legislation, that but little was effected either for good or for evil. James Logan was the leading spirit on the side of the Governor, and it cannot be doubted that he supposed he was fairly representing the interests of the Proprietary. His conduct, however, throughout, cannot at this day be defended, though it may be, in a measure, excused on account of the unmanageable character of the Governor, through whom he was obliged to act. On the side of the Assembly, David Lloyd held a similar position; and while we may regret the impetuosity of temper he sometimes exhibited, a fair and impartial examination of the questions discussed, will show that he was generally on what would be considered the right side at this day. His views were in advance of the age in which he lived, and, as a necessity, in advocating them he not only encountered the prejudices of the times, but every interest that had grown out of them. But this controversy belongs to the history of the State, rather than to that of one of its smallest counties.

Settlements were now rapidly extending westward. New meeting-houses and mills were being erected, and new roads laid out.

Application is made to the Chichester and Concord Monthly Meeting, and by it to the Quarterly Meeting, "that the meeting of worship kept at the house of William Browne in Nottingham, may for the future be kept at the new meeting house, there built for that end and purpose, every first, and fifth days." A road is also petitioned for, to the court, "from Thomas Jarman's mill in the Great Valley to William Davis' mill in Radnor." The Friends of Newtown also have intention "to build a meeting house near Friends burial yard."

So great had been the prosperity of our Quaker settlers that they were not only able to build their own meeting-houses, but were able and willing to aid distant communities of the same faith to erect similar edifices. Accordingly we find the Treasurer of Chester Monthly Meeting ordered "to pay eight pounds, Boston money, to Samuel Carpenter or Isaac Morris, it being this meeting's proportion of one hundred pounds, that the Yearly Meeting appointed to be raised for Friends of Boston in order for their assistance in paying for their meeting house."

The Indians manifested some uneasiness about this time, which was communicated to the Governor by William Dalbo, of Gloucester county, New Jersey, "who acquainted him that there is a Belt of Wampum come to Conestogo, from Mahquahotonoi; y^t there was a Tomahock in Red in the belt, & y^t the French with five nations of Indians were designed for war, and to fall on some of these plantations." This information was duly laid before the Council, by the Governor, on the 14th of April, and also a letter he had received from Mr. Yeates, Caleb Pusey and Thomas Powell, dated the same day, "purporting that to-morrow there was to be a great concourse of Indians, those of Conestogo & those of the Jersey; that they were of opinion that it might be a seasonable opportunity for the Govr. to visit them altogether; the

meeting being the greatest that has been known these Twenty years, and is to be about two miles from Jno. Warraws [Jno. Worralls], at Edgmond." It was the opinion of the board "that the Governor with some of the Council, and as many others as can be got should go to-morrow to meet the s^{d} Indians to inquire further of them about the said Belt of Wampum, and what else may be thought necessary." The Governor and others doubtless met the Indians, as here indicated, but as no report of the interview was made to the Council, it is probable the principal chiefs were not present. On the 29th of April some more alarming news was communicated to the Council, which induced the Governor to visit Conestogo and have an interview with the Red Men. He found them "very well inclined to the English," but they complained of aggressions that had been committed on them by the white man. The Governor, immediately on his return from Conestogo, sent Colonel French and Henry Worley to ascertain more fully the wishes of the Indians. These gentlemen returned with eight belts of wampum, and made their report to the Council on the 16th of June. Each of these belts had a particular significance. The import of three of them will be given: The first was from their old women, and signified "that those implored their friendship of the Christians and Indians of this Govm^{t}, that without danger or trouble, they might fetch Wood & Water. The second Belt was sent from their children born, and those yet in the womb, requesting that room to sport & play without danger of Slavery, might be allowed them. "The third Belt was sent from their young men fitt to hunt, that privilege to leave their Towns, and seek provision for their aged, might be granted to them, without fear of Death or Slavery." The last two of these belts have a significance that cannot be misunderstood. They plainly suggest the reason for the passage in 1705 of the "Act to prevent the importation of Indian slaves."

At the election in October of this year, the liberal party, of which David Lloyd was the acknowledged leader, was defeated throughout the province. This defeat has been attributed to a letter from the Proprietary, dated at London, 29th 4th mo. [July], 1710, which censures unsparingly, the course pursued by the Assembly. This, however, is a mistake, for the letter was not received till after the election. The people had become wearied with the incessant controversy kept up between their representatives and the Governor and Council, and though they may not have approved of the conduct of the latter, they availed themselves of the only means in their power to terminate the political broils which, by obstructing all useful legislation, had come to be regarded as a more serious evil than to yield to the demands of their opponents. David Lloyd removed to Chester in 1710, but whether before or after the election is not known. In 1712 he was chosen a representative from Chester county.

The defeat of the liberal party produced more harmonious action in the government. Still there was a considerable difference of opinion between the representatives of the people and the official dependents of the Proprietary,

but each side evincing a more yielding disposition than heretofore, the progress of legislation was not materially impeded.

Towards the close of 1711, Newtown Meeting informed the Chester Monthly Meeting "that their meeting house is near finished, and desired that their meeting may be removed from Evans Lewis' to the meeting house."

At a monthly meeting, held 28th of 2d mo. (April), 1712, the representatives of Goshen meeting "moved the request of several friends that lives at a place called Youchland, to have a meeting at the house of John Cadwaladers." This meeting was allowed to be held "every first and fifth days, except when a meeting is kept at James Thomas', they meeting once in six weeks with the Great Valley friends at James Thomas'."

Preachers among the Friends were very numerous in most of the meetings in the county about this time, and several of them were quite eminent. These were frequently engaged in making religious visits to distant places—to Virginia, Carolina, Barbadoes, Long Island, New England, and sometimes to Great Britain. Elizabeth Webb, of Birmingham, returned this year from a visit to England and Wales, with certificates of approval from six different monthly and quarterly meetings, and John Salkeld is furnished with a certificate "to visit friends in the Islands, and also in Great Britain and Ireland, or elsewhere," and in the following year John Jarman, of Radnor, asked for a certificate to visit England and Wales. Many such religious visits might be enumerated.

There appears to have been a congregation of Seventh-day Baptists organized in Newtown about this period. It is referred to in a minute of Chester Monthly Meeting, in which complaint is made that a member "inclines to join that sect, and hath frequented their meetings."

"A petition of a great number of the inhabitants of the county of Chester" was presented to the Governor and Council, "praying that y^e^ Borough of the Town of Chester, in this Province may be made a free Port." The matter was referred to the Proprietary, that he might "take proper methods concerning the same & Consult the Comr of the Queen's Customs therein." If this application had been successful, the improvement of the venerable borough would not have been left for the present generation to accomplish.

An act was passed in 1712 to prevent the importation of Negroes and Indians into this Province. The passage of this law was the first effort made to restrain the increase of negro slavery in Pennsylvania, but it was subsequently repealed by the crown. This result was brought about by commercial considerations alone, regardless of the dictates of humanity or the interests of the Province.

Wearied with his pecuniary incumbrances and the troubles that were incident to his Proprietary rights, which his increasing years and declining health rendered him less able to bear, Penn entered into a negotiation for the sale of the Province to the Queen. The price (£12,000), and other particulars of the sale, had been agreed upon, when the Proprietary was suddenly seized with a

partial paralysis, from which he never sufficiently recovered to enable him formally to execute the contract.

A road was this year laid out "from Providence Lower road by Rich^{d} Crosby's mill to Edgment road." This is the first mention of Crosby's mill that has come to the notice of the author.

The following extract from the records of Haverford Monthly Meeting would seem to indicate that a pecuniary stimulant was necessary to secure a confirmation by the Crown of certain provincial legislative enactments: "It was signified by the Quarterly Meeting that some friends disbursed money on account of getting the affirmation act confirmed, which are yet unpaid; and the proportion thereof befalling upon this meeting appears to be one pound, fourteen shillings one penny half penny, and Thomas Jones is ordered to pay the same according to the desire and order of the Quarterly meeting." An affirmation act was among the earliest laws enacted by Penn. but this was annulled by Queen Anne in 1705, and consequently Friends were subjected to the form allowed in England, which was in these words: "I, A— B—, do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say, &c." Some Friends objected to this form of affirmation on account of the appeal made to the Supreme Being, and it was to remove this difficulty that the act in question was passed. The application for its confirmation was not successful.

Many persons have been led to believe from the date on the Friends' meeting-house at Merion, that the present edifice was erected in 1695. That date undoubtedly refers to the first meeting-house, a temporary structure of wood erected on the same site. The present meeting-house, which has been renovated within a few years past, was erected in 1713. The following minute adopted by Haverford Meeting on the 8th of the 8th mo. (October) of that year, is conclusive upon the subject: "This meeting agrees that Merion frds shall have the money lent to Rees Howell and Joseph Evans, towards finishing their meeting house." Another minute shows that "the five pounds old currency, lent to Rees Howell was paid towards finishing Merion Meeting house."

Haverford Monthly Meeting this year authorized a first-day meeting "in Upper Merion at the house of Rowland Ellis, and at David Meredith's house on the fourth day of the week." * * *

In 1714 "friends inhabiting about Perquaming and this side of Schulkill in y^{e} valley being desirous y^{t} a meeting might be allowed y^{m} every other m^{o}, to be & begin att Lewis Walker's house the first in 2nd m^{o} next and thence every other month, att Joseph Richardsons house until y^{e} 9th mo. next."

Gwynedd was established as a monthly meeting in 1714. It included Plymouth, and probably other meetings.

The annual and semi-annual fairs held at different villages had become places of so much disorder and vice, that Friends found it necessary to appoint persons to have an oversight of the youth who assembled there.

Queen Anne died August 1st, 1714, and was succeeded by George the First, but as no official announcement of the decease of Her Majesty had been

made, the legislature that met in October adjourned over till February. David Lloyd was again returned to the legislature and elected speaker.

The circular line between the counties of Chester and New Castle, that had been run in 1701, was not confirmed by the Legislature till 1715.

By the death of the Queen, all commissions granted during her reign expired. The following persons were appointed justices for the county of Chester at the commencement of the reign of George the First, viz.: Caleb Pusey, Nicholas Pyle, Richard Webb, Henry Pearce, Henry Neal, Nicholas Fairlamb, John Blunston, Jr., and Richard Hayes.

Another affirmation act was passed this year, and received the approbation of Governor Gookin. "By an act of Parliament of 1 Geo. I. the Stat. of 7 & 8 Wil. III." was made perpetual in Great Britain, and was extended to the Colonies for five years. By a provision of this latter act, no Quaker by virtue thereof, could be qualified or permitted to give evidence in criminal cases, or serve on juries, or hold any office of profit in the Government. The Governor contended that this act repealed the provincial law, and had the same disqualifying effects upon Quakers here as it had in England. Most of the important offices in the Province were filled by Quakers; and the Justices of the Supreme Court hesitated to perform their duties in the face of the opinion of the Governor. Under these difficulties, criminal justice was not, for a time, administered throughout the Province.

One of the most important cases left untried, was that of Hugh Pugh and others for the murder of Jonathan Hayes, in Chester county. The criminals were eventually admitted to bail. The evidence is almost conclusive that the murdered man was the same Jonathan Hayes who resided in Marple, and who served for a long time as a justice of the court, and sometimes as a member of the legislature. The murder excited great interest in the county. Three men were fined for refusing to aid the constable "in apprehending Hugh Pugh," who was charged as a principal in the murder; and so much interest attached to the case, that three persons were appointed by the court to find a place more convenient than the court-house for the trial of the murderers.

The subject of negro slavery had for some time engaged the attention of sundry members of the Society of Friends, and as early as 1688 a little community of German Quakers, at Germantown, arrived at the conclusion that holding slaves was inconsistent with Christianity. These people presented the subject to the monthly meeting to which they belonged, in a letter alike remarkable for the simplicity of its language and the strength of the arguments adduced against holding human beings in bondage.

But even the Society of Friends was not, as a body, quite prepared at that period to view the institution as sinful. The monthly meeting, though it regarded the tenor of the letter as "being nearly related to truth," found the questions involved therein too weighty for its decision, and accordingly, referred the subject to the quarterly meeting, which, in like manner, and for a like reason, submitted the matter to the consideration of the yearly meeting. This body unquestionably represented the Society not only within the limits of

the Province, and three lower counties, but also those settled in parts of New Jersey and Maryland. The following minute made upon the occasion should at least teach us to exercise an abundance of charity towards the people of the South who still regard the institution with so much favor: "A paper was presented by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping negroes. It was adjudged not to be proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts; and, therefore, at present, they forbear it."

Such a decision, made by other men, under other circumstances, might be regarded as a convenient shift to get rid of a disagreeable question they had not the moral courage to meet. But such a suspicion cannot attach to these early Quakers. Their faithfulness to what they regarded as the Truth, had been tested, in very many of them, by the severest persecution that the bigotry of the age dared to inflict. To them, it may be remarked, the institution was presented in its mildest form; and doubtless many of them had witnessed a moral improvement in the imported Africans distributed amongst them. They were really not prepared to give "a positive judgment in the case," but it ever after continued to be one upon which the Society was deeply exercised, until the total abolition of slavery was accomplished.

In 1696, Friends are advised by the yearly meeting, "not to encourage the bringing in any more negroes." It also gives wholesome advice in respect to their moral training. In 1711, the Quarterly Meeting of Chester declared to the yearly meeting, "their dissatisfaction with Friends buying and encouraging the bringing in of negroes." The advice of the yearly meeting only goes to the discouragement of the slave trade. The London Yearly Meeting was appealed to for advice, but none could be had, except that the importing of slaves from their native country by Friends, "is not a commendable or allowable practice." In 1714, a law was passed imposing a duty of £20 on each negro slave imported, on the ground "that the multiplying of them may be of dangerous consequence." This act was promptly disallowed by the home government.

In 1715 the Monthly Meeting of Chester had the subject of slaves again under consideration, and unanimously came to the conclusion "that friends should not be concerned hereafter, in the importation thereof, nor buy any." This buying, the quarterly meeting concluded, had only reference to imported slaves. If so, the action of the monthly meeting did not go one step beyond what had already been determined upon by the yearly meeting. There is some reason, however, to believe that the term was used in a more general sense, as will be seen by a minute adopted the following year.

Up to about this period, the dealings with offending members in the Society of Friends, were, in general, for a violation of discipline, or for slight offences. No one had, as yet, been dealt with for a failure to pay his debts, and but few cases of a scandalous nature appear upon the minutes of the Society. But this generation of early Quakers, whose record for strict moral rectitude has scarcely a parallel in the annals of religious sects, was about passing away, to be succeeded by their descendants, who were mostly members by birthright.

and whose faithfulness to their religious profession had not been tested by severe trials and persecutions. A greater laxity of morals is observable, though the number of cases brought to the notice of the several meetings is by no means large. To remedy this growing evil, an ill-judged public exposure of the offender was now for the first time resorted to. The following minute from the Darby Record is the prelude to this singular and rather unfeeling practice, in that meeting: "This meeting having considered that inasmuch as the Book of Discipline directs that all papers of condemnation be published as near as may so far as the offence hath reached the ears of the people, Do upon deliberation of the matter conclude that for the future all papers of condemnations which the monthly meeting shall judge the offence to be a publick scandal, shall be read as speedily as may be at first day meeting, and published further as there may be occasion." It is but fair to state that no such paper of condemnation was issued until repeated, and re-repeated efforts had been exhausted in endeavors to reclaim the offender.

There were a few Baptists located within our limits at a very early date. It is said that one Able Noble, who arrived in 1684, "formed a society of Baptists in Upper Providence, Chester county, where he baptized Thomas Martin a public Friend." Noble appears to have been a Seventh-day Baptist, and belonged to a community that was afterwards known as Kiethian Baptists. Besides Thomas Martin, a number of baptisms are recorded as having taken place at a very early period, and at various places in the county; but a highly interesting manuscript in the possession of Robert Frame, Esq., of Birmingham, satisfies me that no regular church of the Baptist persuasion had been organized till 1715. Meetings, it is true, were held in private houses in Chester, Ridley, Providence, Radnor, and Springfield, and baptism was performed according to ancient order, in the adjacent creeks, and even the Lord's Supper was administered, but these were the doings of variable congregations, rather than the acts of an organized church.

The paper referred to is in the nature of a constitution, and the organization effected under it, afterwards assumed the title of the "Brandywine Baptist Church," by which it has continued to be known to the present time. It will be perceived that these early Baptists used the same designation for the months and days as the Quakers. Most of them had been members of that sect; quite a large proportion were of Welsh origin.

The minute adopted by the Chester Monthly Meeting in 1715 in respect to negro slavery, is rendered explicit by the following, adopted by the same meeting this year: "The meeting desires the Quarterly Meeting will take into their further consideration, the buying and selling of negroes, which gives great encouragement for bringing them in, and that no friend be found in the practice of buying any, that shall be imported hereafter."

A preparative meeting was settled at Caln in 1716, by Concord Monthly Meeting.

From orders made by the court for the repair of the bridge over Chester creek, at Chester, it appears that its original construction with a draw was still

maintained. From a similar order, "to repair y^e^ bridge over Ridley creek in the great new road now leading from Chester to Philadelphia," it may be inferred that it did not contain a draw.

It would appear from the court records of this period, that but twelve traverse jurors sometimes attended at a court, and fifteen grand jurors. The sentences of the court change from time to time, sometimes in consequence of a change in the law, at others, from the whims of the justices. This year a sentence for larceny to the value of £8 was, that the defendant pay four fold and costs, "and be whipped 21 lashes, and to wear a roman T of a blue colour for the space of six months not less than four inches long each way, and one inch broad, and be committed till he comply with s^d^ Judgment." This was not an unusual punishment.

In early times the office of sheriff was not so profitable as it now is, and as a sort of perquisite the sheriff was allowed to keep tavern. Hence we find Nicholas Fairlamb, a newly elected sheriff, petitioning to the court to be recommended for a license. In later times the tavern was kept in the dwelling apartment of the prison.

Governor Gookin had become very unpopular with all parties long before the close of his administration. He was superseded by Hon. William Keith, a Scotchman, who arrived at Philadelphia on May 31, 1717, and was sworn into office the next day.

Total abstinence from the use of intoxicating drinks was not thought of in early times; but the subject of their excessive use was frequently brought before the business meetings of the Quakers. Selling rum to the Indians was attended with so many evil consequences, that it was frequently testified against by different meetings of the Society. But rum was regarded as an article of necessity. It was in general use, and was sold by Friends of the highest standing, and sometimes at the houses at which the earlier meetings of the Society were held. But the evils resulted from intoxication were too apparent to be passed over by a sect making high professions of morality, and hence we find frequent testimonies borne against drunkenness. The following is a specimen from the minutes of Chester Monthly Meeting: "Friends being under a weighty concern for the preservation of good order at all times, and particularly in the approaching time of harvest, and it is desired friends avoid all extravagant customs and drinking to excess."

Meetings had for a long time been held at private houses in Birmingham, but no regular meeting-house was established till 1718, when the first was erected at or near the site of the present Birmingham meeting-house. It is said to have been built of cedar logs.

A new Friends' meeting-house was also built at Radnor this year. The minutes of the monthly meeting that relate to the erection of this edifice are given, to show the cautious manner in which such enterprises were entered upon in these early times. The first minute is dated at a meeting held at Haverford, 8th mo. 10th of the previous year, and runs thus: "A letter from our Friend Benjamin Holm to this meeting, recommending to their consideration

the stirring up of frd^{s} in y^{e} building of their meeting house att Radnor, and with desires y^{t} we should be concerned for y^{e} prosperity of Truth, was read in this meeting and approved off. Likewise this meeting pursuant to Radnor frds desire acquiess wth y^{m} in building a new meeting house and this meeting appoints David Morris, David Lewis, Edd. Rees and Robert Jones, Richard Hayes and Samuel Lewis to assist y^{m} In y^{e} contrivance [and] y^{e} building Thereof, and they meet together ab^{t} it on y^{e} 21st of this instant, [and report] to y^{e} next meeting."

The members of the committee all belonged to the preparative meetings of Haverford and Merion. The next meeting was held at Merion, and one of its minutes embraces the report of the committee: "Some friends of those appointed to assist Radnor friends In y^{e} Contrivance of a new meeting house then having acc^{t}. y^{t} they have accordingly mett and given y^{m} Their thoughts as to y^{e} bigness and form thereof. To w^{ch} Radnor frd^{s} Then there present seemed generally to agree wth."

The monthly meetings were held alternately at Haverford, Merion and Radnor, and in course a meeting would be held at Radnor in the early part of December, 1718. This meeting was ordered to be held at Haverford, "their meeting house at Radnor being not ready." The west end of the present meeting-house at Radnor was the building then erected. The date of its erection is further attested by being cut on a tablet in the east gable.

For some years the intellect of William Penn had been so much impaired as wholly to exclude him from any participation in the affairs of the Province. His general health gradually declined till the time of his death, which happened July 30, 1718. The news of this melancholy event did not reach Pennsylvania till October, when it was formally announced to the Assembly, which was then in session.

Soon after the arrival of Governor Keith, the Supreme Court was so constituted as to hold a court of oyer and terminer at Chester, for the trial of the murderers of Jonathan Hayes. They were promptly tried, and Hugh Pugh and Lazarus Thomas were convicted, and sentenced to be hung. The condemned petitioned the Governor for a reprieve, until the pleasure of his Majesty the King could be known; but the Governor, who had attended the trial and being satisfied of its fairness, was so fully convinced of the guilt of the prisoners, that he at once rejected the petition, and in doing so he was sustained by a majority of his council. The grounds taken in the appeal to the Crown were:—

"1st. Because seventeen of the Grand Inquest who found the bill of Indictment against them, and eight of the Petty Jury who found them guilty were Quakers or Reputed Quakers, and were Qualified no otherwise than by an affirmacon or Declaracon contrary to a statute made in the first year of your Mat^{ies} Reign.

"2ndly. Because the act of Assembly of this Province, by which Judges, Jury & Witnesses were pretended to be Qualified was made & past the Twenty eighth Day of May, in the first year of your Majestie's Reign, which was after s^{d} murder was sup-

posed to be committed; and after another act of Assembly of the same nature was repealed by her Late Majesty, Queen Anne.

"3dly. Because s[d] act of Assembly is not consonant to Reason, but Repugnant & contrary to the Laws, Statutes and Rights of your Majestie's Kingdom."

It appears from the discussion in Council, that the condemned "had for several years appeared at the head of a lawless Gang of Loose fellows, common disturbers of the public peace." The crime had been committed three years before the trial, during part of which time, the accused being out on bail, behaved in the worst possible manner. The appeal made to the Crown in this case is perhaps the only instance on record where any exception has been taken, by a defendant tried for murder, to the presence of Quakers on the jury.

A great alarm from piratical vessels being on the coast prevailed in 1718. Under an act of Grace, promulgated by the King, a number of these pirates had surrendered themselves, and had obtained certificates to that effect from the provincial authorities; but it was suspected that these repentant outlaws still maintained a secret correspondence with their old associates. Measures were at once adopted by the Governor and Council to rid the Province of persons so dangerous to its peace and safety.

An act passed in 1718, "for the advancement of justice, and more certain administration thereof," removed most of the obstacles in the way of Friends participating freely in legislative and judicial concerns. This act was confirmed by the King and Council in the following year. The act "for corroborating the circular line between the counties of Chester and New Castle," that had been passed several years previously, met with a different fate; for what reason does not appear.

"John Wright, Richard Webb, Henry Pierce and Henry Nayle and their associates," now appear as justices of the "General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and jail delivery." The August court was held by John Wright alone. At this court, for an assault and battery committed on a female, the sentence was a fine of £50, "and to stand in the pillory at Chester between y[e] hours of 10 and 2 on the 5[th] day of October, and that he give security for his good behaviour during 7 years next ensuing."

A road was laid out in 1719 from Goshen to Philadelphia, commencing "at the intersection of the Goshen mill road with the Providence road." This road passed by what was formerly known as "the old Square," in Newtown township, and a short distance beyond that point it entered "the Great road leading to Philadelphia."

After the death of William Penn, his eldest son, William, claimed the right to administer the government of the Province, and accordingly issued a new commission to Lieut.-Gov. Keith. After consulting with his Council and also with the Assembly, the Governor declined the new commission, and continued to act under his former appointment. This decision met with the approbation of the home government. William Penn, the younger, died two years after his father, and after some litigation, not only the Province, but the

government of it, descended to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the surviving sons of the Proprietary by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill.

The literature of the Province, so far as the people generally were concerned, was very much restricted to religious publications. These productions were standard works or controversial writings of the Society of Friends, published in England, and sometimes republished in Philadelphia. Such books were distributed with a profuse liberality by the several monthly meetings among their members. Besides Epistles and Testimonies concerning deceased members, few original works had been published in the Province.

Haverford Monthly Meeting had maintained a direct correspondence with the Yearly Meeting of Wales, and there is not wanting other proofs in the minutes of that meeting, that the attachment of the Welsh settlers for their native land was stronger than that which obtained among the English.

Ellis Pugh, a Welsh preacher of some eminence, at first settled in Radnor but subsequently removed to Gwynedd, where he died in 1718. He paid a religious visit to his native land in 1707, and, upon his return the following year, "a concern came upon him" to write a book, "to direct the unlearned Britains of low degree, to know God and Christ, the Life eternal;" which he wrote for the most part during his last sickness.

Though Haverford and Gwynedd now constituted separate monthly meetings, they united in the serious concern of publishing this Welsh book, each meeting having appointed a committee of twelve on the subject. Having been carefully examined and approved, it was formally recommended to "the overseers of the Press at Philadelphia." The approbation of this tribunal, after some delay, was secured, shortly after which the Welsh edition of the book was published under the authority of the quarterly meeting. This is probably the first work ever published in America for the especial benefit of the mother country, and perhaps the only one printed in the Welsh language. This book was published in the English language in 1727, having been translated by Rowland Ellis, and corrected by David Lloyd. Disputes in respect to the line between Philadelphia and Chester counties, north of Radnor, commenced in 1720, and were continued for several years. The road leading from Philadelphia to Conestogo, through Merion and Radnor, was confirmed as far as Thomas Moore's mill, on the Brandywine, by the Governor and Council; but two roads having been laid out beyond the Brandywine, by order of the Chester court, all orders for opening them were for the present superseded.

Two brothers, John and Edmund Cartlidge, who were born and brought up in what is now Upper Darby township, after the death of their father, removed to the neighborhood of the Conestoga, and became Indian traders. Unfortunately, these men became embroiled with a drunken Seneca Indian at some point west of the Susquehanna, and in some way the Indian lost his life. The brothers, and especially John Cartlidge, were accused of the homicide. News of this unpleasant event having reached the ears of the Governor and Council, they regarded it a matter of sufficient moment to require prompt investigation, and accordingly James Logan and Colonel French proceeded im-

mediately to Conestoga, with the sheriff of Chester county, arrested the parties, and, upon Indian testimony, brought the brothers to Philadelphia. John Cartlidge held a commission as justice of the peace for Chester county at the time from which office he was immediately removed; and the government felt it necessary to enter into long and expensive negotiations with the Five Nations, as an atonement for this serious injury and insult offered to their nation.

This year, the Particular Meetings of Newtown, Goshen, and Uwchlan were constituted a separate monthly meeting, to be called Goshen Monthly Meeting. In these meetings the Welsh Friends were largely in the ascendancy, and on that account there was a peculiar propriety in thus uniting them in one ecclesiastical community.

The first instance of a disownment of a member by the Society of Friends, within the limits of this county, for a failure to pay his honest debts, occurs in the early part of 1722. It must be observed, however, that it was the constant practice of the Society to extend relief to members who were brought into pecuniary difficulty through misfortune.

The unsettled line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was the source of considerable difficulty. The officers of Cecil county insisted upon collecting taxes in Nottingham and other border townships, and they even went so far as to make prisoners of Isaac Taylor and Elisha Gatchel, for surveying lands in that vicinity. These gentlemen were both magistrates of Chester county, the former being also a Representative in the Assembly.

The public pound at Chester had been located west of the creek, but from the following minute extracted from the proceedings of the court, it will appear that the most public situation in the borough was now secured for it: "Upon application of some of the inhabitants of Chester for a pound in the said town of Chester, whereupon the court orders, that there be a Pound erected in the Market place in the borough of Chester, forty foot square, well fenced with posts and railings, and a good rack in the middle of s^{d} pound, and that Rich^{d} Marsden be Keeper of the pound, To act, do, and perform according as the act makes mention, &c." A pound was also ordered for Aston at the same court—John Carter to be the keeper.

There were no less than three persons under sentence of death at this time in Chester gaol. Petitions were presented to the Governor and Council, asking that the execution of the sentence might be respited, until such time as the pleasure of the king could be known therein. This application was successful in respect to two of the prisoners, one of whom was a woman; but the third, William Battin, who had been convicted "of divers horrid complicated crimes," was ordered to be executed "and hung in Irons in the most public place, at such time as the Governor shall appoint."

The earliest list of taxables of the county of Chester, that has come to the notice of the author, is contained in the regular assessment of the county, made in 1722, which is still on file in the commissioners' office at West Chester. As the best means of showing the extent of the settlements that had been made at this early period, this assessment has been copied entire, (omitting each per-

son's tax), so far as relates to the townships embraced within the limits of Delaware county; including, however, the whole of the townships of Birmingham and Thornbury. The rate was 3d. in the pound, and 9s. poll tax on each single freeman.

By making a proper allowance for the parts of Birmingham and Thornbury not included in Delaware county, the taxables within its present limits at this early date, numbered about 500. As servants were not taxed, it will be safe to estimate six inhabitants to each taxable, making the population of the district now included in Delaware county, at this time, about 3000. As a general rule the assessment, or valuation, was at the rate of £20 per 100 acres of land, but there appears to have been a little variation in some of the townships. The whole amount of tax imposed within our county's limits was about £278 10s.; equal to a little more than $700.

Beyond the limits of what is now Delaware county, this ancient assessment embraced "West Conestogoe township, containing 64 taxables; East Conestogoe, 147; Peque, '& part of & former District,' 13; Tre^{n} y Dyfrin, 31; White-Land, 13; East-Town, 12; Willis-Town, 20; Ywchlan, 20; Charles-Town, 19; Nantmel, 18; Skoolkil, 27; West-Town, 9; Sadsbury, 20; East Nottingham, 42; Marlborough, 39; West Nottingham, 29; Kennet, 67; Goshen, 19; Bradford, 38; Caln, 33; New Garden, 94, and the inhabitants adjacent, belonging to New Garden, 18,"—making in the whole of Chester county, which then extended to the Susquehanna, the number of taxables 1345, and the population about 8,070.

The very small population of some of the least remote townships, as Westown and Eastown, was owing to the large tracts of land held in those townships by non-residents. The large extent of territory embraced in some of the most distant townships, bordering on the Susquehanna, will account for the relatively large number of taxables returned from that region.

The wide-spread reputation of Penn's government, for freedom and religious toleration, had attracted settlers from different countries, and of different religious beliefs. A large proportion of these settled in the district now embraced in Lancaster county, while very many of the earliest settlers in Chester county, as it is now constituted, emigrated from that part of the original county of that name, out of which Delaware county was formed.

But little of local interest transpired in 1723. The act passed by the legislature authorizing the issue of bills of credit, and making the same current, would, of course, have the effect of giving, in some degree, a fictitious value to property that would be felt in every part of the Province. This was the first paper currency issued in Pennsylvania. An act was also passed in 1723, to reduce the rate of interest of money from eight to six per cent., which has continued to be the legal rate to the present time.

Among objects for which the Society of Friends of the county contributed money in 1723, was for the finishing of Shrewsbury (N. J.) Meeting-house, "for the accommodation of the Quarterly Meeting."

As a punishment for crimes, standing in the pillory has become more fre-

quent than formerly. At the November term of the Chester court in 1723 a man was sentenced to be sold for three years, "to serve after the manner of a servant" for the payment of his gaol fees. Prisoners frequently petitioned to the Court for the privilege of being thus sold; from which it may be inferred that the jails of that day did not afford such comfortable quarters for malefactors as the prisons of modern date.

The ancient but substantial building now occupied as a town hall in the borough of Chester, and which was used as a courthouse up to the time of the removal of the seat of justice to Media, was erected in 1724. The small addition to the rear of the building was erected at a much later date. An act was passed this year "to enable trustees to sell the old court house and prison, belonging to the borough and county of Chester." This sale was effected the following year, and the record shows, conclusively, that the "old court house" referred to was the one built about the year 1694, upon a lot purchased from John Hoskins, and for which a deed was executed by him to the county in 1697. The purchase money paid by the county was £8. The trustees sold the property to William Preston, of Philadelphia, mariner, for £27. The following extract, from the proceedings of the court, shows that the new court-house was, for a time, made the depository of the public records: "At a Court of Private Sessions held at the House of John Hannum in Concord 15th of December, 1724, Joseph Parker having petitioned this Court setting forth ye great danger ye Records of ye County lay in, as well by Casualities of fire, as other accidents which might happen, and refers ye same to our consideration to provide a place for keeping ye said Records in wt may be of greater security whereupon ye Court upon mature consideration of the same, allows ye peticon to be reasonable, & orders ye Clerk to present ye same before ye Commissioners & Assessors of ye same County in order that they may fit a room in ye new Court house for keeping ye sd Records in, & when prepared order ye sd Clerk to transmit all of ye said Records to ye place so appropriated accordingly, and not to be removed without ye Court's direction." It would be difficulty now to see how any additional security against casualities by fire was given to the records, by removing them to the court-house.

It will not be uninteresting to the reader to know in what repute our new paper currency was held in the other provinces, and also to have some light on the kind of coin then in general circulation. The following extract from a letter from Elizabeth Webb, a very intelligent public Friend of Birmingham, while on a religious visit to Long Island, Rhode Island, &c., furnishes this information. The letter is dated at "Newport on Road Island ye 24th of ye 6th mo. 1724," and is addressed to Joseph Brinton of Thornbury. After treating of religious and social affairs, she speaks of having made arrangements for the purchase of a horse, and advises her friend how to proceed in case "he hath a mind for one." "Our paper money," she says, "will not do, and if thou get some changed, it should be for whole pieces of gold for that which is cut will not pass but at £6. an ounce, but the pistole goes for £1. 8s. od. and a moidore at £2. 4s. and a half pistole for 14s."

A bill was passed this year prescribing the forms of declaration of fidelity, affirmation, &c., entirely adapted to the conscientious scruples of Quakers on the subject of taking oaths. Laws of a similar character had been passed, but they failed to meet with the royal sanction, and the people were consequently thrown back on the English act, which many could not sanction. Acts passed by the Council and Assembly usually had the force of laws until they were repealed by the home government, but this one was not to become a law until it had received the approbation of his majesty. This approbation, it will be seen hereafter, was not secured without the employment of money.

A complaint was made to the Assembly by the Indians residing about the Brandywine. They represent that after the sale of their lands to William Penn, "he had re-conveyed to them a tract a mile in extent on each side of the creek, the deed for which, had been burned with the cabin in which it had been deposited; and that the English had made settlements within this tract, had injured their corn, and by dams on the creek, had impeded the passage of fish." Though distrusting the Indian title, their deputies were received with respect by the Assembly, and a promise made to them that their complaints should be inquired into and redressed.

The difficulties and disputes about the circular line between New Castle and Chester counties were again renewed this year, but no definite result was arrived at.

The Affirmation act, before referred to, at length received the royal confirmation. The following extracts from the Records of Haverford Monthly Meeting, at once show the great anxiety of Friends on the subject, and the appliances that were used in those days to secure the royal sanction to a most just and reasonable measure.

3rd mo. 13. "This meeting refers to the consideration of ffrds—getting of money to pay for negotiating ye late affirmation act in Great Britain."

6th mo. 12. "Lewis David, Thomas Thomas and Edward William are designed to take frd's contributions in Cash to defray the Charge of having the Royal assent to ye affirmation act & make report thereof to next meeting."

7th mo. 9. "The friends appointed to receive frds contributions towards having ye Royall assent to ye Affirmation act is continued and advised to press friends to bring it in as soon as may be, in order to be paid to Richd Hill before ye yearly meeting."

10th mo. 9th. "Edwd Williams produced a receipt signed by Richd Hill for eight pounds eighteen shillings, received of him and Thomas Thomas towards negotiating the affirmation act, for account of this meeting."

Besides the above subscription, this monthly meeting subscribed this year £5 10s. 1d. towards building Horsham meeting-house, and £10 10s. 4d. towards the redemption of the wife and children of John Hanson of New England, who had been carried off by the Indians. Chester Monthly Meeting also contributed £10 4s. for this latter purpose.

The minutes of Haverford Monthly Meeting go to show that Sewell's "History of the Quakers" was now in press, and that the yearly meeting had subscribed for five hundred copies. Fourteen of these copies were taken by

Merion and Radnor meetings. The subscription for this work had been commenced in 1723.

An application was made to the court, by an insolvent debtor in prison, "for relief from his imprisonment; y^{t} his creditors may accept his servitude as y^{e} law directs, having no other way to satisfy the same." The court directs that he shall serve his creditors four years; the persons accepting his servitude to pay the costs. But if the creditors do not accept of his servitude in the space of thirty days, then the prisoner is to be sold for four years. There was also a convict ordered to be sold for four years, for the payment of his fine, fees and expenses.

The government of the Province, in 1726, passed out of the hands of Governor Keith. His successor was Patrick Gordon, among whose earliest acts was the recommendation of the culture of silk, which he also urged in a letter to the Lords Commissioners of Trade.

The commission of the peace for Chester county, under the new administration, was filled up with the following names: John Wright, Richard Hayes, Henry Pearce, Nathaniel Newlin, John Wood, Henry Hayes, Isaac Taylor, Elisha Gatchell, Samuel Nutt, John Crosby, Abraham Emmett, Jun., Tho. Ried, George Assheton, Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Mercer Brown, and Evan Lewis.

The Indians living on, or near a branch of the Brandywine, complained to the Governor and Council that their fishing was hindered by the erection of a mill and dam on that creek, in New Castle county. It appears there was a law in the lower counties requiring this dam to be left open in the fishing season, which had not been complied with.

While the poor Indian was thus seeking redress from the provincial authorities for injuries inflicted upon his fishing interest, these authorities were imploring the home government for relief from impositions imposed upon theirs. The shad fisheries of the Delaware were largely productive beyond the home consumption, but an injudicious duty imposed by Parliament on salt, almost excluded salted shad from commerce. New England had obtained an exemption from this duty, and the application of Pennsylvania for the same was entrusted to a Mr. Perry of London. This gentleman was at length successful; and so highly did the provincial authorities esteem his services, that they rewarded them with a donation of 150 guineas.

News of the death of the King having been received, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was, on the 31st of August, proclaimed King, by order of the Governor and Council. As a matter of course all commissions were renewed. James James was added to the list of justices for Chester county.

An addition to Providence meeting-house having been erected last year, a proposition was now made for furnishing the building with a gallery "to accommodate large gatherings."

It is probable the first meeting-house in Caln was erected in 1727, as that meeting had selected ground for said purpose, "upon the farther side of the

valley upon the mountain," and had secured the consent of Concord Monthly Meeting "to proceed."

In 1728, considerable difficulties occurred with the Indians in the more remote settlements, which were attended with the most serious and melancholy consequences. A small band of foreign Indians called Twetchtweys appeared in the neighborhood of "the Iron works at Mahanatawny," armed with guns, pistols, and swords, committing depredations and alarming the inhabitants. As the alarm spread, the danger became magnified, and the stories of Indian murders gained credence. Under apprehensions of danger thus created, two brothers, John and Walter Winter, shot three Indians at a place called Cassea, one man and two women, and wounded two Indian girls. The news of this unfortunate event coming to the ears of the Governor, he caused the brothers, who were respectable farmers, to be arrested by the method of Hue and Cry, together with their neighbor, Morgan Herbert, as accessory to the murder. The prisoners were incarcerated in the noisome dungeon of the old prison at Chester, and there securely chained; but had their trial without much delay before the justices of the Supreme Court, who then held the courts of oyer and terminer for the whole Province. They were all convicted; but Herbert, upon the petition of the people of the county, and more particularly upon that of "David Lloyd, Rich[d] Hill and Jer. Langhorne, the justices of the court," was pardoned. The justices assert in their petition, that "though in strictness of Law, Herbert's offence may be adjudged murder, yet it appeared to them, that he was not active in perpetrating thereof, but unhappily fell into y[e] company of those that committed it." It seems strange that the law could be so strictly construed as to convert a misfortune in a crime. The two Winters were executed; but the facts that have come down to us would warrant the belief, that in committing the homicide they acted upon the belief that the Indians were actually engaged in war against the whites.

On account of "several indecencies having been used towards the members of Assembly attending the service of the country in Philadelphia, by rude and disorderly persons," a proposition was made to change the place of meeting, and Chester was designated as the most suitable place. The Governor suggested a continuance of the sittings of the Assembly for some time at Philadelphia, but that if upon further experience the members continued of the same sentiment, he and the Council agreed that they should adjourn to Chester. This threat to remove the seat of government no doubt had the effect of securing the members from any further indignities, and prevented Chester from being a second time the capital of Pennsylvania.

Early in 1729, Lancaster was organized as a county, without any specified boundary, except the line that separated it from Chester county. This line was run by John Taylor, aided by eleven commissioners. The name of Lancaster for the new county was suggested by John Wright, one of the commissioners, who had emigrated from Lancashire, England, in 1714, and settled in Chester, but had removed to Columbia in 1726.

An act was passed this year authorizing the emission of £30,000, in bills

of credit, and also one laying a duty on negroes imported into the Province. This latter act was repealed by the home government. The evils of slavery were apparent to many of the inhabitants of the Province, especially the Quakers, and it may be supposed that the act in question was intended more as a restraint upon the importation of slaves than as a source of revenue.

It had been a long time since the Quakers first took the subject of slavery under serious consideration, and although the action of their meetings had not resulted in anything of much practical utility, many individuals of the Society testified strongly against the practice of buying and selling of slaves. In 1729, Chester Monthly Meeting adopted the following minute, which was much better calculated to abolish the slave trade than the duty imposed by the legislature: "This Monthly Meeting directs its representatives to lay before the Quarterly Meeting, that as they were by the discipline prevented from fetching or importing negro slaves from their own country, whether it is not reasonable we should not be restricted from buying them when imported, and if so the Quarterly Meeting to lay it before the Yearly Meeting for concurrence." The subsequent efficient action of the Society towards the abolition of slavery appears to have had its origin in this action of Chester Monthly Meeting.

Matters of smaller moment also claimed the attention of the meetings about this time; as the practice of making large provisions at funerals, and the serving of those who attended them with wine and other liquors; the erection of tombstones, &c. Concord Meeting also bore its testimony against putting names and dates upon coffins, and decided, "that in future members should be dealt with for such idolatrous practice."

The subject of the Indian claim of one mile on each side of the Brandywine was formally brought to the notice of Governor Gordon, by a letter from Checochinican, a principal chief. This functionary bases the claim of the Indians upon "a wrighting for the creek of Brandywine, up to the head thereof with all y^{e} land a mile wide of y^{e} creek on each side," which their brother, William Penn, was pleased to grant to them after they had sold their interest to him, but "which wrighting, by some accident was now lost." He acknowledges, however, that they had sold this land "up to a rock in y^{e} said creek, it being in the line of the land of Abraham Marshall." Their complaint now is, that Nathaniel Newlin, a member of Assembly, who had purchased some of the land, but who had given them a writing in 1726, "that neither he nor his heirs would, in any way, disturb or molest them in the free and peaceable enjoyment thereof," had, contrary to the same, sold his land, greatly to their disgust; that they had been forbid "so much as to make use of timber growing thereon, for y^{e} convenience of building some cabins, & further that the town at the Head of the Brandywine is surveyed to one James Gibbons and many more, and now has an assurance of a conveyance of the same from the Com^{rs} of property, as he himself says by James Steel." In a postscript to his letter, the worthy chief says, that "James Logan promised to me, that James Gibbons, nor any body else, should never have a confirmation, thereof, nor any other

person within our claim." What order was taken upon this letter does not appear.

A new commission of the peace was issued in 1730, to the following persons, viz.: Richard Hayes, Henry Pierce, Henry Hayes, Elisha Gatchell, John Crosby, Abraham Emmitt, junr., Mercer Brown, James James, John Perry, James Gibbons, Joseph Pennock, Samuel Hollingsworth, Joseph Brinton, and Nicholas Pyle. The reason assigned for the new commission was, "that divers of those named in the last had declined to act," and that one George Asheton "had acted but too much."

It was ordered by the court, with the consent of the commissioners and assessors of the county, "that Nathan Worley be master and keeper of the House of Correction or Workhouse in the borough of Chester for the term of one year, if he behave himself well which s^{d} time is to commence on the 25th day of March next, and that the burgesses of said borough shall from time to time, give such directions therein as they may adjudge proper."

Haverford Monthly Meeting, after having appointed a committee to aid the Valley Friends in fixing on a site for a meeting-house, at length leaves them at their liberty to build the said house "at the Grave Yard near Lewis Walker's dec^{d}, which was left by the said Lewis by his last will for that purpose." A temporary meeting was, from time to time, authorized by Haverford Meeting, to be held at Richard Harrisson's school-house, but it does not appear that it ever grew into a regular meeting.

The Chester Monthly had not as yet received any response to their application to the quarterly meeting, and through it to the yearly meeting, on the propriety of purchasing imported slaves. In anticipation of any action by these meetings, this monthly meeting, towards the close of the year 1730, adopted a minute that cautioned Friends "against purchasing imported negroes, it being disagreeable to the sense of the meeting, and that such as are likely to be found in the practice, be cautioned how they offend therein."

The act of the Provincial Legislature, imposing a duty on imported slaves and criminals, did not meet with much favor from the home government. Instructions were transmitted to Governor Gordon against laying duties on either negroes or felons; the latter being in direct opposition to an act of Parliament "for the further preventing Robery, Burglary, and other felonies, and for the more effectual transportation of Felons."

The first mission from the Roman Catholic Church was established within the limits of Delaware county about the year 1730, or perhaps a little earlier. The mission was from an establishment of the Jesuit Society in Maryland, and was set up at the residence of Thomas Willcox, at Ivy Mills, in Concord township. The church services at the Ivy Mills Mission have been conducted in a private dwelling for a century and a quarter; at first in that of Thomas Willcox, by periodical visits of missionaries from Maryland; next at the residence of his son, Mark Willcox, and subsequently in that of the late James M. Willcox, Esq., where it was continued till the erection of the neat Catholic church in the immediate vicinity. At first the congregation was very small and it con-

tinued so for many years, but of late the number professing that faith has become very considerable, chiefly by foreign immigration.

Pennsylvania had been peculiarly prosperous under the administration of Governor Gordon, and at this time contained more white inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland and both the Carolinas. Its exports were large, consisting of wheat, flour, beef, pork, leather, fish, lumber, staves, &c. From this county flour and meal were important items of export, and were sometimes shipped by the millers.

The wearing of a badge by criminals, indicating the crime for which they had been convicted, as the letter T for theft, ceases about this time to be inflicted as a punishment by our court. Confinement in the stocks has very rarely formed any part of a sentence; but still these implements of torture were maintained at Chester, Marcus Hook and Darby. At a town meeting held in the latter township March 14th, 1732, it was agreed "that there shall be a pair of stocks built in some public place in Lower Darby, and the charges of the same shall be paid of the town's stock now in the hands of Thomas Worth, one of the overseers of the poor." In the absence of facts on the subject, it may be presumed that the smaller kinds of misdemeanors were punished by means of the stocks, upon the authority of a justice of the peace, a chief burgess, or perhaps, in earlier times, upon that of a town meeting.

Licenses for keeping a tavern or an ordinary, were still granted by the Governor, upon the recommendation of the court. Some of the reasons assigned by the petitioners for wishing to engage in the business, would appear rather singular at this time. Thus, William Surnam, who has, "for divers years past lived in Middletown in good credit and esteem, near and convenient to the public road, who has for the greater part of his residence there followed the occupation of Malt making & the Brewing of Beer for a livelihood, but being greatly oppressed by travellers, and the constant visitation of his wonted acquaintances, has been (as it were) forced to give continually gratis the fruits of his labor." The application was unsuccessful.

Griffith Evans, of Haverford, was located at a convenient stage, and had a dwelling-house suitable for travellers "on the great road y^{t} leads from the branches of the Brandywine & Goshen & several other parts," and withal was "an ancient man and his wife also well stricken in years & subject to lameness." Griffith kept the well-established stand known as the Old Frog in that day. It was located a short distance above Cooperstown, in Haverford.

Hannah Penn, widow of the late Proprietary, and his son, Springett, having died, John, Thomas, and Richard, his three remaining sons, became joint Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Thomas Penn came over to the Province for the first time in 1732, and arrived at Chester on the afternoon of August 11th. An express was immediately sent to Philadelphia, where the Assembly and Council were in session. The Secretary of the Council was forthwith dispatched to Chester, with the compliments and congratulations of the Governor and board to the new joint Proprietary upon his safe arrival, and "to acquaint him, that to-morrow morning they would in person pay their respects to him."

Accordingly, on the next day, the Governor and all the members of Council who were able to travel, accompanied by a very large number of gentlemen, visited Chester, "waited on the Honorable Proprietary and paid him their compliments. After dinner, the Proprietary with his company, now grown very numerous, sett out for Philadelphia, near to which place he was met by the mayor, recorder and aldermen, with a great body of people. The recorder, in the name of the mayor and commonalty of the City, made a congratulatory speech, which the Proprietary answered, &c." On the 15th of the month, the representatives sent in their "Humble address," which contains much less adulation than was betrayed by the part taken by the Governor, Council, and municipal authorities of the city, in the affair.

An impostor appeared in 1732 among the meetings composing Haverford Monthly Meeting of Friends, and successfully passed himself off as a Quaker preacher. His name was John Cruise, and it was not until after he had left, which was "without making satisfaction," that his true character became known. A committee was promptly appointed to caution Friends elsewhere as to his character. They eventually received word that he had removed to North Carolina, to which place the committee were directed to write, "least he should impose upon friends."

Difficulties between the people of Maryland and those of this Province were of frequent occurrence, but the scene has been shifted from the border of Chester county to that of Lancaster. Two Quakers, John Wright and Samuel Blunston, both of whom had emigrated from this county and settled at or near Columbia, were the active local managers in these troubles on behalf of Pennsylvania, and they certainly performed their part with ability and energy.

Commissioners on the part of both Provinces, with surveyors, met at Newcastle in February, for the purpose of running the circular line, preliminary to the adjustment of the other boundaries. This resulted in nothing but angry disputes brought about by unreasonable suggestions from the Maryland side in the controversy. The nature of these suggestions, and the manner of conducting the controversy, will be better understood by consulting a correspondence between Benjamin Eastburn, the Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, and a Parson Jones, of Maryland, the original of which is on file in the Surveyor-General's office at Harrisburg.

An agreement having been entered into between the Proprietaries and Lord Baltimore, as to the principles that should govern in the settlement of the boundaries between the two Provinces, and between Maryland and the Lower Counties, the Governor addressed a circular letter to the justices of Chester and other border counties, enjoining them to observe certain directions therein laid down, with the view of preserving the peace until the lines could be actually run. It was a long time, however, before this took place.

Late at night on September 19, 1734, news of the arrival of John Penn, the elder brother of Thomas, was brought to Philadelphia by express from Newcastle. Early on the next morning, his brother, Thomas Penn, with a number of gentlemen, proceeded to Chester to receive him, but he did not

land there until late in the evening, and remained there all night. On the morning of the 21st the party proceeded towards Philadelphia, and were met at the Schuylkill by the mayor, recorder and commonalty, as in the case of his brother Thomas. John did not remain long in the country, but returned the next year to adjust some dispute that Lord Baltimore had raised in respect to the interminable boundary question.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends, in 1735, adopted various recommendations, among which may be enumerated: punctuality in the payment of debts to the Crown, and quit-rents to the Proprietors; against being concerned in lotteries; against large provisions at marriages and burials; against the importation of negroes, or the buying of them after being imported; against the frequent use of drams, and the use of strong liquors in their families, and they also repeated their former advice in respect to grave-stones. These recommendations were generally adopted by the several meetings of this county, especially that in respect to negroes, which may indeed be regarded as the first effective blow inflicted on the slave trade.

It does not appear that up to this time lotteries had been in vogue in the Province. This year the Proprietaries proposed to sell by way of lottery 100,000 acres of land, and it may have been that the admonition of the yearly meeting on that subject, was to guard Friends against becoming the dupes of this magnificent swindle.

Chester Particular Meeting of Friends appears to be engaged in the erection of a new meeting-house. Permission was granted to that meeting to sell their old house, which was accordingly done.

The number of taxables in the county in 1722 was 500. The number taken from an assessment made in 1735 is 800—making the population, on an estimate of six persons to one taxable, 4800, or an increase of 1800 inhabitants in 13 years. Owing to the wretched system of farming adopted by the early settlers, the lands at first placed under culture were exhausted, and many families removed further into the interior, and encountered the task of clearing new lands, rather than remain upon those that had been exhausted, either by their fathers or themselves. The assessment or valuation in 1735 was no higher than in 1722. The tax was about one-third less, being at the rate of two pence in the pound; the poll tax on single freemen was 6s., while in 1722 it was 9s. Upper Chichester and Upper Darby appear as distinct municipalities in this assessment, though the latter was not then organized as a separate township for all purposes. The tax for the whole county was only £160.

After an unusually successful administration of about ten years, Governor Gordon died in the summer of 1736, leaving to his successor, James Logan, who was then president of the Council, some unadjusted Indian troubles, and an almost endless series of Maryland border disputes. Logan administered the government for about two years. In the absence of a governor, there could be no legislation, and of course no laws were passed during the administration of James Logan.

The advice of the yearly meeting against the importation of negroes, and

buying them after being imported ,and the advice against "the frequent use of drams, or other strong liquors, in families, and particularly giving them to children," was repeated and enjoined by both Chester and Concord Monthly Meetings. This advice was frequently repeated before any further steps were taken on the subject.

Bradford Monthly Meeting, to be composed of Caln and Bradford Meetings, was established in 1736 by authority of Chester Quarterly Meeting.

The crossing of the Brandwine creek, at Chadds' Ford, was frequently interrupted by high water and ice, and the settlements had become so numerous west of that stream that the establishment of a ferry became necessary. The following paper, dated on the 30th of August, 1737, the original of which is on file in the office of the clerk of quarter sessions, at West Chester, fully explains the establishment of this most necessary improvement:

"John Chadds, having petitioned the Court, setting forth that by the concurrence of the Justices and by order of the Commissioners and assessors, a fferry being erected over Brandywine creek, on the road leading from Philadelphia to Nottingham, & no rates for the same established, prays that such rates may be set for the same as to the Court may seem reasonable; whereupon the Court taking the same into consideration, have adjudged the rates hereafter mentioned, may be demanded & taken by the said John Chadds or his assigns or successors in the said Ferry:

"For every horse and Rider, four pence; for every single person on foot three pence, if more, two pence each; for every ox, cow or heifer, four pence each; for every sheep, one penny; for every Hog, three half pence; for every Coach, waggon or Cart, one shilling six pence; for every empty waggon or Cart nine pence; for every steed four pence.

"To the aforesaid rates, the justices have subscribed their names. Richard Hayes, John Crosby, Henry Hayes, Samuel Hollingsworth, John Parry, Abraham Emmitt, Caleb Coupland, Elisha Gatchell, Joseph Brinton."

A person hailing from Beyruta, near Mount Lebanon, who called himself Sheck Sidi, claimed to be a Christian nobleman, and complained that he had suffered great persecution from the Turks, succeeded in gaining the confidence and sympathy of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, and also a contribution of twenty pistoles. He was recommended to the several meetings in our county as a proper object of charity; but to what extent relief was granted does not appear. He was evidently viewed with some suspicion.

There was much violence used by persons residing in Maryland towards those residing near the supposed line, but claiming to belong to Pennsylvania. Though mostly confined to Lancaster county, it happened in 1738 that Elisha Gatchell, one of the justices of Chester county, was beaten and abused by rioters from Maryland, and subsequently carried by them into the Province and detained. A warrant was issued by Thomas Graeme, one of the justices of the Supreme Court, for their arrest. The disagreements between the people of the Provinces had now arrived at such a pitch, caused by arrests and other indignities offered on either side, that from simple breaches of the peace, open hostilities seemed to be on the eve of breaking out. Fortunately the arrival of an order from the King and Council, on the subject of the boundary, made it

the interest of each party to refrain from further hostile proceedings for the present.

George Thomas, a planter of Antigua, was appointed Governor of the Province in 1737, but did not assume the duties of the office till August of the next year. As a consequence of the gubernatorial change, it became necessary to issue a new commission of the peace. The following persons were appointed for Chester County: Richard Hayes, Henry Pearce, Henry Hayes, Elisha Gatchell, John Crosby, Caleb Cowpland, Abraham Emmit, James James, John Parry, Joseph Pennock, Samuel Holligsworth, Joseph Brientnal, Joseph Heins, William Pim, Joseph Bonsall, the chief Burgesses for the time being, and Joseph Parker.

The order of the King and Council, in respect to the Maryland boundary, proved to be only temporarily beneficial. Complaints on both sides were renewed, and a revival of former outrages was apprehended. These were happily averted by an agreement entered into, at this time, between the Proprietaries of both Provinces.

The Friends at Darby found it necessary to enlarge their meeting-house, and accordingly "Nathan Gibson, Joseph Bonsall, Samul Bunting and John Davis are appointed undertakers, to look after the said inlargement and sett the work." This was an enlargement of the old house on the hill within the graveyard.

Folly has her votaries in all ages, but the particular manner in which they make their oblations to the fantastic deity, is varied by time and circumstances. It may be inferred from a minute of Darby Meeting, that one of the modes selected at this particular period of our history, was "the vain practice of firing guns at marriages." As but a single instance of dealing for this grave offence is recorded, and the offender in that case made the required acknowledgment, it may be concluded, that, as a general rule, this vain practice prevailed among those outside of the staid Society of Friends.

Slight shocks of an earthquake had been experienced in 1726, and again in 1732. December 7th, 1738, a severe shock was felt, "accompanied by a remarkable rumbling noise; people waked in their beds, the doors flew open, bricks fell from the chimneys; the consternation was serious, but happily no great damage ensued."

The provisional agreement that had formerly been entered into between the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland, in respect to the boundary, was directed by the King and Council to be enforced; and in compliance with this direction, and as a part thereof, it became necessary to run a temporary east and west line between the Provinces, fifteen miles and a quarter south of the latitude of the most southern part of Philadelphia, to the Susquehanna River, and west of that river fourteen and three-quarter miles south of the said latitude. The limited scope of this work will exclude any extended account of the survey of this line, or that upon nearly the same ground, but of much greater notoriety, known as Mason's and Dixon's, yet as the line of latitude of the most southern part of Philadelphia upon which it was based,

passed through our county, it would not be proper to leave the matter wholly unnoticed.

To run this line, Lawrence Growden and Richard Peters were appointed commissioners on behalf of Pennsylvania, and Col. Levin Gale and Samuel Chamberlaine, on the part of Maryland. Benjamin Eastburn acted as surveyor on behalf of the former, and William Ramsey on behalf of the latter. On December 8th, a true meridian line was fixed in the city of Philadelphia, and when tried the next day, the magnetic variation was found to be five degrees and twenty-five minutes westerly. On the 11th of the month, a true west line was run to the distance of about two miles, when, from the severity of the weather, the surveying party was obliged to adjourn to the 5th of April following. Commencing again in the Spring, on the 18th of April they had progressed as far as the Widow Parnel's [Pennell's] in Edgmont, having crossed Upper Darby, Springfield, and Upper Providence, in their route. Several lines had been run before, which Mr. Peters, in a letter to the Governor, says they had crossed several times, "but not after leaving Sam[l]. Levis's." They are now "south of the line run by John Taylor, and more south of the line run by the Jersey Commissioners." Thus far the work has gone on harmoniously. Two days later the party had arrived at James Gibbons', in Thornbury. The Maryland commissioners became suspicious, because of the line running so far south; but after a careful comparison of Theodolites they became reconciled. On April 23d both of the Pennsylvania commissioners wrote to the Governor from an open field in West Bradford, which appears to be the point "where the line is to be set off south in order to measure the fifteen miles and a quarter." It was about thirty-one miles from the place of beginning. But they were now involved in a dispute. Col. Gale, on the authority of the Governor and Council of Maryland, claimed that the measure of the fifteen and a quarter miles should be made superficially without any allowance for the altitude of the hills, while the Pennsylvania commissioners very properly claimed this allowance. Mr. Eastburn had accompanied the Jersey commissioners last December, and had ascertained from actual calculation that the difference between the two plans of measurement did not exceed twenty-five perches. The object of the commissioners, in now writing to the Governor, was to obtain his directions, "whether they must join with the Maryland commissioners superficially, that is to say, without allowing for the Altitudes of the Hills, and so make them, [the Marylanders,] an absolute present of 25 perches, or proceed *ex parte*, & how far over Susquehannah, or return to Philadelphia & do no more at present."

On April 25th the commissioners again wrote to his Honor, the Governor, dating their letter at William Webb's. They have now become extremely jealous of the Maryland Commissioners, taking Colonel Gale, one of them, "to be under instructions, which they had for some time apprehended, to be inconsistent with a disposition to run a fair line with them," and accusing him of seeking some pretext for breaking with them, in order to run an *ex parte* line. After much argument, the Maryland commissioners agreed to allow the addi-

tion of twenty-five perches to the surface measure, not knowing that this fully covered the whole difference between the two plans of measurement. This plan was determined upon before receiving the Governor's answer; the Maryland commissioners supposing they had yielded but little in making the compromise, while those of Pennsylvania knew that the only sacrifice they had made was in form, and that they had really yielded nothing in substance.

The next disagreement was about the chain to be used in the measurement. It was the custom to have the two-pole chain made one inch longer, and the four-pole chain two inches longer than the exact measure, to make up for inequalities and irregularities. Col. Gale contended for the chain to be reduced to the exact measure. After much contention, and a threat on the part of the Pennsylvania commissioners to break, and run the line *ex parte,* this point was conceded by the Maryland commissioners; but at the same time these gentlemen set up a claim for an allowance of a half inch in every chain for the thickness of the sticks. They at length receded from this position, and the measurement of the meridian line was proceeded with; and at their coming out at the end of the line, the Pennsylvania commissioners "were greatly astonished" to find themselves "no more than 20 perches more south, than the corner the Jersey commissioners had fixed for the end of the south line." Having commenced their measurement eighty perches south of the east and west line run by the Jersey commissioners, and having the fullest confidence in the accuracy of their work, they concluded that the Jersey commissioners had made "too large measure in the south line by 60 perches."

From the end of the south line they immediately proceeded to run the temporary boundary line westward to the Susquehanna, where, owing to sickness and death in the family of Col. Gale, the joint commission was broken up. Beyond the Susquehanna, "to the top of the most Western hill, of a range of hills called the Kittocktinny," distant from the place of beginning about eighty-eight statute miles, the line was run *ex parte* by the Pennsylvania Commissioners.

In running the west line from Philadelphia, the commissioners note several points in our county and beyond it. On the evening of the first day, they left off, "in the land of Thomas Worth of Darby township;" on the 2d day "at Samuel Levis' in Springfield;" on the 3d at John Worrall's in Providence; the 4th at the widow Yarnalls in Edgemont. Here meeting with unusual attraction, they reviewed part of their work, but on the 19th of April they were on "the plantation of Jacob —— in Thornbury township;" on that of Joseph Hunt in Westtown on the 20th; on Abraham Marshall's land in Bradford on the 21st, and on the 23d had reached "an old field belonging to John Newlyn, on or near its north line," from whence they turned south.

It must not be supposed that the place of stopping had anything to do with fixing the northeast corner of Maryland. The only object in running westward before measuring the 15¼ miles south, was to avoid the large streams of water, and when they had reached John Newlin's old field, they

concluded the large waters of the Brandywine and Christina creeks would be avoided.

In running the south line, the land of William Wickersham in East Marlborough township, and that of Hugh Steward in New Garden are mentioned. The point at which the 15¼ miles ended was "20 perches from the road leading to Charles Tenants meeting house in Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle county."

An inquiry made by the crown in respect to the currency of the Province, brings to light many interesting facts, and among others that the emission of bills of credit had effectually excluded specie as a circulating medium. The report on the subject from the Assembly, doubtless drawn up by John Kinsey, their speaker, claims that obedience had been yielded to the provisions of the act of the sixth year of Queen Anne, fixing the rates of foreign coin in the British Plantations, up to the year 1720, but admits that "between which time and 1723, merchants, to make remittances to England, did sometimes purchase silver with gold at a small advance." The first act for issuing bills of credit was passed in 1723. The report goes on to say that, "it must indeed be confessed, that soon after these bills of credit were issued, as our trade very much increased, and far greater quantities of English goods were imported, the balance of our trade with Great Britain turned out in our disfavour, and as those bills were in good credit, and answered the ends of money amongst us, it was no longer in our power to keep any great quantities of silver or gold for a currency; and therefore since that time, they have been seldom used in the payment of debts, but generally bought and sold as merchandize, and shipped off to Great Britain to pay for those great quantities of goods, which are yearly imported from thence."

The ridiculous fashion of wearing hoops prevailed about this period, but it found much less favor at that time than at a later time with those of the Society of Friends. Towards the close of 1739 Concord Monthly Meeting testified thus against the practice: "A concern having taken hold against this meeting to suppress pride, and it seems to appear some what in women in wearing of hoope petticoats which is a great trouble to many minds, and it is the unanymous sense of this meeting that none among us be in the practice thereof. [and that] all our overseers and other solid friends do inspect in their members and where any appear, to be guilty, do deal with them and discourage them either in that of hoops or other indecent dress." In spite of all the watchfulness that this minute imposed upon the "overseers and other solid friends," it was this year found that Caleb Burdsall and his wife had "a little too inconsiderately encouraged women wearing of hoopst petecoats."

The celebrated itinerant preacher, George Whitefield, visited this country towards the close of 1739. After having preached to immense numbers in Philadelphia, making many converts, it is recorded that he was accompanied to Chester by 150 horsemen, and preached there to 7000 people, and again at Whiteclay Creek to 8000, of whom as many as 3000 were on horseback.

Thomas Penn returned to England this year; the constant and violent

quarrels between the Assembly and the Governor, in which Proprietary interests were frequently brought into the controversy, could not have been very agreeable to him.

At the meeting of the legislature in October, the Governor had shown a vindictive spirit in his reply to John Kinsey, the accomplished speaker of the Assembly. This was followed up by the issue of a new general commission of the peace for the several counties of the Province, in which his Excellency exhibited a petty revenge, unworthy of his position, by leaving out the names of those justices who had opposed his administration. As an excuse for getting rid of some of the obnoxious Quaker justices, he said he had received a letter from Mr. John Penn with the information "that the court at Chester had set aside a man from the jury for declining to take the affirmation and insisting to be qualified by oath." John had also urged the Governor to appoint a majority of justices in each county who "would not scruple to take, or at least administer an oath." If the charge against the Chester justices was true, his Excellency could readily and directly have obtained a substantiation of all the facts, but resting alone on this circuitous hearsay testimony, the truth of the accusation may be fairly doubted; but it requires a large share of charity to wholly excuse the bigotry of the degenerate son of the first Proprietary, for making such a communication to the Governor.

Of the justices appointed by the Governor in 1738, shortly after assuming the duties of his office, he left out of the new commission for Chester county, the following names: Richard Hayes, James James, John Parry, Samuel Hollingsworth, Joseph Brientall, and Joseph Heins, and included those of William Moore, Joseph Brinton, William Webb, John Mather, Ralph Pyle, John Taylor, and Job Rushton.

That part of the road known as the old Lancaster or Conestoga road, west of John Spruce's land in Whiteland township, had been laid out and opened for several years, but for some reason, probably because the city, or landings on tide water could be reached by roads then in use, a survey of this important thoroughfare was not made till this time.

At the instance of the grand jury and some of the substantial inhabitants of Chester county, complaining of abuses practised in that county by the use of defective weights and measures, the justices petitioned the Governor for the appointment of a regulator of weights and measures. Isaac Taylor received the appointment. The petitioners allege, that "they have directed the purchasing of standards of brass for weights and measures, according to his Majesty's standards for the Exchequer." These standards were procured by Thomas Morgan, and cost the county £17 12s. 11d.

The jail and court-house both appear to have been subjected to some renovation about this time. An order was passed by the commissioners in favor of Nathan Worley "for £10, for planks for flooring the two dungeons east side of the prison and laying the floors &c.;" and one in favor of Thomas Morgan "for £5 11s. 6d. for 150 lbs. spikes for laying the dungeon's floors." There was also an order of £5 for plastering and ceiling the prison; and one of

£26 for repairing and painting the court-house and prison, and another of £14 4s. for a well in the work-house yard. Still other repairs were made the next year.

The business of the county was transacted at this period by three commissioners, elected as they now are. In laying taxes they were assisted by six persons called assessors, who were chosen annually. The duties now performed by township assessors was then performed by the constables. The tax for this year was laid at the house of John Chadds in Birmingham; the rate being 2d. in the pound and "6s. a head upon freemen." The house of John Chadds was favored with the meetings of the commissioners for several years.

No less than three persons offered to serve the office of county treasurer, gratis, in 1741. The commissioners appointed Joshua Thompson, one of the number, but Joseph Brinton, the late treasurer, complaining that he still had unsettled business in the office, and being willing to serve at the same cheap rate, Thompson relinquished the office in his favor, upon the condition, however, that he was to hold it during the year following.

A proposition was made to the commissioners for a ferry on the Brandywine "on the road from Concord to Maryland by the erection of wharfs, where the creeks overflows, & renders peoples landing very difficult."

In the trial of criminal cases, it appears to have been the practice, since the early settlement of the province, only to employ counsel in those of serious import. In these cases the most able counsel in the Province was engaged. The following minute from the commissioners' books shows the amount of compensation allowed in such cases: "Allowed John Kinsey Esq^{r} an order on the Treas^{r} for the sum of £3 12s. being his fees as Kings attorney at the tryall of James O'Donnelly and Richard Graham, 26th of May last."

Besides the counsel, there was another officer specially employed for trials in the Oyer and Terminer, as will be seen by another minute: "Allowed John Ross, Gent. an order on the Treasurer for the sum of three pounds ten shillings, for officiating as clerk of the Crown at a Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Chester, for the tryal of James O'Donnelly & Richard Graham, the 26th of May last." Richard Graham was sent away in "the Privateer," for which additional fees were allowed.

Considering the scarcity of money in these early times, the amounts collected by the Quakers in their meetings, for charitable and other purposes, is really astonishing. Haverford Monthly Meeting contributed in 1741 £35 6s. 10d., and Concord meeting £21 10s. 6d. toward the relief of the sufferers by the great fire at Charleston, S. C.

A controversy brought before Chester Monthly Meeting in 1742, between Thomas Dell of the one part, and John Crosby and Peter Dicks of the other, reveals the fact, that previous to this time the latter had erected a forge on Crum creek. The precise location of this early forge cannot at this time be designated.

The ferry established on the Brandywine at Chadds' Ford not proving to

be remunerative, except when connected with the business of tavern-keeping, John Chadds therefore "presented a petition, (signed by himself and a considerable number of inhabitants of Chester county,) to the commissioners and assessors, setting forth that pursuant to an agreement made with their predecessors in the year 1737, he built a boat and suitable appurtenances for the conveying of people and carriages over Brandywine creek, with the money that he borrowed of the county for that purpose, the sum of which was 30 pounds, and it being evident as y^e^ petitioner conceives, that the profits of the said ferry, will not without some consideration, compensate for the charge thereof, and that the Honorable Justices, hath at last August Court, thought proper to deprive him the s^d^ John Chadds from keeping a house of entertainment, near the s^d^ ferry, which he had done heretofore: They therefore request that the said John Chads may be acquitted & discharged from the payment of the sum of money above mentioned, and also from the care and management of s^d^ boat and appurtenances, and some other person appointed to act therein in his stead." The petition does not appear to have been granted, for in two years thereafter John Chadds had paid the £30, with the interest remitted, and is again reinstated in his business of tavern-keeping.

The fairs authorized by law were not sufficient to satisfy the desires of the public in this respect. Charles Connor and five others were this year bound over for holding a fair at Birmingham, but it does not appear that any further proceedings were had in the matter.

How customary it was at this period for criminals to receive corporal punishment by whipping, as a part or the whole penalty for their wrong-doings, may be inferred from the two following minutes taken from the Commissioners' books: "Allowed John Wharton an order on the Treasurer for four shillings for making a new whip, and mending an old one for the use of the County." "Allowed Isaac Lea an order on the Treasurer, for the sum of 8 shillings, being for two new whips, and mending an old one; for the County's service."

Benjamin Hayes, of Haverford, who had served the commissioners as clerk for many years, "presented a petition desiring to be discharged from his office." John Wharton was appointed in his place.

Tench Francis was allowed £5 for his services as attorney-general in Chester county.

Application was made to the commissioners for a bridge over Chester creek, "with a draw or sliding bridge for convenience of sloops, shallops, or other craft, to pass through the same," but it was decided to repair the bridge without the draw. It was agreed to pay 16s. per hundred for white oak plank, and 10s. for white oak scantling, delivered, to be used in this work.

War having been declared by England against France, the Governor issued his proclamation on June 11, advising the people of the Province of this change of relations between the two countries, and enjoining all persons capable of bearing arms, "forthwith to provide themselves with a good Firelock, Bayonet and Cartouch box, and with a sufficient quantity of powder and ball."

The fitting out of privateers was also recommended. The tenor of the proclamation was rather calculated to increase the alarm incident to approaching hostilities; but the Governor had been so successful in his management of Indian affairs, and by joining in a grand treaty held at Lancaster immediately after the publication of the proclamation, in which both Virginia and Maryland, and also the Six Nations, were represented, the Province was really secure from any immediate attack, except by sea. This relieved our Quaker population from the dreadful apprehension of Indian hostilities, but not from constant importunities to furnish supplies to carry on the war, till the capture of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, which happened in 1745. Even after this period, both men and money were in great demand by the home government for some time.

An act was passed in 1747, granting £5000 for the King's use. This amount was raised by an issue of paper money, but this issue did not increase the amount previously authorized, but supplied the place of old and defaced bills, no longer fit to circulate.

On May 5, 1747, the Governor advised the Assembly of the death of John Penn, one of the Proprietors, and, at the same, announced to that body his intention of returning to England, which event soon after followed, leaving the and Spaniards, who had committed sundry depredations along the coast. No Palmer had not been long at the head of the government, before the Province was thrown into a state of alarm by the arrival of an express from New Castle, bringing news of the presence of a privateer in the bay, with 100 French and Spaniards, who had committeed sundry depredations along the coast. No laws could be passed in the absence of a Governor; but the Council was willing to risk the responsibility of providing for the defence of the Province, provided they could have the assurance of certain leading members of the Assembly, that, upon the arrival of a Governor, a bill for the payment of the expenses incurred should have their support. No satisfactory assurance was given, and no effective defensive measures were adopted. The whole responsibility of this non-resistance policy, in a time of such great danger, did not rest with the Quakers alone, their views on the subject of war being endorsed by the Moravians and other German sects. This pacific policy doubtless led to the capture of a large number of vessels in and about the mouth of the bay, but it may well be doubted whether the loss of property sustained would not have been more than counterbalanced by the loss of life in case armed resistance had been made.

The repair of the road between Cobb's creek and Gray's ferry was neglected by the Supervisors, under the belief that it had never been regularly laid out, which was probably true. Upon the petition of George Gray, the keeper of the ferry, and others, to the Council, all difficulty was obviated by the appointment of suitable persons to survey and have a proper return of the road made.

At the same time, upon petition, persons were appointed to lay out the balance of the road, according to former surveys, to New Castle line, but find-

ing that the travelled road did not occupy the ground upon which the road had been laid out, a final report was not made till July, 1748. The survey appears to have been made by the Surveyor-General, and varied but little from the bed of the old road. The width adopted for the road laid out at this time was sixty feet, except in the towns Darby and Chester.

The piratical depredations committed by the enemy in the Delaware became more alarming this year than ever before. One privateer even ventured above New Castle, and in passing, exchanged a few shots with that place. The British sloop-of-war "Otter" was then at Philadelphia, but, unfortunately, it was not in a condition to repel these aggressions of the enemy. Efforts were made to fit out another vessel, and although the Assembly agreed to provide money to defray the expense of such defensive measures as might be adopted, even if they did not approve of those measures, yet moneyed men did not feel sufficient confidence to induce them to make the necessary advances. Every effort was made by the Council to procure cannon, and at length some were obtained from New York, and batteries established along the river. One of these was called the "Great Battery," which was probably located near the present site of the Navy Yard.

In this emergency a home guard was organized, not only in the city, but in the several counties, composed of citizens who voluntarily associated for the defence of the Province. They were denominated "Associators," and furnished their equipments at their own expense. Chester county furnished a regiment of Associators, for which the following gentlemen were commissioned as officers: Colonel, Andrew McDowell; Lieut.-Colonel, John Frew; Major, John Miller, and Captains Job Ruston, William Bell, Joseph Wilson, Henry Glassford, William Boyd, William Reed, William Porter and William Clinton. Fortunately these preparations for defence were not needed. Preliminaries for restoring a general peace were signed at Aix la Chapelle on April 19, and proclaimed here in August.

The year 1748 was one of great sickness, not only in the city of Philadelphia, but throughout the Province.

James Hamilton, a son of Andrew Hamilton, received the appointment of lieutenant-governor, and assumed the duties of the office in November.

In the autumn of this year, Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, arrived at Philadelphia, and after remaining a short time in that city, passed through our county on a visit to Wilmington. On his return to Philadelphia he spent some time at Chichester, "a borough on the Delaware, where travellers pass the river in a ferry." He adds, "they build here every year a number of small ships for sale, and from an iron work which lies higher up in the country, they carry iron bars to this place and ship them." The environs of Chichester, he says, "contain many gardens, which are full of apple trees sinking under the weight of innumerable apples." About noon our traveller reached Chester, "a little market town which lies on the Delaware. The houses stand dispersed. Most of them are built of stone, and two or three stories high; some are, however, made of wood, in the town is a church and a market place."

"About two English miles behind Chester," our author remarks, "I passed an iron forge, which was to the right hand by the road side. It belonged to two brothers, as I was told. The ore, however, is not dug here, but thirty or forty miles hence, where it is first melted in an oven, and then carried to this place. The bellows were made of leather, and both they and the hammers, and even the hearth, but small in proportion to ours. All the machines were worked by water." The location of this forge must have been on Crum creek just below where it is crossed by the post road, while that mentioned in connection with Chichester was probably located on Chester creek, at or near Glen Mills, and was owned and carried on by John Taylor.

Up to this period the forests preserved the same open appearance and freedom from underwood which they presented at the time of the first arrival of Europeans. This was originally caused by the annual burnings of the Indians, and now unwisely continued by the whites, though the practice was restricted by legislative enactment. In describing the country through which he passed, our learned traveler (Kalm) remarks that the greater part of it is "covered with several kinds of decidious trees; for I scarcely saw a single tree of the fir kind, if I except a few red cedars. The forest was high but open below, so that it left a free prospect to the eye, and no underwood obstructed the passage between the trees. It would have been easy in some places to have gone under the branches with a carriage for a quarter of a mile, the trees standing at great distances from each other, and the ground being very level."

Agreeably to a report made by a committee of the Assembly in 1749, the whole amount of paper money in circulation at that time in the Province was £85,000.

Among the troubles to which our goodly ancestors were, about this period, subjected, was the depredation committed by the legions of squirrels with which the forests swarmed. To mitigate the evil, an act was passed authorizing the payment of 3d. per head for the destruction of these voracious animals. This premium was sufficient to induce a large number of persons to engage in squirrel shooting as a regular business, and the consequence was, that the amount paid in the whole Province this year for squirrel scalps was £8000, showing that 640,000 of these creatures had been killed.

This large amount rendered bankrupt nearly every county treasury in the Province, and made it necessary to reduce the bounty one-half, by another Act of Assembly.

In pursuance of an Act of Parliament, having for its object the restriction of the manufacture of iron in the British American colonies, Governor Hamilton issued his proclamation requiring the sheriffs of the several counties to make a return to him, of "every mill or engine for slitting and rolling of iron, every plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, and every furnace for making steel which were erected within their several and respective counties," on June 24, 1750. In pursuance of this proclamation, John Owen, the sheriff of Chester county, certifies "that there is but one Mill or Engine for slitting and rolling iron within the county aforesaid, which is situate in Thornbury town-

ship, and was erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-six, by John Taylor the present Proprietor thereof, who, with his servants and workmen, has ever since until the 24th day of June last, used and occupied the same." The sheriff also certifies "that there is not any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, nor any furnace for making steel," within the county of Chester.

As has been mentioned, the iron works of John Taylor occupied nearly the present site of the Glenn Mills of the Messrs. Willcox; but it is a little remarkable that the iron works within two English miles of Chester, mentioned by Peter Kalm, in his journey from that place to Philadelphia, should have so suddenly gone into disuse. The existence of such works, in 1748, at the point mentioned, cannot be doubted, for the Swedish naturalist was too accurate an observer to have been mistaken in a matter of this kind.

Labor in Pennsylvania was, at this period, of three kinds: free hired labor, bought servants for a term of years, and slaves for life. The wages of the first class for a year, with food and lodging, in the country, was about £16 for a man, and from £8 to £10 for females. The second class consisted of such persons as annually came from different countries of Europe to settle. Real or supposed oppression brought many of them here, but most of them were very poor, and came to better their fortunes. Being without means to pay their passage, which was not more than from six to eight pounds sterling for each, they, by agreement with the captain of the ship in which they arrived, were sold for a term of years to pay this small amount.

The usual term of service was four years, and the price advanced for that term, appears at this period to have been about £14, which would leave a surplus for the redemptioner, unless it was used in the payment of charges by the government. Children were frequently sold for a longer period to pay the passage-money of their parents. At the expiration of their terms of service, each was supplied with a new suit of clothes, as was then the usual case with apprentices. Some of these foreigners who were possessed of sufficient means to pay their passage, preferred being sold, as the period of service afforded them time to learn our language and the ways of the country, and at the end of that period, the funds they brought with them were invested in the purchase of a permanent home.

This kind of labor being the cheapest, and within the means of a majority of the settlers, it appears to have been substituted for that of the African slave, and at this period had nearly put an end to the importation of slaves into the Province. It was, however, more used further in the interior than within the limits of our county, the earliest settlers having been more liberally supplied with negroes.

The third kind of labor was that of the negro slave. The price of negro men at this time was from £40 even to £100 in rare instances. The few who were now imported, were brought from the West Indies, as it was found that in transporting negroes from Africa directly to the more northern Provinces, their health suffered more than when gradually acclimated, by being

taken first to the West Indies, and from thence further north. Even at this period the Quakers and others had manumitted a considerable number of their slaves. The law that made it obligatory on the master to provide for the maintenance of the slave during life, was an obstacle to emancipation, as it was found that manumitted negroes became indolent, and in their old age were liable to become chargeable. The proportion of negroes to the white population within the limits of our county was much greater at this period than at present. The precise proportion is not known, but in the city of Philadelphia, in 1751, the blacks exceeded one-third of the whole population.

In the computation of time throughout Great Britain and its dependencies, up to December 31st, 1751, what was known as "old style," continued to be used. The change to our present mode of computation was effected by an Act of Parliament, entitled, "An Act for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the Calendar now in use." The numerical designation of the months adopted by the Society of Friends, which made March the First Month, was legalized by an Act passed by the Provincial Assembly in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne. Action by the Yearly Meeting of London was immediately had on the subject, which was adopted by that of Philadelphia; and as this action explains the whole subject, including the numerical designation of the months used by the Society of Friends, it will be given entire, as found in the records of Chester Monthly Meeting:

"Agreed that as by the late Act of Parliament for regulating the commencement of the year, that it is ordered that the first day of the Eleventh month next, shall be deemed the first day of the year 1752, and that the month called January shall be successively called the first month of the year, and not the month called March as heretofore hath been our method of computing.

"That from and after the time above mentioned, the Eleventh month, called January, shall thenceforth be deemed and reckoned the First month in the year, be so styled in all the records and writings of Friends, instead of computing from the month called March according to our present practice, and Friends are recommended to go on with the names of the following months numerically, according to our practice from the beginning, so that the months may be called and written as follows:—That January be called and written the first month, and February called and written the second month, and so on. All other methods of computing and calling of the months unavoidably leads into contradiction.

"And whereas, for the more regular computation of time, the same act directs that in the month now called September, which will be in the year 1752, after the second day of the said month, eleven numerical days shall be omitted, and that which would have been the third day, shall be reckoned and esteemed the 14th day of the said month, and that which otherwise would have been the fourth day of the said month, must be deemed the 15th, and so on. It appears likewise necessary, Friends should conform themselves to this direction and omit the nominal days accordingly."

From the commencement of this work the author has conformed his dates to the new style so far as to make the year commence with the first of January, but no allowance has been made for the eleven days that are to be omitted under the present mode of computation.

Standing in the pillory was rarely resorted to as a mode of punishment by

the justices of Chester county. At the February term of this year, one Owen Oberlacker, alias John Bradley, upon being convicted of "speaking seditious words," was sentenced to stand in the pillory one hour, with the words, "I stand here for speaking seditious words against the best of Kings, wrote in large hand, to be affixed to his back." In addition to this punishment, twenty-one lashes upon his bare back were to be inflicted the same day.

It was in 1753 that the French invaded Western Pennsylvania, in pursuance of their grand scheme to secure the possession of the valley of the Mississippi. Though in a time of profound peace, the news of this hostile movement filled the country with consternation and alarm, for it was well known that a war would be inevitable. To our Quaker population, though generally out of harm's way, the news of this invasion was especially unwelcome. From experience they had learned that there were those among their young men who would go out to the battle, and should they return, it was rarely to enter that fold from which they had strayed.

Still the Society of Friends pursued the even tenor of their way, regardless of the storm that was gathering around them. Their meetings, their religious missions to distant places, their visitation of families, and their formal marriages were continued. The Friends of Chester Monthly Meeting even selected this period as the time "to build the old end" of the Providence meeting-house, "with stone, and to make other necessary repairs." This "old end," now to be supplied with a stone structure, was probably the first erected meeting-house at the place indicated.

In accordance with notice given to the Proprietaries, in 1753, Governor Hamilton resigned his office the following October. He was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris, of New Jersey.

The events occurring in America in 1754, induced both the English and French governments to send troops to aid in the defence of their American possessions. Those from England were sent by way of Virginia, but did not arrive until the spring of 1755. In conjunction with a considerable number of colonial troops, they were placed under the unfortunate General Braddock, and constituted the expedition defeated by the French and Indians near Fort Duquesne. The prudent conduct displayed by Washington on this occasion may be regarded as the commencement of the glorious career of this great man.

On the morning of November 18, 1755, a severe shock of an earthquake was felt throughout this region of country. It lasted about two minutes. It was felt along the coast for a distance of 800 miles, being most severe in the vicinity of Boston.

The disputes between Governor Morris and the Assembly, in which the Quakers still had a majority, were constant, and unfortunately were not conducted with that spirit of moderation and forbearance that should have prevailed in a period of so much difficulty and danger. The Assembly could not vote money specifically for carrying on the war, and in providing means "for the king's use," they desired to issue an additional amount of paper money.

This was opposed by the Governor under Proprietary instructions. Another difficulty arose in providing for the assessment of a heavy land tax. The Assembly included the Proprietary lands in the assessment, and the Governor so far forgot himself as to accuse that body with having included these lands for the purpose of defeating the bill; especially did he censure Dr. Franklin, whom he regarded as the author of this measure. Notwithstanding the alarming condition of the country, there were those who endeavored to stir up sedition. For that offence, one John Costello was this year convicted by the Court at Chester and sentenced to stand in the pillory one hour, on two successive days, wearing the insignia of his crime, as in the case of Owen Overlacker.

No act could be passed by the Assembly to compel persons to take up arms in defence of the Province, or to organize the militia for that purpose, but the Quakers threw no obstacle in the way of those whose scruples did not prevent them from performing military duty, and even went so far as to enact a law "for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes within this Province." The appropriations for "the king's use" were, indeed, by no means niggardly. An act granting £60,000 was passed this year, and one for £30,000 in the year following. Such acts continued to be passed, from time to time, while the Quakers still maintained their ascendancy in the Assembly.

Of those who joined the military service from this county, I have seen no record, except that of those who happened to belong to the Society of Friends; they were dealt with and disowned. Of these Radnor Meeting furnished the largest number—no less than eight young men in full membership with that particular meeting left their homes and went into active military service in 1756.

Previous to this time there appears to have been a difference of opinion in the Society of Friends upon the subject of Preparative Meetings being meetings of record. The representatives from Haverford Monthly Meeting to the quarterly meeting brought back a proposal, "that Preparative meetings should be meetings of Record." After being considered for some time, the question was referred to a future meeting, which adopted the following as a part of a more extended minute: "The proposal of having the Preparative meetings, meetings of record, has been under our consideration and is left so; there being some different sentiments thereon; We agreeing, (and some are in the practice,) that it would be convenient to keep records of the affairs belonging to each particular meeting, such as repairing of Meeting houses, &c."

At the following monthly meeting, which was held at Merion on May 14, the representatives who had attended the quarterly meeting brought the following minute from that meeting, which appears to have settled the question: "After consideration of the reports from the several meetings, respecting the principle of establishing preparative meetings, this meeting agrees that it will be of advantage to have such meetings. And each monthly meeting is therefore desired to appoint them where they are not already settled; and it is

agreed they have power to keep a record of such things as come before them, as they may think necessary."

The Delaware Indians had been so far seduced by the French, as to engage in committing the most barbarous atrocities against the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania. The Six Nations still remained friendly, and it was hoped that through the instrumentality of this powerful combination of savages, the Delawares could be brought to terms of peace. The Quakers used every effort to bring about this result, but the Governor unwisely made a formal declaration of war against the Delawares; and not to be behind the savages themselves in cruelty and atrocity, a proclamation was issued offering a premium for prisoners or scalps taken from their Indian enemy. A reconciliation was, however, soon brought about, through the instrumentality of Sir William Johnson, the Six Nations, the Quakers, and a few of the Delawares who remained faithful.

Although England and France had been engaged in hostilities in their American possessions for about two years, yet until May of the present year no formal declaration of war had been made between the two Governments.

As lieutenant-governor of the Province, Robert Hunter Morris was succeeded by William Denny, towards the close of August.

The British ministry, in discussing some matters connected with the defence of the Province, had intimated an opinion adverse to Quakers acting as members of Assembly. A number of this Society was, nevertheless, elected, but four of them immediately sent in their resignations. Two of these, Peter Dix and Nathaniel Pennock, were from Chester county. This appears to have placed those having no conscientious scruples on the subject of taking up arms, in a majority in the Assembly, but still the want of harmonious action between that body and the Governor, was not diminished. The future angry disputes between the parties, conclusively demonstrate that Quakerism was but a small item in the serious obstacles to harmonious legislation. The representatives of the people, without distinction of sect or party, knew their rights, and determinedly asserted and maintained them against all doubtful claims of prerogative, either by the Crown, the Proprietaries, or the Executive. The doctrines that eventually led to a separation between the Colonies and the Mother Country, had their origin in these and similar disputes.

So captious had the Governor become, that it seemed almost impossible for the Assembly to shape a militia or money bill to suit the views of his Excellency. At length that body resolved that it appeared to them "that the Governor is determined to withhold that protection from the people of this province, which a proper Militia bill might afford them, unless we will present him with such a bill as will enable certain designing men to subvert the Constitution and deprive the inhabitants of every liberty they think worth enjoying."

In the matter of an application for the removal from office of one William Moore, a justice of the peace and judge of the court of Chester county,

questions affecting the respective prerogatives of the Assembly and the Governor were discussed at great length and with considerable ability.

The following is a list of persons recommended to the Governor by the court for license as tavern keepers for 1757, within the townships now composing the county of Delaware: Chester—Aubrey Bevan, James Mather, David Coupland, John Hanly. Chester township—Wm. Miller. Chichester town—Hannah Clayton, Mary Kain, John Kerlin. Chichester township—James Stroud. Darby town—Hannah Wood, William Donaldson, John Rudolph. Darby township—Barbara McCullough. Haverford—Anna Miller. Middletown—Joseph Talbot. Newtown—John West. Concord—John Hannum. Birmingham—Wm. Jones, Henry Hayes. Ridley—Mordecai Thompson, Edwd. fits Rudolph. Radnor—Aubrey Harry, Thomas Tucker, Richard Barry. Springfield—Mordecai Taylor.

The foregoing appears to be a full list of the retailers of ardent spirits for the townships now embraced in Delaware county, though several of the townships appear to have been without a licensed house.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were to remove with their effects in one year; but choosing to become British subjects, (except in the matter of taking up arms against their own countrymen,) rather than to part with their property, they had determined to remain. Their presence being now regarded as dangerous to the people of Nova Scotia, the government determined to disperse them among the other colonies, where their presence would be less objectionable. A large body of these Frenchmen (known as French neutrals), with their families, were sent to Philadelphia, where for a time they were supported, partly at the public expense, and partly by private charity. Actuated by compassion for the distressed condition of these poor people, the Assembly as soon as possible passed an act providing for their distribution throughout the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster. Three commissioners were named in the act for each county, to make this distribution, and to transact other business connected with the comfort of these poor Frenchmen. The commissioners for Chester county were Nathaniel Pennock, Nathaniel Grubb, and John Hannum. The overseers of the poor were obliged to receive these poor creatures, and to provide for their immediate wants; but the commissioners were authorized to put them in a way to support themselves, by the purchase of stock, &c., which was to be paid for out of a public loan recently authorized by the Assembly. But one family could be located in a township. Notwithstanding this kind treatment, some of these Frenchmen, by their misconduct, subjected themselves to the suspicion of having evil designs against the government. Six were arrested and imprisoned by authority of the Governor, two of whom resided in this county, Paul Bujauld at Chester, and Jean Landy at Darby.

For some cause, an enumeration of the members of the Roman Catholic church was made in 1757. The number (who took the sacrament) in the Province was 1365, of whom only 120 resided in Chester county.

In early times it was usual for religious meetings to commence at noon, or

sometimes at one o'clock, p. m. The time of commencing Darby week-day meeting of Friends, was this year changed from twelve to eleven o'clock.

Public attention now became almost wholly engrossed with making preparations for the prosecution of the war and the defence of the Province. Of these, the limited scope of our work will only permit a notice of such as have a local interest.

In the course of the discussions that ensued, several articles appeared in a Dutch newspaper, published at Germantown by Christopher Sower, which were supposed to be aimed against the King and the government. In consequence, fourteen Highlanders, from a regiment lately arrived at Philadelphia, were dispatched to the printer, with a written order to meet General Forbes "at the tavern sign of the Buck on the old Lancaster road." Sower repaired to the place indicated, and being subjected to an examination by General Forbes and the Governor, who was there in person, he was dismissed. Sower had resided in the Province thirty-four years, and urged, in his defence, that he had been instrumental in inducing many persons to settle in the Province, and therefore was in duty bound to support its welfare. The General gave him "a serious warning, for the future, not to print anything against the King or government." At the time of his interview with the German printer, General Forbes was probably on his western expedition, which resulted in the recapture of Fort Duquesne.

The war was still more vigorously prosecuted in 1759, in the autumn of which year Quebec was captured by the British and provincial forces under General Wolf. In carrying out the plans of the campaign, a large number of wagons was required to be furnished by the several counties in the Province. The number required from Chester county was sixty-six.

William Denny was superseded in the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Province by James Hamilton, who for a second time was appointed to that office, and assumed the duties thereof in November, 1759.

The degree and kind of punishment inflicted upon criminals have varied very much at different periods. In very early times the infliction of fines for ordinary offences was generally resorted to. From 1714 to 1759, most of the sentences embraced whipping, as the chief or only item of punishment for such offences, and usually consisted of "twenty-one lashes on the bare back well laid on." In a few instances, the number of stripes was a few more or less. Standing in the pillory was rarely adopted as a punishment during this period, and imprisonment not at all. The wearing of the Roman T ceased about the year 1720.

The subject of buying and selling negroes, and the treatment of those held by members of the Society of Friends, now begins to claim the special attention of the meetings of that sect. A member of Chester Meeting is dealt with for having bought and sold a negro; but having made the proper acknowledgment is not disowned. In reply to the query on the subject, Haverford Meeting says, that "one friend hath purchased a negro, and we believe those who are possessed of them, supply them with the necessaries of life, but we fear

the necessary duty of instruction and information in this important affair, is too much neglected by some of our members."

The death of King George II. occurred October 25th, of this year; but his grandson and successor, George III., was not proclaimed in Pennsylvania till January 21st, following. In the new commission for justices, that it became necessary to issue, the following is the list for Chester county: Thomas Worth, Samuel Flower, John Miller, Isaac Davis, Edward Brinton; Chief Burgess of Chester, Alexander Johnson, John Morton, John Culbertson, William Clingham, William Parker, Timothy Kirk, John Hannum, John Price, Roger Hunt, John Fairlamb, George Currie, Henry Hale Graham.

The county tax about this period was levied at the rate of 2d per pound, and six shillings on each freeman. The amount raised at that rate appears to have exceeded the wants of the county, for the commissioners and assessors, "upon inspection of the affairs of the county that properly came under their notice, find no necessity for raising a tax this year." This announcement was no doubt a very gratifying one to the tax payers of the county.

Incorporations of meadow companies commenced about this period; under what kind of an arrangement the several parties interested in meadow lands along the Delaware, contributed their proportionate share of the expense towards maintaining the banks, before these acts of incorporation were obtained, is not now well understood. It must have been by means of a private understanding.

War with Spain was declared January 4th, 1762. This created a greater alarm for the safety of the Province, and especially for Philadelphia, than had previously existed, as Spain was then in possession of a powerful navy. The Governor forthwith convened the Assembly, and the members being sensible of the weakness of the Province, the House immediately appropriated £23,500, which appears to have been the Parliamentary allotment for 1759. Five thousand pounds were also appropriated for the erection of a fort mounting twenty cannon on Mud Island, near the mouth of the Schuylkill. The fortification, hurriedly erected during this period of alarm, and which bore the name of the island upon which it was erected, has been supplied by the respectable fortress now known as Fort Mifflin, being so named in honor of Governor Thomas Mifflin.

The large number of negroes imported about this time became alarming to the people. The Assembly of Pennsylvania had enacted a law imposing a prohibitory duty on their introduction, which was repealed by the Crown. Other colonies, including Virginia and South Carolina, had enacted laws to restrain the importation of slaves, but these enactments failed to receive the royal sanction. "Never before had England pursued the traffic in Negroes with such eager avarice."

Pitt resigned his position as head of the British ministry, and was succeeded by the Earl of Egremont—a most unfortunate change for colonial independence. A treaty of peace between England and France was concluded towards the close of this year, but was not proclaimed in Philadelphia till Jan-

uary 26th, 1763. Peace with Spain soon followed, leaving our ancestors none but Indian enemies to contend with.

John Penn arrived at Philadelphia on Sunday, October 13th, having been appointed to supersede James Hamilton, as lieutenant governor. The day of his arrival is distinguished "by the occurrence of a severe shock of an earthquake, accompanied with a loud roaring noise, which greatly alarmed, not only the inhabitants of Philadelphia, but of the surrounding country. Most religious congregations were assembled for worship at the time, and much confusion, but little injury happened from their efforts to escape from the buildings, which they feared would fall upon them."

The interior inhabitants of Pennsylvania had suffered so severely from the Indians during the war, and their feelings against the whole race had become so much excited, that they were unable or unwilling to draw any distinction between those who had been hostile to the English and those who had acted as their allies. The latter were suspected of communicating intelligence to the former. Under this unjust suspicion, a number of armed men from Paxton and Donegal townships in Lancaster county, inhumanly murdered six Indians of Conestoga Village, and subsequently fourteen of the same tribe who had been placed in the workhouse of Lancaster for safety. Emboldened and hardened by their successful butchery, these excited but deluded men, threatened to proceed to Philadelphia and destroy the Moravian Indians, 140 in number, who, upon the news of the Lancaster outrages, repaired to that city for safety. To render them more secure, the Governor had removed them to Province Island at the mouth of the Schuylkill. Becoming alarmed, however, at the reported fury of their enemies, they, with their two Moravian ministers, petitioned the Legislature to send them to England. This being impracticable, the Governor sent them to New York, in order to be placed under the protection of Sir William Johnson, who had charge of military affairs in the colonies; but Governor Colden of New York declined to admit them into that Province, and they returned back to Pennsylvania under an escort of two military companies. The return of these Indians again arouse the fury of their enemies, who in great numbers immediately marched towards Philadelphia. The Indians, in the meantime, had been lodged in the barracks, which were well fortified, and a formidable array of soldiers went out to meet the insurgents. Finding the ferries well guarded they proceeded to Germantown, and learning the extent of the preparations made to oppose their progress, they at length listened to the advice of some prudent persons sent out to meet them, and, with the exception of two of their number, who remained to represent their grievances to the government, they all returned peaceably to their homes. Perhaps the older settlements of the Province were never thrown into a greater state of alarm than that produced by these insurgents. Dr. Franklin had a large share in bringing about the favorable result that has been mentioned.

John Penn had arrived from England and had assumed the duties of lieutenant-governor, just before the Indians were murdered at Lancaster. When the insurgents approached Philadelphia, his Excellency became so much alarmed

that he fled for safety to the dwelling of Dr. Franklin. The people of the border settlements had suffered severely from the barbarous cruelty of the savages, and can be excused for entertaining feelings of revenge, but they can find no justification for cruelly venting those feelings against innocent parties, simply because they were Indians. It is probable that the inhuman mode of warfare practised against the Indians, very greatly sharpened their natural cruelty towards the whites. Heavy rewards had been offered for Indian scalps, and dogs were employed in hunting and pursuing them. Truly the government was not wholly guiltless of having trained the minds of the "Paxton boys" for the cruelty practised by them against the Indians.

Lotteries had for many years been resorted to for the purpose of raising means to build churches, endow schools, build bridges, &c., &c., but the legislature, seeing the evils that resulted from them, passed an act for their suppression. This act was repealed by the Crown; but the Quakers, at least, were not disposed to allow the Mother Country to rivet such evils upon their sect. They had ignored the traffic in negroes, and from a minute of Concord Meeting we find them this year dealing with a member "for being concerned in lotteries." But it was in vain that the Quakers warred against the evils resulting from lotteries. Other sects, and particularly the Episcopalians, appeared not to have become awakened to those evils, for in a single year (1765) eight Episcopal churches, one Presbyterian and one Lutheran church, received aid from this authorized system of gambling. Of the Episcopal churches, three were of this county, viz: St. Paul's at Chester, St. John's in Concord township, and St. Martin's at Marcus Hook.

The act of the British Parliament for charging certain stamped duties in the American Colonies, known as the "Stamp Act," was passed in 1765. In October of this year a vessel bringing a supply of stamps arrived at Philadelphia, but the opposition to the law was so great that it could not be enforced. The excitement produced throughout the British colonies was unparalleled, and the discussions that resulted, it is known, led to the Revolution.

The Indian troubles ceased with a general treaty of peace entered into in 1765 with Sir William Johnson; but it was through the instrumentality of Colonel Boquet that the Indians were humbled and brought to terms.

The new commission for the county of Chester embraced the following names: William Moore, Thomas Worth, Samuel Flower, John Miller, Isaac Davis, Edward Brinton, Alexander Johnson, Jno. Culbertson, Will. Clingham, Will. Parker, John Hannum, John Price, John Fairlamb, Henry Hale Graham, Wm. Boyd, Rd. Riley, James Hunter and James Evans.

The frequent dealings with members about this period by our local Friends' meetings, for buying and selling slaves, at once show what a very common article of traffic the negro had become, in this our favored land, and the firm determination on the part of that Society, that with their members, at least, the traffic should cease and determine for ever. Some were now prepared to go a step further than they had already gone, and to enjoin the manumission of all slaves as a religious duty. In this movement, Chester Monthly Meeting

took the lead, as it had done in the earlier movements of the Society on this delicate subject. That meeting had already appointed a committee to visit such of its members "as keep slaves, and endeavour to convince them of the inconsistency of the practice, and advise them of the proper time and manner of setting them at liberty." This committee, after having visited all who kept slaves, made their report this year. They found "a disposition in many they visited to release their slaves, and one has been set at liberty since their appointment. They believe that if Friends can be continued to advise and treat with those that do not see clearly the necessity of doing to others as they would have others do unto them, it may be profitable." Notwithstanding this apparent desire to do even and exact justice to the African race, there was a law at this time in force in Pennsylvania that established a special tribunal for the trial of negroes charged with the higher grades of crime, which proves conclusively that the rights of the two races were not generally regarded as equally sacred.

All the meetings had committees to inquire into the treatment of slaves held by Friends; whether they were taught to read, and encouraged to attend meetings, &c. Reports were generally favorable.

The odious Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766, the news of which event, when it reached America, caused unbounded demonstrations of joy. Though the Quakers generally would not have violently resisted the execution of the law, they shared with others the joy produced by the tidings of its repeal. The French and Indian wars had been happily terminated, and the controversy with the mother country appeared now to be the only event that could again give rise to the "wars and fightings," which had already become a snare to many youthful members of the Society. Regarding the repeal as the harbinger of a protracted peace, our local meetings with renewed vigor set about purging the Society from a variety of evil practices, which for some time had claimed its serious consideration. Next to dealing in and holding slaves, intemperance and the sale of intoxicating drinks, and being concerned in lotteries, were the most prominent.

The most important event of 1767 was the final determination of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland—Mason and Dixon's line. The final deed, under which this very protracted controversy was eventually closed, was executed on July 4th, 1760. Under this deed, commissioners were appointed, who at once engaged in the work assigned to them, by tracing, with the aid of the best surveyors they could find, the east and west peninsular line, and the twelve-mile circle around New Castle. The work was accomplished by means of sighting along poles, and measuring with the common surveyor's chain, as nearly horizontal as possible. The slow progress of these surveyors induced the Penns and the then Lord Baltimore to agree with Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, "two mathematicians or surveyors," to complete the work. These gentlemen arrived in Philadelphia on November 15, 1763, and immediately commenced the survey. The peninsular line had been run, and the tangent-point had been fixed by their predecessors with so much accuracy

that they were adopted by Mason and Dixon—the tangent-line, to use their own language, "not passing one inch eastward or westward" of the post marking the tangent point set in the ground by those whom they superseded. It will be remembered that the starting-point of the line run in 1739 was on the meridian of this tangent fifteen and a quarter miles south of the southern part of the city of Philadelphia. The agreement now fixes it at fifteen miles. Having ascertained this point, the learned surveyors proceeded slowly but surely in running and marking the line that bears their names. In the autumn of 1767 their labors were suddenly brought to a close, by the command of the Six Nations of Indians, after they had reached a distance of 244 miles west of the Delaware. The stones intended to permanently designate the boundary were not planted till the following year.

The year 1768 was another year of jubilee for our good people, for the commissioners and assessors, "after inspecting into the affairs of the county find no necessity for raising a tax this year." This announcement may be regarded as more singular, in having been made at a time when great apprehension existed of the breaking out of an Indian war, in consequence of the most inhuman murder of ten Indians at Middle Creek, in Cumberland county, by one Frederic Stump.

An act was passed in 1768 "for regulating the fishery in the river Brandywine." The object of the act was to regulate the dams so that the fish could pass up.

The practice of advertising, by candidates, for the office of sheriff, which commenced in Philadelphia in 1744, was probably introduced about this period into Chester county. The following is a specimen of the advertisement then in use.

"To the Freeholders, and others, Electors for the Borough and County of Chester,

"GENTLEMEN:· When I reflect on the honor done, and confidence placed in me by the freemen of this county, for a number of years past, it affords me a matter of joy, and emboldens me at this time, to offer myself as a candidate for the Sheriff's office, for which purpose I humbly request your votes and interest at the ensuing election, which kindness, Gentlemen, shall be gratefully acknowledged and kept in remembrance by your assured friend. RICHARD BAKER."

Sheriffs were elected annually, and for some years past John Morton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence had held that office. Jesse Maris was the successful candidate this year, though he did not advertise. He gave security in £3,000, under a recently enacted law, the security previously to this time having been much smaller.

After the repeal of the stamp act, the British Parliament passed, almost unanimously, an act imposing duties on certain articles imported into the colonies. This act involving the same principle as that just repealed—taxation without representation—met with the same opposition. Under a belief that it was the amount of the tax, rather than the principle involved in imposing it, to which the colonists objected, assurances were given in 1769, that five-sixths of the taxes should be repealed. In the following year the whole was abolished.

except 3d. per pound on tea. This produced only a temporary lull in the great political storm that for some time had been gathering; for the right of taxation by the mother country was still maintained.

The road from the Schuylkill at Province Island, through Tinicum, was probably laid out this year; persons, upon petition, having been appointed for that purpose by the Governor and Council, though their report does not appear on record. A road from the "Middle ferry" to Strasburg, passing the Boot tavern, and the Ship tavern, was laid out in 1770. The route adopted for this road through Delaware county, was nearly on the same ground that is occupied at present by the West Chester road. The commissioners for laying out this road were John Morton, John Sellers, James Webb, Joseph Fox, Jacob Lewis and Daniel Williams.

The commission of the Governor having been renewed, a new commission for justices was required. The following is the list for Chester county, viz.: William Moore, Thomas Worth, John Morton, Isaac Davis, Alexander Johnson, William Clingham, William Parker, John Hannum, John Price, Henry Hale Graham, Richard Riley, Charles Cruikshanks, Richard Baker, James Gibbons, James Moore, William Swaffer, Evan Evans, Thomas Hockley, Joseph Pyle, Thomas Temple, and Warwick Miller. Members of Council were ex-officio justices of the peace.

As early as 1734 some small quantities of silk had been made in Pennsylvania, probably from our native mulberry. About this period the subject was revived, and great efforts were made to introduce the culture on a large scale. Premiums were offered to the persons who should bring the greatest weight of cocoons to a public filature established in Philadelphia. In 1771 the quantity brought to this establishment from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, chiefly by ladies, was 1754 lbs. 4 oz., of which Chester county produced 335 lbs., brought in by the following named persons:

	LBS.	OZ.		LBS.	OZ.
Grace Beal	4	11	Sarah Dicks	47	10
Mary Parker (Darby)	10	0	Catharine Evans	14	00
Mary Pearson (Darby)	51	11	Mary Jones	19	12
Abigail Davis (Chester)	3	3	Jane Davis (Chester)	28	12
Sarah Fordham (Darby)	6	0	Jacob Worrall	2	0
Ann Cochran (Darby)	25	12	Margaret Riley	11	10
Rachel Hayes (Darby)	13	12	John Hoops (Chester)	23	10
James Millhouse	52	00	Henry Thomas (Chester)	8	6
Ann Davis	2	15			
Elizabeth Bonsall	7	0		335	0
Mary Davis	2	4			

It is probable that the white mulberry tree (morus alba) was introduced into this county at this time. It is now fully naturalized, especially in the eastern part of the county, where there are trees three feet in diameter.

On account of the death of his father, which happened in 1771, Lieutenant Governor John Penn returned to England, and before the close of the year

was succeeded by Richard Penn; James Hamilton, president of the Council, having acted as Governor in the meantime.

The best men in the county did not, at this period, hesitate to assume the duties of county offices. Thus we find Anthony Wayne, who subsequently became one of the great generals of the Revolution, and John Morton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the former as an assessor, and the latter as a justice of the peace, uniting with the county commissioners in letting out, by contract, the building of a county bridge. It was the bridge over Little Crum creek, on the road between Darby and Chester. The bridge was let at £210; is a stone arched bridge, and is still standing, an enduring monument of the integrity of those concerned in its erection. At a subsequent meeting "the consideration of the rebuilding the Flat for carrying persons over the Brandywine coming before the board, they agree that it should be done, with all convenient speed, and appoint John Webster & Thomas Taylor to procure the same as soon as they can at the most reasonable terms." This flat was used at Chadds' Ford.

The excitement of the people produced by the illegal and turbulent proceedings of the Connecticut claimants, was, at this period, even greater than that produced by the arbitrary measures of the mother country. This controversy, though suspended during the Revolution, was not ended till 1802, when it was rightfully decided in favor of Pennsylvania.

The several monthly meetings of the Society of Friends, of our county, appear now to be engaged more earnestly in freeing their members "from the evil practice of holding slaves." Through the instrumentality of visiting committees, a considerable number of Friends had been induced to liberate their servants for life, or to enter into an obligation to free them at a certain age; though slave-holding at this time was not a sufficient cause for disownment. Nor was it held by all the Meetings that even selling slaves placed the offender quite beyond the care of the Society, for, in a case brought before Darby Meeting, and clearly made out, the offender was regarded as being "under censure of the minute of our Yearly Meeting of 1758," and in the testimony adopted, they "refuse to permit him to sit in our meetings of discipline, or be employed in the affairs of Truth, or receive from him any contribution towards the relief of the poor or other services of the Meeting."

Great opposition was made to the road laid out in 1770 from the Middle Ferry to Strasburg, in Lancaster county, partly on account of supposed mistakes in making the return. As a consequence it was not opened, and this year, in pursuance of instructions from the Governor and Council, it was reviewed by the commissioners who laid it out, but they do not appear to have made any material change in the route, though it is designated much more particularly in the second survey.

John Penn, who had formerly acted as Governor, and who, in consequence of the death of his father, had become one of the Proprietaries, returned to the Province in 1773 and assumed the duties of administering the government.

From a message by the Governor to the Assembly, it would appear that

£15,000 had been appropriated for building fortifications "for the security and defence" of Philadelphia, and that the whole amount had been expended in the purchase of Mud Island, and in the erection of a fort thereon; the work having been executed in accordance with "the opinion and advice of a skillful engineer, recommended by General Gage." The Governor regarded the work as having been done "in a masterly manner." The object of the message was to urge the Assembly to make provision for finishing the work. A temporary fortress had been erected on this island at a former period, but the structure now erected was the beginning of, and constitutes a material part of the present Fort Mifflin.

We now approach the most momentous period of our history as a people —a period embracing the events that severed us from the mother country, and gave us a separate national existence. The limited scope of this work will only permit a notice of such of these events as occurred in our midst, or in our immediate vicinity.

By the passage of the Boston Port Bill, the people became aroused to the necessity of adopting active measures in defence of their liberties. Meetings were held in Philadelphia, from which emanated a circular to the people of the several counties of the Province. This circular was addressed to Francis Richardson, Elisha Price, and Henry Hayes, of Chester county, who immediately issued the following call for a meeting of the people of the county:

"To the Freeholders and others, inhabitants of the county of Chester, qualified by law to vote for Representatives in General Assembly:

"Gentlemen: The large, and very respectable committee for the City and County of Philadelphia, have wrote to us, the subscribers, requesting that a committee might be chosen for this county as soon as possible, to meet the committee from the other Counties of this province, at the city of Philadelphia, on the 15th day of this instant, to deliberate on matters of the greatest weight and importance, not only to us, but to all America. And we are now assured, that on the account of the Indian disturbances, his Honor the Governor has found it necessary to call the Assembly to meet, in their legislative capacity, on Monday the 28th of this instant; and we also find, that it is not only the opinion and request of the said committee for Philadelphia, but also the opinion and desire of a number of respectable persons of this county, coinciding with our own opinions, as lovers of civil and religious liberty, that the committees of the several countries of this province, should meet at Philadelphia, on the said 15th of this instant, in order to assist in framing instructions, and preparing such matters as may be proper to recommend to our representatives, at their meeting the Monday following.

"We have therefore thought proper on mature deliberation, and by the advice of a number of gentlemen of this county, to appoint Wednesday the 13th instant, at one o'clock in the afternoon, as a proper time for the inhabitants of this county to meet at the Court House in Chester, to choose a number of our best and wisest men as a committee for this county, as shall be judged necessary to meet the other committees, at the time and place above mentioned, for the purpose aforesaid, and for such other purposes, as may then be deemed useful and necessary. And we sincerely hope, that the good people of this county, will give their attendance on that day, and calmly and heartily join with [us] in doing the business proposed, which we earnestly wish and desire may answer the good proposed, and the good purposes intended by it.

"Chester July 4th, 1774."

The following is the record of the proceedings of the meeting:

"At a meeting of a very respectable number of the Freeholders and others, inhabitants of the County of Chester at the court-house on Wednesday the 13th of July, 1774, in consequence of public notice for that purpose given, Francis Richardson Esq. Chairman.

"1. That the inhabitants of this county do owe, and will pay all due faith and

"This Assembly, taking into their serious consideration, the present critical and alarming situation of American affairs, and the unhappy differences now subsisting between Great Britain and her Colonies, do agree and resolve as follows, viz:

allegiance to our lawful and rightful sovereign Lord George the Third, king of G. Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

"2. That it is an absolute right, inherent in every English subject, to have free use, enjoyment and disposal of all his property, either by himself or representative, and that no other power on earth can legally divest him of it.

"3. That the act of Parliament lately passed for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, in its consequences dangerous to the liberties of the British colonies; and that therefore, we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.

"4. That the protection of the liberties of America is an indispensable duty, which we owe to ourselves, who enjoy them, to our ancestors who transmitted them down, and to our posterity who will claim them at our hands, as the best birthright and noblest inheritance of mankind.

"5. We do agree with the Committee of the City and County of Philadelphia, that a Congress of Deputies from the said Colonies is the most profitable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress, preserving our rights and liberties, and establishing peace and mutual confidence between our Mother country and her Colonies, on a constitutional foundation.

"6. The inhabitants of this County ought and will cheerfully adopt, adhere to, and assist in executing all and singular such peaceable and constitutional measures, which may hereafter be agreed upon and determined by the said general Congress.

"7. It is our opinion that it would conduce greatly to the restoration of the liberties of America, should the Colonies enter into a solemn agreement not to purchase any goods, wares or merchandise imported from Great Britain, under such restrictions as be agreed upon by the Congress. We, for our parts, sensible of the great advantages which must arise from promoting economy and manufacturing among ourselves, are determined to use as little foreign manufactures of what kind or quality soever, as our necessities will permit until the several acts of the British Parliament, injurious to American liberty, be repealed.

"8. That as our brethren at Boston are now suffering in the cause of America, it is the duty of the inhabitants of this County, in common with the neighboring Colonies, generously to contribute towards their support; and therefore the Committee hereafter appointed, are requested immediately to open and set on foot a subscription for the said sufferers, and the money arising therefrom to be laid out and expended as the said Committee, or a majority of them, shall judge best to answer the benevolent intention.

"9. That the following persons, to wit, Francis Richardson, Elisha Price, John Hart, Anthony Wayne, John Sellers, Hugh Lloyd, William Montgomery, Francis Johnston, William Parker, Richard Riley, Thomas Hockley, Robert Mendenhall, and John Fleming or a majority of them, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee for this County to meet and correspond with the Committees of the several Counties of this and the other Colonies, and to join in such measures as to them shall appear necessary for the public good. FRANCIS JOHNSTON, Clk. Com."

There had been some correspondence between the Philadelphia Committee and influential persons in the several Counties of the Province, a month

earlier, at which time it was not expected that the Governor would convene the Assembly. Delegates from the several county committees convened at Philadelphia, and engaged in the preparation of a series of general resolutions, to be laid before that body, which met shortly afterwards. The Assembly, acting in harmony with similar bodies in the other colonies, appointed deputies to the general Congress that convened at Philadelphia on the 14th of September following. The whole number of deputies was fifty-five, of whom eight were from Pennsylvania, and of these, two, viz., Charles Humphreys and John Morton, resided in the district now constituting Delaware county.

On December 20th, following, we again find, "a very respectable number of the inhabitants of the county of Chester, convened at the court-house in the borough of Chester," for the purpose of choosing a committee "to carry into execution the Association of the late Continental Congress." The following persons were chosen, viz.: Anthony Wayne, Francis Johnston, Richard Riley, Evan Evans & James Moore, Esquires, Hugh Lloyd, Thomas Hockley, David Coupland, John Hart, Sketchley Morton, Samuel Fairlamb, Isaac Eyre, John Crosby, Nicholas Diehl, Jesse Bonsall, Aaron Oakford, Benjamin Brannan, John Talbot, Joseph Brown, Samuel Price, John Crawford, John Taylor, Lewis Gronow, Edward Humphreys, Henry Lawrence, Richard Thomas, Wm. Montgomery, Persifer Frazer, Thos. Taylor, John Foulke, Robert Mendenhall, Joseph Pennell, George Pierce, Nicholas Fairlamb, Samuel Trimble, Charles Dilworth, John Hannum, George Hoops, Joel Bailey, John Gilliland, Joseph Bishop, Jr., John Kerlin, Edward Jones, William Lewis, Patrick Anderson, Joshua Evans, Thomas Hartman, Dr. Branson Van Leer, William Evans, Joseph Cowan, Thomas Haslep, Patterson Bell, Dr. Jonathan Morris, Andrew Mitchell, Thomas Buffington, James Bennett, Joseph Musgrave, Wm. Miller, Richard Flower, Walter Finney, James Simpson, David Wherry, James Evans, Thomas Bishop, William Edwards, Jona. Vernon, Jr., Lewis Davis, Sr., Jos. Gibbons, Jr., and Thomas Evans; which committee were "to be and continue from this time until one month after the rising of the next Continental Congress, with full power to transact such business, and enter into such associations as to them shall appear expedient." After the appointment of the above committee, they proceeded to appoint a chairman and secretary; when Anthony Wayne, Esq., was selected for the former, and Francis Johnston, Esq., for the latter office. The committee then passed the following resolves unanimously:

"1st. That any twelve or more of the said committee, meeting upon due notice, be empowered to enter upon and transact all such business, as shall come under their consideration; provided, the majority agreeing shall not be less than twelve."

"2d. That the present unhappy situation of public affairs in general, and of this Province in particular, renders it highly necessary that a Provincial Convention should be held as soon as possible; for which purpose twelve persons shall be appointed, out of the said Committee, as delegates to attend the said Convention, at such time and place as shall be generally agreed on."

The committee then adjourned, to meet at the house of David Coupland, in the borough of Chester, on January 9, 1775.

Agreeably to one of the resolves of the first meeting of the people of Chester county, subscriptions were circulated for the relief of the suffering people of Boston. The Society of Friends, acting in a meeting capacity, did not hesitate to contribute to the same object. Chester Monthly Meeting contributed £70 "for the relief of Necessitous inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay and Provinces adjacent." Darby Meeting paid £33 14s. "for the relief of the poor and distressed in New England," while Haverford Meeting responded to the request of the meeting for sufferings, "that Friends should contribute liberally for the relief of friends or others (in the New England Government), who are or may be reduced to indigent circumstances, in this time of public calamity," and in a short time had the satisfaction to receive "an affecting account of the state of the poor of these Provinces, and of the distribution of the donations sent from hence."

In this connection it may be remarked, that the period under consideration was one of great tribulation with the more staid members of the Society of Friends. Their tenets imposed a condition of perfect neutrality, and this was generally adhered to; but many, and among them men in high repute for their intelligence, took an active part in opposing the arbitrary measures of the mother country. The effect of allowing their members to participate in the commotions of the times was foreseen, and the most kindly caution was repeatedly administered by the visitation of Committees. It will be seen hereafter that these efforts were generally, though not wholly, unsuccessful.

The proposed Provincial Convention assembled at Philadelphia January 23, 1775, and continued its sessions until the 28th. The following ten delegates from Chester county appeared at the first meeting of the convention: Anthony Wayne, Esq., Hugh Lloyd, Richard Thomas, Francis Johnston, Esq., Samuel Fairlamb, Lewis Davis, William Montgomery, Joseph Musgrave, Joshua Evans, and Persifer Frazer. The absentees were Thomas Hockley and Thomas Taylor. The proceedings of the convention were unanimous, and the object of one of its first resolves was "to procure a law prohibiting the future importation of slaves into the province."

No record of a meeting of the Chester county committee, on January 9, the day to which they adjourned, has been found; but they are again assembled March 20, pursuant "to adjournment and public notice," showing that an intervening meeting had been held. This meeting was held at the house of Richard Cheyney in East Caln, when, on motion, it was "ordered, that Mr. Hockley, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Gronow, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Frazer, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Taylor, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee to essay a draught of a petition to present to the General Assembly of this Province, with regard to the manumission of slaves—especially relating to the freedom of infants hereafter born of black women within this Colony—and do make report of the same to this Committee at its next meeting."

On motion, "ordered, that each member in this Committee, will use his utmost diligence in collecting the several sums of money subscribed for the use of Boston, and pay the same into the hands of Anthony Wayne, Esq., treas-

urer, at the next meeting of the committee." The committee then adjourned, to meet at the house of David Coupland, in the borough of Chester, on Wednesday, the 31st of May next. The following extract from their proceedings shows that the committee met at an earlier day than that to which they adjourned.

"In Committee, Chester, May 22, 1775.

"Whereas it appears very necessary, in order to avert the evils and calamities which threaten our devoted country, to embody ourselves and make all the military preparation in our power; and it appears absolutely impossible to carry this laudable design into execution, without observing the greatest order, harmony and concord, not only under the laws of civil government, but also while under arms and in actual duty,—we therefore unanimously recommend the following Association, to be entered into by the good people of this County:—

"We, the Subscribers do most solemnly resolve, promise and engage, under the sacred ties of honor, virtue, and love to our country, that we will use our utmost endeavours to learn the military exercise and promote harmony and unanimity in our respective companies; that we will strictly adhere to the rules of decency, during duty; that we will pay a due regard to our officers; that we will, when called upon, support with our utmost abilities the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws for the good of our country, and that we will at all times be in readiness to defend the lives, liberties, and properties of ourselves and fellow countrymen against all attempts to deprive us of them.

"Extract from the minutes.

"By order of the Committee,

"Francis Johnston, Sec'y."

The following is the next call for a meeting of the committee:—

"Chester County, September 7, 1775.

"The Committee of Chester County are desired to meet at the sign of the Turk's Head, in the township of Goshen, on Monday, the 25th inst., at Ten O'clock, A. M., on business of consequence; at which time and place the board of commissioners and assessors are requested to attend.

"By order of the Committee,

"Anthony Wayne, Chairman."

"In Committee, Chester County, Sept. 25, 1775.

"Whereas some persons, evidently inimical to the liberty of America, have industriously propagated a report, that the military associators of this County, in conjunction with the military associators in general, intend to overturn the Constitution, by declaring an Independency, in the execution of which they are aided by this Committee and the board of Commissioners and Assessors with the arms now making for this County; and as such report could not originate but among the worst of men for the worst of purposes,—This Committee have therefore thought proper to declare, and they do hereby declare, their abhorrence even of an idea so pernicious in its nature; as they ardently wish for nothing more than a happy and speedy reconciliation, on constitutional principles, with that state from whom they derive their origin.

"By order of the Committee,

"Anthony Wayne, Chairman."

The strong language of this disclaimer against any intention of favoring independence, and the desire expressed for a reconciliation with the mother country, sounds strange at this day, yet there can be no doubt that, up to this

late period, it was the prevailing sentiment, even among those who were most strenuous in their opposition to the measures of the home government.

After having provided for the election of a new committee for the ensuing year by the people of the several townships, October 2d, the committee adjourned to meet at Chester on that day, but we have no record of the proceedings of that meeting. Whether the complexion of the committee was changed by the election is not known, but we judge it was not, from the proceedings of the next meeting.

"CHESTER, Oct. 23rd, 1775.

"Pursuant to public notice given, the Committee met at the house of David Cowpland, in the borough of Chester. On motion ordered, that each member of this Committee do immediately make return to the Chairman, of the quantity of Powder which he already has or may collect within his district, together with the price and the name of the owner thereof, that the same may be paid for.

"On motion resolved, that Anthony Wayne, Francis Johnston, and Elisha Price, Esqrs., Mr. Richardson, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Brannan, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee of Correspondence for this County.

"By order of the Committee,

"FRANCIS JOHNSTON, Sec'y."

The second meeting of Congress was in May, 1775. At the close of the first meeting of that body, it was hoped and believed by many that a second meeting would not be necessary; that the representations made to the home government by the representatives of all the colonies, would bring the desired relief. But this was a delusion, for before Congress met, hostilities had actually begun. From this time onward, for seven long years, war measures and the events of the war engrossed public attention. Only those of a local character will be noticed.

A Committee of Safety was appointed by the Assembly on June 30, consisting of twenty-five members, of whom Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Bartholomew, Francis Johnston and Richard Riley were from Chester county. This committee was especially active in providing for the defence of the Province, and particularly for that of the city of Philadelphia. Each county was required to furnish a certain number of firelocks—the quota for Chester county being 600. These were manufactured by a man named Dunwicke, and were ready to be proved by the 6th of October. Gun-boats were constructed; ammunition provided; companies, battalions and regiments were organized, and breastworks hastily thrown up. These defences were mostly in the neighborhood of Fort Mifflin. In addition, two tiers of chevaux-de-frize were thrown across the main channel of the Delaware; one opposite the upper part of Hog Island, near the Fort, and the other nearly opposite the Lazaretto. The following resolution, adopted by the committee on the 16th of November, directs additional tiers to be sunk, but it does not appear that any barrier to the navigation of the river was placed so far down as Marcus Hook.

"Resolved, that one or more tiers of Chevaux-de-frize be sunk above those already sunk, near to Fort Island."

"That two tiers of Chevaux-de-frize be sunk for the further security of this Province in the channel opposite or near to Marcus Hook."

In an official report on the condition of the Province, made by the Governor to the Earl of Dartmouth, the population is estimated at 302,000, of whom 2000 were negroes. The colored population was greatly under-estimated, or the report was only intended to include free blacks. The value of the several offices, in sterling money, in the Province, is also set down in the report. Those held by persons residing in Chester county are given as follows: John Morton, Esq., Assistant Justice of the Supreme Court, £100; Henry Hale Graham, Prothonotary, Register, Recorder, &c., £120; Nathaniel Vernon, Sheriff, £100; John Bryan, Coroner, £20.

Towards the close of the year, there was a reorganization of the Committee of Safety made by the Assembly. All the names from Chester county contained in the first appointment are included in this, with the addition of that of Nicholas Fairlamb; the whole number of members being increased to thirty-two.

The county assessment of that part of Chester county now constituting the county of Delaware, for the year 1775, makes the number of taxables in that district 1622, and by estimating five inhabitants to each taxable, our population, at this interesting period of our history, amounted to 8110. The taxables of the several townships were as follows: "Aston, 71; Bethel, 30; Chester, 168; Upper Chichester, 57; Lower Chichester, 85; Concord, 104; Upper Darby, 100; Darby, 90; Edgmont, 67; Haverford, 71; Marple, 75; Middletown, 88; Newtown, 77; Nether Providence, 48; Upper Providence, 58; Ridley (including Tinicum), 149; Radnor, 98; Springfield, 60; Thornbury, 61; and Birmingham, 69. The rate of the assessment was two pence in the pound, and six shillings on single freemen; and the tax for the whole county only amounted to £310 13s. 9d., distributed among the townships as follows: Aston, £14 16s. 9d.; Bethel, £8 13s. 3d.; Chester, £26 1s. 3d.; Upper Chichester, £8 19s. 6d.; Lower Chichester, £10 14s. 11d.; Concord, £23 2s. 1d.; Upper Darby, £27 4s. 3d.; Lower Darby, £14 11s. 3d.; Edgmont, £13 12s 6d.; Haverford, £11 1s. 3d.; Marple, £14 6s. 7d.; Middletown, £20, 13s. 6d.; Newtown, £14 14s.; Nether Providence, £8 16s.; Upper Providence, £8 12s. 9d.; Ridley (including Tinicum), £34 10s.; Radnor, £17 13s. 6d.; Springfield, £13 15s. 3d.; Thornbury, £12 6s.; Birmingham, £6 9s. 2d.

At a meeting of the Chester county committee, held December 26, (1775,) regulations were enacted to secure a perfect organization of the Associators, agreeably to a vote of the Assembly. At the same meeting it was also "Resolved, that Anthony Wayne, James Moore, Francis Johnston Esq, Dr Samuel Kenedy, Caleb Davis, William Montgomery, Persifor Frazer, and Richard Thomas, Gentlemen, or any five or more of them, be appointed, and they are hereby appointed, to represent this county, (if occasion be,) in Provincial Convention for the ensuing year."

The Committee of Safety held its sessions almost daily in Philadelphia.

Their duties were arduous in the extreme. It is indeed difficult to comprehend how a body of men could control and direct such an amount of business in all its details, as was brought under their notice. Some idea may be gained, in respect to their doings, by a detail of such of their transactions as relate more particularly to this county or its vicinity.

Four battalions of Continental troops were ordered by Congress to be raised in Pennsylvania. At the request of that body, the Committee recommended proper persons for officers. Anthony Wayne received the unanimous recommendation of the committee for the office of colonel. On January 17th the Committee resolved, "that Col. Wayne, Col. Johnson, M^{r} Bartholomew & M^{r} Reiley, be a committee to examine the Firelocks, Cartridge boxes, Knapsacks &c. as ordered by the Assembly to be provided by Chester county * * *."

The two tiers of chevaux-de-frize that had already been laid were not regarded as sufficient. Others were constructed at Gloucester, and on the 13th of March it was resolved by the committee, "that John Cobourn be employed to take the Chevaux-de-Frize, when launched at Gloucester, and sink them in their proper places near Fort Island, and that he be authorized to procure anything for the purpose, hire persons under him, on the best and cheapest terms, and that he draw on this board for the expense."

Saltpetre for the manufacture of gunpowder was the great desideratum of the times, and great apprehensions were entertained in regard to the possibility of obtaining a sufficient supply for a successful defence of the Province. The following advertisement shows the extraordinary means adopted to insure a supply of this necessary article:.

"To the INHABITANTS of the County of CHESTER.

"Pursuant to the recommendation of the Committee of Safety for the Province of Pennsylvania, to the Committee for Inspection for the County of Chester, Benjamin Brannan, Walter Finney, and John Beaton were appointed to attend the saltpetre manufactory in the City of Philadelphia, in order to perfect themselves in said art: We having complied therewith do hereby give notice to all those whose public virtue and patriotic spirit would excite them to such a valuable and necessary undertaking at this crisis of time; that attendance will be given at the house of Benjamin Brannan in Darby, on the 23rd and 24th of February; at the house of Mr. Cochran in East Fallowfield on the 27th and 28th; at the house of Mrs. Whitby [Withy] in the borough of Chester, on the 1st and second of March; at the house of Mr. Hood in Oxford, on the 4th and 5th; at the house of Mr. Miller in Birmingham on the 6th and 7th; at the house of Mr. Powell in Newtown on the 8th and 9th; at the house of Mr. Bell in Kennet on the 12th and 13th, and at the house of Walter Finney in New London on the 14th and 15th of said month, in order to teach and instruct all persons who may please to apply at the times and places above mentioned.

"BENJAMIN BRANNAN,
WALTER FINNEY."

"N. B. The times and places in the North West district are not yet appointed."

The "North West district" was visited by Mr. John Beaton the other member of the committee of inspection, who made his appointments at six different places, and spent two days at each place, in giving instruction in the art of making saltpetre.

About March 4th, the Chester county committee petitioned the Assembly for a change in the articles of the Military Associations. The principal change asked for was, that the Associators be furnished with arms. The petition is signed by Anthony Wayne as chairman of the committee.

On March 29th, upon application of Colonel Wayne, an order was drawn by the Committee of Safety in favor of the Chester county committee for £500, for purchasing arms on account of Congress.

Under the apprehension of an attack being made by water, every precaution was used to guard against it. Neither pilots nor pilot-boats were allowed to pass the chevaux-de-frize, and the persons specially appointed to conduct vessels through the opening in that obstruction, were not permitted to go below Chester.

Provincial troops were rapidly recruited and organized along the river—so rapidly that, upon a representation made by Colonel Miles, "that there is not a sufficient number of houses in or about the towns of Chester & Marcus Hook, to quarter the troops now raising for the defence of this Province," the Committee of Safety on the 13th of April resolved, "that Col. Miles do procure for the use of the said troops, 100 good tents, on the most reasonable terms in his power." On April 17th, upon the application of Caleb Davis, an order for £1500 was drawn by the Committee of Safety in favor of the commissioners and assessors of Chester county, "for the payment of firelocks, &c., made in that county for the use of the Province. An application was made to the Committee of Safety by the Chester county committee, for 850 lbs. of powder, in addition to the 400 lbs. on hand, and lead enough for the whole, and also for 1500 flints, to be distributed among the Associators, "in order to supply them with 23 rounds per man." This supply was to be sent to the care of Nicholas Fairlamb.

The committee had judged rightly of the danger to be apprehended from armed vessels coming up the Delaware. "In consequence of intelligence received on the 29th of April, that the Roebuck Man-of-war is aground upon Brandywine [shoals], Capt. Reed was ordered with the provincial Ship Montgomery, to proceed down the river and Bay, and join the Commodore who is already on his way, with the armed Boats, in order to take or destroy her * * * ."

The Provincials had quite a fleet of armed boats and other craft on the river at this time. A list with the number of men on each, made up to the first of May, is as follows:

The Washington,	50 men,	The Ranger,	37 men,
" Franklin,	38 "	" Warren,	22 "
" Congress,	37 "	" Dickenson,	35 "
" Effingham,	22 "	" Hancock,	48 "
" Burke,	24 "	Floating Battery,	116 "
" Camden,	39 "	Ship Montgomery,	117 "
" Chatham,	24 "		
" Experiment,	31 "	Total,	679
" Bull-dog,	39 "		

The "Roebuck" was a vessel of 44 guns. She succeeded in getting from her perilous situation without being captured. There was also another British war vessel in the bay—the "Liverpool" of 28 guns—which likewise escaped, but the presence of the Provincial fleet prevented them from ascending higher up the river than the neighborhood of Wilmington. Here on May 8th, both vessels were attacked by the Provincial fleet under the command of Captain Reed. Colonel Miles, with 100 riflemen, had repaired to that vicinity, with the view of rendering any assistance in his power, and witnessed the engagement. At 4 o'clock on that day, he writes from the river bank near Wilmington, to the Committee of Safety: "Our boats and the two men of war have been engaged for two hours at long shot. I believe there is no damage done on either side, tho' I suppose three or four hundred shot have passed between them. * * * Our boats fire much better than the other vessels, but in my opinion engage at too great a distance." * * *

There was disappointment expressed at the failure of the gondolas or armed boats, to capture or destroy the "Roebuck;" and those in charge of the expedition, to screen themselves from censure, attributed their want of success to a deficiency of supplies, particularly of ammunition; thus casting the blame on the Committee of Safety. This body very promptly asked the Assembly, "to promote such an inquiry as shall satisfy the public where the blame & misconduct is justly chargeable." Perhaps an item in the instructions sent by the committee to Capt. Reed—"to be careful in exposing any of the Boats to capture or destruction"—had as much to do in causing the failure of the expedition as the want of supplies.

From the following orders, adopted by the Committee on the 7th of May, it may be inferred, that a considerable land force was at this time stationed at Chester: "Robert Towers was directed to deliver to Colo. Samuel Miles, for the use of the Provincial troops under his command 1000 pounds of gunpowder and 2000 pounds of Lead, or as great a part thereof as is in store." At the same time 20,000 cartridges for muskets, "for the use of the Associators of Chester County," were directed to be conveyed there "agreeably to Col. Miles direction." And on the next day, the Commissary was directed, "to send down to Chester, for the use of the Provincial troops under Col. Miles, Sixty Firelocks." These guns were sent under the protection of a guard.

After procuring a supply of saltpetre, the next great necessity of the country was to have it manufactured into powder. There was no powder-mill in the Province before the Revolution broke out. An official report made June 3d, shows that the first powder-mill put in operation was that of Doctor Robert Harris, "on Crum creek, about three miles from Chester." It began to work about May 23d. The dimensions of the mill house were 30 by 20 feet, with a head and fall of 8½ feet. The drying house was 20 by 15 feet, "neither floored nor plastered." The Doctor had received one ton of saltpetre and 500 lbs. of sulphur. He expected to deliver one ton of powder on the first of June, "and the same quantity weekly." Another mill, of much greater dimensions, was at this time about being erected, at the public expense, on French

creek, "about four miles above Moore Hall." It was expected to be ready to work on the 25th of June. On a branch of French creek still another small mill was in the course of erection, and also one on Swamp creek, in Bucks county.

Lead was also in great requisition—so much so, that all the leaden clock weights, draught weights, &c., were required to be given up for military purposes. Six pence per pound was allowed for the lead thus taken.

On May 21st the Committee of Safety adopted a memorial to Congress, asking for aid in the completion of the defences of the Delaware. They speak of the large sums appropriated for that object by the Provincial Assembly under the direction of the committee—that they caused "thirteen Arm'd Boats or Gondolas to be built, equip'd and manned, and have since built fitted and Manned, a large Ship, Floating Battery, several Guard Boats, and a great number of fire Rafts; erected fortifications on deep water Island; raised a large artillery Company for their defence, and sunk Chevaux-de-frize in the channel of the river; That the Assembly have raised two Battalions of Riflemen and one of Musquetry, stationed on the banks of the river Delaware. That the Committee perceive, after all these exertions, greatly surpassing, as they believe, any that have been made on this Continent, at an expense merely Collonial, that their defence is still imperfect, and far unequal in their idea, to the probable force, that may soon be employed against this colony."

They ask Congress to make an appropriation for the erection of an additional Floating Battery, and also for a fortification to be erected at Billingsport, on the Jersey shore. Congress made an appropriation for this latter work, but it was executed under the supervision of the Committee of Safety; a boom erected there was also a Continental charge. The works on Fort Island were also strengthened about this time, as a requisition was made on Col. Miles for a working force of one hundred men for that purpose. To these were allowed, over and above their pay "a quart of 18s. beer each working day."

On June 17th, Col. Atlee, who had been stationed at Chester, was directed by the committee to order his whole battalion to be quartered in the barracks of the city. This order would indicate less apprehension of an immediate attack by way of the river; but the committee still continued to increase its defences, in order to be prepared for such an attack. The two tiers of chevaux-de-frize already sunk, having been built in great haste, were probably of defective construction. Be that as it may, we now find two additional tiers in the course of construction—one to be sunk opposite Billingsport, and the other in a range with the piers of the Fort.

The proximity of Hog Island to the fort made it necessary to guard against the enemy landing upon it in case of an attack upon the fort. This was to be effected by overflowing the island with water. To be prepared for such a contingency, on June 19th, "Mr. Abraham Kinsey, Tenant at Hog Island, was informed by the committee of the necessity of laying that island under water on the near approach of the enemy, and at the same time was assured, that

whatever injury he should sustain in consequence, would be hereafter made good to him by the Publick."

It now became known that New York, and not Philadelphia, was to be attacked, and in consequence, on July 2d, Col. Miles was requested to march his battalions immediately to Philadelphia. Letters were, at the same time, dispatched by the committee "to the colonels of the different battalions of the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester & Lancaster, requesting they would hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning, with their battalions to the city."

The representatives from Pennsylvania, in Congress, on the 4th of July, when the vote was taken on the Declaration of Independence, were John Morton, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, Thomas Willing, Andrew Allen and James Wilson. Of these gentlemen Messrs. Morton and Humphreys resided within what is now Delaware county. At the time the vote was taken, Morris and Dickinson were absent. Of those present from Pennsylvania, Franklin, Wilson and Morton voted for the Declaration, and Biddle, Allen, Willing and Humphreys against it.

The convention to form a State Constitution for Pennsylvania met at Philadelphia on July 15th, and at once assumed the whole political power of the State; almost their first act being the appointment of delegates to Congress. For this important trust, John Morton, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Wilson, George Ross, James Smith, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer and George Taylor were selected. So it appears that only the four first named were members of Congress at the adoption of the Declaration, though all signed that instrument when engrossed August 2d following. The names of the members of the convention from Chester county were: Benjamin Bartholomew, John Jacobs, Thomas Strawbridge, Robert Smith, Samuel Cunningham, John Hart, John Mackey and John Fleming.

The military organizations in Pennsylvania, known as Associators, were constituted into fifty-three battalions. These assembled by representatives in convention at Lancaster on July 4th—the day Independence was declared—"to choose two Brigadier Generals to command the Battalions and forces of Pennsylvania." Daniel Robertdeau and James Ewing were elected. The delegates to this convention from Chester county were: Major Culbertson, Colonel Montgomery, Lieutenant-Colonel Gibson; Captains Wallace, Scot, Gardiner; Privates Cunningham, Boyd, Denny, Culbertson, and Fulton.

On July 22d the duties of the Committee of Safety were closed, the convention, then in session, having appointed another body of men, with the title of the Council of Safety, upon whom devolved nearly the same duties that had been exercised by the committee.

Most of the small vessels employed in guarding the Delaware were stationed at the Fort, but it appears that certain guard boats were moored in Darby creek; and from the inconvenience of obtaining provision from the fort, on the 26th of July it was ordered by the Council of Safety, "that Mr. Sketch-

ley Morton do supply the said boats with provisions until further orders." Mr. Morton's bill for supplies furnished, amounted to £8 7s. 8½d.

The troops that had been stationed at Marcus Hook and Chester, and recently ordered to Philadelphia, did not remain long in that city. The following letter at once shows the destination of those troops, the condition in which a portion of them had been left before their removal to the city, and the humanity of their commanding officer:

"PHILADELPHIA, July 10th, 1776.

"Dr Sir: At the time I left Marcus Hook, there was a number of men inoculated for the Small Pox, wch were left under the care of Doctr Davis, but being ordered to the Jerseys, it became absolutely necessary that the Doctr should go with the troops—those sick men still remain at the Hook, under the notice of Doctr Chapman—but I should be much obliged to you, (as I know no other person upon whom I can so well depend,) if you would be kind enough to see that those men are served with every necessary provision, while they remain there, for which you will be satisfied. I hope you will not refuse this trouble, otherwise the poor men will possibly suffer.

"I am, Sir, wth much Esteem, your H'ble Servt.

SAML. MILES."

Colonel Miles, with his regiment, crossed New Jersey, was at the unfortunate battle of Long Island, and taken prisoner. It would be interesting to follow him in the forlorn effort to defend New York, but that is forbidden by the limited scope of this work.

The following extracts from a letter dated at Kingsbridge, on the 22d of September, addressed by Capt. Patrick Anderson, to Dr. Franklin, sufficiently attests the shattered condition of Colonel Atlee's battalion of musketry, after the battle of Long Island:

"Immediately after our defeat on Long Island, the command of the Musquetry Battallion devolved upon me. I found the number of men remaining fit for duty to be about 200, but most of their baggage & some even of their arms and accoutrements Lost, and having no field officers left, applyed to Lt. Col. Broadhead for his advice and assistance; soon after he informed me the General ordered him to annex our Battalion to the Rifle Regt. which I at that time complyed with in expectation of further instructions from the Convention or Council of Safety, as Col. Broadhead wrote you concerning it. Want of necessaries sowered the men's mind. Deficiencys in their stipulated rations hath increased it, & neglect of punctual payt. of their pay hath caused their meeting and Desert in great numbers, with arms, &c. So that there is now only scarce eighty-three remaining & they still think if they are taken prisoners, they will not be exchanged, while any prisoners from the Continental army is in the enemy's hands." (On August 1st there had been 397 men in this battalion under pay).

General Washington was obliged to retreat across New Jersey, and was closely followed by the British army. The "Roebuck" was again in the Bay. Every effort was now made for the defence of Philadelphia, the situation of which had become imminently perilous. Troops were mustered into service, defences were erected, munitions of war were provided, and army supplies were collected from every available quarter. Chester county contributed her full share towards providing for this emergency.

From a few of the minutes and resolves of the Council of Safety, relating more particularly to Chester county, a good idea may be formed of all the defensive and other measures adopted at this time. On October 4th, it was resolved "that Mr. William Evans be desired to purchase all the coarse cloths, blankets, and stockings in Chester county." November 14th, "Intelligence was received by express that several hundred transports had sailed from New York, & steered their course to the southward & expected to be intended for this city; whereupon the council wrote a circular letter to the commanding officers of the Battalions of Militia, earnestly requesting them to march their respective Battalions to this city immediately."

"Ordered, That the owners of cattle and other stock near the river side, make the necessary preparations for removing the same, at least five miles from the river, on the shortest notice, as it is Probable that this board may be under the disagreeable necessity of giving the most preremtory orders for their removal, and to see that the same be punctually and suddenly complied with."

"November 23rd, Resolved, That the salt now in the possession of the Council of Safety, be immediately sent to the Committee of the several Counties in the following proportions, to wit: * * * " (The share of Chester County was eighty bushels).

"The Committees are to sell it to the people at the rate of 15s. pr. Bushel, and in no greater quantity than half a bushell to any one family; they are to make as equal distribution as they can, according to the necessities of the people, for which purpose they are to require a declaration of what quantity they are possessed of more than their just proportion of this necessary article, at a time of such very great scarcity of it."

Dec. 4th. "An order was drawn on Mr. Nesbit in favour of Dr. Robert Harris, for £58, for making powder for Congress, to be charged to his Acco't. Mr. Towers was directed to deliver Dr. Robert Harris one ton of Salt Petre, & Sulphur in proportion, to make into Gun powder. Mr. Nesbitt to pay Jno. Morton £3—6—0, for wharfage of the Floating Battery *Arnold,* in March last."

"Resolved, That Thomas Marle be employed to fix the Boom to the Piers at Fort Island, and to be stationed there to have the care of it, to receive orders, and to be subject to the commanding officer at that station, and he is to employ a sufficient number of hands, and do this business without any delay."

Dr. Thomas Bond proposed "instituting hospitals for the sick in Darby, Chester, Marcus Hook, Wilmington & Newcastle." "I think," he says, "the water carriage from Trenton to those places would save much carting, and this plan much better than one proposed of sending the sick to East Town, [Easton] Bethlehem, Nazareth, Reading, &c."

The successful attack made by General Washington, on the night of December 25th, on a body of Hessians encamped at Trenton, and the capture of a large number of them, with a great number of guns and military stores, at once turned the tide of events, at this period, in favor of the American cause, and relieved our people from any immediate apprehension of the presence of the enemy.

As nearly as can be ascertained, up to the close of the year 1776, the several meetings of the Society of Friends within what now constitutes Delaware county, had disowned eighty-one members for being concerned in military affairs. But three or four were reclaimed who had taken up arms The minutes

of the meetings during this period show an increased activity in visiting such members as continued to hold slaves, and generally with good success. Many slaves were emancipated by members of the Society about this time. A more lively testimony was borne by the meetings than heretofore against the use of alcoholic drinks. Early in the following year, "friends are advised and desired to avoid being concerned in the distillation of grain, or selling grain to such as distil, or purchasing the produce thereof."

The year 1777 was the most eventful period of the revolutionary war. To the people of this county it was a period of the direst calamity. Circumstances placed the seat of war in our midst, and the events of the year being adverse to the American cause, our people, almost without discrimination or exception, were subjected to the ravages and plunder of the successful invaders of our soil. Though relieved from the apprehension of an immediate attack on Philadelphia, the Council of Safety did not slacken their efforts in providing for the defence of that city. Early in January an order was issued to county committees of the nine counties nearest the city, to furnish 38,000 bushels of horse-feed for the army. The apportionment of Chester county was 4000 bushels.

The suspicion that Gen. Howe intended to attack Philadelphia by water, was confirmed by the arrest of one James Molesworth, who had been sent on from New York to secure pilots to conduct the British fleet up the Delaware. Subsequent movements of Howe rendered it difficult to decide whether he would carry out this intention, and made it necessary to embrace a wider scope in providing for the defence of the city.

On April 25th, at the request of Congress, a call was made for 3000 militia, one-half of whom were to be encamped at or near Chester. Each soldier was to be provided with a blanket, but if blankets cannot be purchased, "they must be impressed." At this time the number of men returned in Chester county capable of bearing arms, was 5000.

It was required of the committees of the counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks. "to take an inventory of all the flour, wheat, rye and Indian corn, oats, beef, pork, horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, &c., also wagons, carts, &c. in said counties." The ostensible object of this inventory was to have the articles removed in case of any sudden alarm; but it is probable that a desire to know what amount of provisions and means of transportation could be made available for our army, was at the bottom of this enumeration.

The defences on the Delaware were submitted to the inspection of a French engineer named De Coudray. In his report he utterly condemns the works at Billingsport and Fort Mifflin as almost useless. Of the fort at Red Bank he says, "This fort is better conceived, directed and executed than either of those above mentioned. It does the more honor to Col. Bull, [who superintended its erection] as he had no other assistance than natural good sense, unenlightened by theory." He, however, also condemns this fort for the object for which it was constructed, and recommends a radical change in the plan and construction of that at Billingsport. The fort at Red Bank, Fort Mifflin, and all the gun-boats, floating batteries, fire-ships, and chevaux-de-

frize, were constructed wholly at the expense of Pennsylvania; the fort at Billingsport alone having been erected at the charge of the United Colonies. A considerable amount of money was expended in remodeling this latter fort, but it appears never to have answered any valuable purpose.

Upon the application of General Schuyler, of the Continental army, an order was issued by the Board of War for the collection of 4000 blankets in Pennsylvania for the use of the Continental troops. These blankets were to be collected from the inhabitants "in such quantities as is proportionate to the number they have in the family, and the stock of blankets they may be possessed of; for which blankets they shall be paid the full value, according to an appraisement to be made of them." The proportion to be furnished by Chester county was five hundred.

Early in June, General Howe, commander of the British forces at New York, showed a disposition to advance by land across New Jersey, and to take possession of Philadelphia. On the 14th of that month he actually made an advance by two columns, which led General Washington to believe that this was his real intention. This information being communicated to Congress the same day, that body ordered, "That the 2nd Class of the Militia of the county of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, & Northampton, be ordered to march to the places to which the first class of the said counties respectively are ordered, and that the third class be got in readiness to march, and also that the 1st and second classes of the City Militia, be ordered to march to Bristol, & the 3rd Class hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice." This order was promptly responded to by the Supreme Executive Council of the State, which issued a circular letter to the lieutenants of the counties named, "to forward the first Class of Militia immediately, and to hold the second class in readiness to march at the shortest notice." Forty wagons were also ordered to be sent from Chester county, thirty from Philadelphia, and thirty from Berks.

But it so turned out that the marching of Howe was intended to draw General Washington from the strong position he then occupied, and in that event to give him battle, which he declined to do as our troops were then posted. Washington wisely refused to risk his army in an open field fight, and Howe would not venture to cross the Delaware, leaving so large a force as that commanded by Washington in his rear, so that Philadelphia was again relieved from being attacked by the way of New Jersey. The policy of the British general was understood in the course of a few days, and, as a consequence, on the 25th of June the order for the marching of our local militia was suspended.

Besides the regular army and militia, there were at this time, independent companies of volunteers. On the 11th of June, Benjamin Brannen, Esq., one of the sub-lieutenants of Chester county, informed the Council "that there were several companies of artillery men formed in that county, and requested that they may be furnished with a piece of artillery proper for exercising the men,

and also a few pounds of powder for practicing the firings with." A proper piece, and twelve pounds of powder were ordered to be furnished.

The militia appear to have been divided into eight classes. When a class was called out, many belonging to it could not, or would not go. The deficiency was made up by the employment of substitutes, either taken from the other classes, or from those not subject, by law, to the performance of military duty. These substitutes were procured by means of a bounty, which was paid by the State, to be remunerated by the fines imposed on delinquents, and varied from £15 to £50, for two months' service. In some regiments the number of substitutes nearly equaled the number of those regularly drafted. The system of employing substitutes, at high rates, was much complained of by the officers of the regular army, who regarded it as a serious obstruction to recruiting by enlistments.

It having become apparent that General Howe had definitely changed his plan for gaining possession of Philadelphia, the marching orders for all the militia, except those of Philadelphia and Chester county, were countermanded. News of the embarkation of a large British force, at New York, very reasonably suggested the idea that the attack on the capital of Pennsylvania would be by way of the river Delaware; and doubtless that was the plan of General Howe when he sailed. Every effort was accordingly made for the defence of the river. The modification of the works at Billingsport, recommended by De Coudray, was ordered by Congress to be carried out, under the direction of the authorities of Pennsylvania. Much labor was expended at this point, while Fort Mifflin, (but recently known by that name,) and the earth works at Red Bank were strengthened and improved. Some other points were fortified. One of these was near the mouth of Darby creek,—doubtless on the Island of Tinicum.

Agreeably to some general suggestions made by the commander-in-chief, a survey of the grounds bordering the river, to the distance of four miles from its banks, was ordered by the Council. The surveyors were instructed to note particularly the great roads, even beyond four miles; "the several places where an enemy may land, and the kind of ground adjoining, whether marshy, hilly, open, or covered with woods, and where there are several heights near each other, remarking their altitudes and distances apart;" the streams of water, "as high up as the tide flows, and the places where they may be forded or passed by bridges—where there are swamps near the river, or roads—their kinds and sizes." Passes of difficulty to an army, were to be accurately surveyed and well described. The surveyors were directed to enter upon their duties immediately, and with as much secrecy and dispatch as the case would admit, and all persons were requested to be aiding and assisting them in the service. The duty of making the survey from the Schuylkill to Christina creek was assigned to Nathan Sellers.

On July 27th, certain information was received by the Council of the approach of the British fleet towards the Delaware Bay. This news produced

the highest degree of excitement among the people, and induced the authorities of the State to redouble their exertions to ward off the threatened blow.

A draft of the militia of Philadelphia county had marched before harvest into New Jersey; one from Bucks had guarded the fords of the Delaware for two months; a second class from Bucks, two from the city, and one from Chester, had occupied for some time and assisted in finishing the defences of the Delaware between the city and Chester. On the 28th of July, Congress made a requisition on the executive council of Pennsylvania for 4000 militia in addition to those already in service; in response to which, the Council, on the same day, ordered one class to be immediately called into service from the city, and one class from each of the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton; also a detachment of artillery from the city of Philadelphia, equal to three-eighths of the whole. Most of these troops were directed "to march immediately for Chester."

The persons appointed to drive off the cattle from the borders of the Delaware, on the approach of the enemy, were reminded of the importance of their trust, and of the necessity of holding themselves in readiness for the performance of it when the expected emergency should happen. Caleb Davis, who had been recently appointed prothonotary, &c., for Chester county, was directed to remove the county records from the town of Chester to a place of greater security. On July 31st certain information was received of the fleet approaching and entering the Delaware Bay to the number of 228 vessels of war and transports. Arms were wanted for the militia that had been called out, and as an expedient for supplying them, those persons who had refused to take the oath of allegiance were directed to be disarmed, "and their arms made use of by those who are willing, at the risk of their lives, to defend their liberty and property."

On the same day, circulars were again issued by the Council to the county lieutenants, giving the news of the approach of the fleet, and exhorting them to use every exertion to have the militia at Chester as soon as possible. Volunteers from the classes not called were cordially invited "to step forward on this great and important occasion, before it may be their turn to go into the field in the class to which they belonged. The persons appointed to drive off the cattle and other live stock from the neighborhood of the river, were also notified of the appearance of the enemy at the Capes of the Delaware, and of the near approach of the hour when the execution of their trust could no longer be delayed. At the same time they were advised that Congress had likewise committed to their care the removal of wagons and carts. The works at Billingsport were hurried on towards completion, and every arrangement within the means of the Council was made to resist the invaders.

Persons were appointed to take an account of all the wheat, flour, grain and other stores in the county of Chester within twenty miles westward of the river Delaware. Other gentlemen were appointed in the western part of the county, "for the purpose of Billetting, and providing for the poor that may be

removed out of the city of Philadelphia." Suspected persons were also to be removed into the interior of the State.

So confidently was the enemy expected to approach Philadelphia by the Delaware, that the different detachments of the regular army, under Washington, were ordered to march to the vicinity of the city, and requisitions had been made on several counties for wagons to be used in the transportation of army stores. After entering the bay, General Howe found the navigation for such an immense naval armament more difficult than he had expected, retraced his steps to the ocean, having determined to make his approach by the way of the Chesapeake. This movement was not at first understood by our people, for no tidings were received from the fleet until August 8th, when it was seen some leagues south of Delaware Bay, but soon again disappeared, having been prevented from entering the Chesapeake by contrary winds, until the 16th of that month. It was not, however, until the 22d that the Council was advised of the presence of the enemy in the Chesapeake.

In this period of uncertainty, Washington abated not the least in providing for the defence of the city. On the 15th of August we find him giving directions for the improvement of the defences of the Delaware. More chevaux-de-frize were to be sunk, or "the left bank of Fort Island fortification supported by a good battery capable of resisting the cannon of the ship." The effect of the disappearance of the enemy upon the Executive Council was different. They dreaded expense, and especially unnecessary expense. An order that had been issued for wagons was countermanded on the 8th of August, and less diligence appears to have been used in forwarding the militia. Up to the 16th of August, agreeably to the report of Colonel John Evans, only about 1000 militia had arrived at Chester, and there was no shelter for more, "all the empty houses being occupied." These troops were from the counties of Berks, Cumberland, Lancaster and Chester. The following letter from the Council to some of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress, still further exhibits the great anxiety of that body to avoid expense, and may serve to explain the policy that lessened the efficiency of the militia when called into actual service:

"PHILADELPHIA, 20th Augt. 1777.

"Gent: Council desire, that you will represent to Congress that the Militia last called out in this State, have been rendezvousing at Chester, and are still arriving there. As this is the season for sowing winter corn, on which this county greatly depends, & labourers are become very scarce, they are sensible that great distress must ensue upon continuing these people embodied. In this circumstance, it will afford very sensible satisfaction to the Council, as well as relief to the industrious Inhabitants, if public affairs may admit of the dismissing of part of the Militia, especially as they are very deficient in Arms, & blankets, & totally unprovided with tents."

Two days later, when news of the approach of the enemy by way of the Chesapeake was received, a very sudden change took place in the measures adopted by the Council. The threatened danger was at hand. Economy yielded to necessity, and the Council at once resumed the work of preparation with

vigor, which had been unwisely slackened during the short period that the enemy remained invisible. Additional troops were ordered to Chester, and an equal number to Downingtown; the militia from Northampton that had been ordered to proceed northward, were now directed to proceed to Lancaster "with all possible expedition," and in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, all disaffected persons were ordered to be arrested and sent into the interior.

The fleet passed up the Elk river as far as the ships could be navigated with safety, and on August 25th, landed about 18,000 men, "in good health and spirits, admirably supplied with all the implements of war, and led by an experienced general, of unquestionable military talents." On the day before Howe landed, the American army passed through Philadelphia and marched towards the Brandywine. Being deficient in the means of transportation for army baggage, a pressing request was made upon the Council to supply the deficiency. This request was promptly responded to by an order upon the justices of the counties of Philadelphia and Chester; each county being required to furnish twenty-five wagons with four horses each.

General John Armstrong was placed in command of the militia at Chester. In a letter to the president of the Council, dated at that place August 29, we are informed that out of the "chaos" in which Gen. Armstrong had found things at that place, he had then forwarded 1,800 men; that in concert with Gen. Potter he had formed a rifle regiment [battalion], and placed at the head of it Col. Dunlap, "a prudent man, and not unacquainted with the business of a partisan." This rifle battalion, consisting of three hundred privates, which was to march from Marcus Hook the next day, and one hundred and fifty sent from Billingsport the same day, were exclusive of the number above mentioned. The head quarters of General Washington were now at Wilmington, where these troops united with the regular army. On the first of September, the militia that had been called out in Lancaster county were also ordered by General Washington to join his army at Wilmington.

Up to September 3d, the enemy had made but little progress towards Philadelphia. General Maxwell had advanced with a body of light troops to Iron Hill, in Pencader Hundred, Delaware, where on that day he was attacked by a column of the British army, led by Lord Cornwallis, and driven beyond White Clay Creek, with a loss of forty killed and wounded. Up to the 5th of September, the main body of the American army had remained in the vicinity of Wilmington, where some works had been thrown up. On that day, the whole body was removed to Newport, and occupied a position between that place and Red Clay Creek, except General Irwin's brigade, which remained at Wilmington in charge of the works at that place. According to the best information that could then be obtained, the British troops were spread over a "considerable space of country, but in a detached way, from Couch's Mills to some part of Nottingham."

Pursuant to a recommendation of Congress, a call was made by the Executive Council, September 6th, for 5,000 militia in addition to those already in

the field. They were ordered to rendezvous on the heights of Darby, "with what arms they have or can procure, and otherwise equipped in the best manner they may be able." These equipments, including blankets, in case they were taken by the enemy or otherwise unavoidably lost, were to be paid for by the State.

In order to strengthen the army, General Washington had withdrawn nearly all the troops from the defensive works on the Delaware. The Navy Board became apprehensive "that some parts of the enemy's fleet would soon attempt to invade the city," and on September 5th, communicated its plans of defence to the Executive Council. Hog Island and the meadows were to be laid under water; flats and boats should be provided to make a bridge from Fort Island to Province Island; ninety or one hundred men should be put in the fort at Darby creek; four pieces of cannon should be got to Billingsport; some person to be put in charge of the fort at Fort Island, and thirty men to be ready to be put on Bush Island. In pursuance of these suggestions Colonel Jehu Eyres, with two companies of militia artillery, was ordered to repair to the works that have been named, where, in conjunction with the commanders of the fleet, he was to exert himself "to take, burn, sink or otherwise destroy the enemy's ships or vessels that may attempt to invade this or the neighboring States." He was promised a reinforcement of militia from Buck's county.

Information having been communicated to the American camp at Newport, that the enemy had disencumbered themselves of all heavy baggage, General Washington at once determined to put his army in a like condition. A requisition was made by the Quartermaster-General, September 7, upon the Executive Council for a sufficient number of teams, for the removal of all baggage except blankets and a few small clothes. These teams were to "be placed in the rear of the divisions, and immediately on an alarm, the tents and small packs left with the men, were to be sent over Brandywine."

Up to September 8th, the opinion was entertained by General Armstrong that the British would probably re-embark on the Delaware, cross over, and land at some convenient point on the Jersey shore, march up to the chevaux-de-frize, accompanied by the vessels of force, which he expected would bombard Philadelphia. On the very day that General Armstrong communicated this opinion to the Council, a movement of the enemy proved that it was not well founded. General Washington had strengthened the position he then occupied, and, regarding it as probable that the fate of Philadelphia would be there decided, he had resorted to every means in his power to encourage his troops and stimulate them to the greatest exertions. But the movements of the enemy indicated a design to turn the right of the American army, and to cut off all communication with Philadelphia. Washington decided at once to change his ground, and that night crossed the Brandywine, and took a position behind that stream at Chadds' Ford. General Maxwell was posted west of the ford on the road, and General Armstrong was assigned a position on the east side of the Brandywine, about two miles below, which enabled him to guard two fords, now known as Pyle's Ford and Corner Ford. In order to fortify the position at Chadds' Ford, a breastwork was hastily thrown up on the bluff

bordering on the flat ground a little north of the main road. Part of the main army was stationed above the ford to guard other passes. This division of the American army has been estimated, numerically, at 15,000, including the Pennsylvania militia, commanded by General Armstrong. Chief Justice Marshall, who was present at the battle of Brandywine, estimates the effective force of the Americans at 11,000, including the militia, and assigns his reasons why there should be such a large number of men unfit for military duty. Thus posted, and with this small body of effectives, Washington patiently awaited the approach of the greatly superior force of the enemy.

On the evening of the 9th, Howe marched in two columns which united early next morning at Kennet Square; after which he advanced parties on the roads leading to Lancaster, to Chadds' Ford, and to Wilmington. The account of the noted battle of Brandywine, which happened on the next day, will be mainly that given by Chief Justice Marshall (who was an eye-witness), in his "Life of Washington," with the addition of a few details, properly omitted by that author, but which it may be well to preserve in a strictly local history of that event:

"The armies were now within seven miles of each other, with only the Brandywine between them, which opposed no serious obstacle to a general engagement. This was sought by Howe, and not avoided by Washington.

"In the morning of the 11th, soon after day, information was received that the whole British army was in motion, advancing on the direct road leading to Chadd's Ford. The Americans were immediately under arms, and placed in order of battle for the purpose of contesting the passage of the stream. Skirmishing soon commenced between the advanced parties; and by ten o'clock Maxwell's corps, with little loss on either side, was driven over the Brandywine, below the ford. Knyphausen, who commanded this column, paraded on the heights, reconnoitred the American army, and appeared to be making dispositions to force the passage of the creek. A skirt of woods, with the stream, divided him from Maxwell's corps, small parties of whom occasionally crossed over, and kept up a scattering fire, by which not much execution was done. At length one of these parties, led by Captains Waggoner and Porterfield, engaged the British flank guard very closely, killed a captain with ten or fifteen privates, drove them out of the woods, and were on the point of taking a field-piece. The sharpness of the skirmish, soon drew a large body of the British to that quarter, and the Americans were again driven over the Brandywine.

"About eleven in the morning, information reached General Washington, that a large column of the enemy, with many field-pieces, had taken a road leading from Kennet Square, directly up the country, and was marching to fords higher up on the Brandywine. This information was given by Colonel Ross, of Pennsylvania, who was in their rear, and estimated their numbers at 5,000 men. On receiving this information, Washington is said to have determined to detach General Sullivan and Lord Stirling to engage the left division of the British army, and with the residue of his troops to cross Chadds' Ford in person, and attack Knyphausen. Before this plan could be executed, counter intelligence was received, inducing an opinion that the movement of the British on their left was a feint, and that the column of Lord Cornwallis, after making demonstrations of crossing the Brandywine above its forks, had marched down the western side of that stream to unite itself again with Knyphausen.

"Various and contradictory reports were from time to time received. Even light horsemen, specially sent to reconnoitre, had failed to get sight of the enemy, and, by their report, succeeded in deceiving their general to such an extent that he was unwilling

to credit correct intelligence when it arrived. This intelligence was brought about 2 o'clock by Mr. Thos. Cheyney, a justice of the peace of the neighborhood. Being unacquainted with the squire, Washington at first discredited his story, and it was not until the excellent character of Esq. Cheyney, and his devotion to the American cause, had been made known to the general, that he yielded a reluctant belief in the important intelligence he communicated.

"The division of the British army under Cornwallis had taken a very long and circuitous route, crossing the Brandywine considerably above its forks—the west branch at Trimble's Ford, and the east branch at Jefferis' Ford. As soon as Washington became convinced that a large division of the enemy had crossed the Brandywine above, he immediately made a change in the disposition of his force. The divisions commanded by Generals Sullivan, Stirling and Stephens, advanced farther up the Brandywine, and fronted the British columns marching down that stream. The division commanded by General Wayne remained at Chadds' Ford, to keep Knyphausen in check, in which service Maxwell was to co-operate. Greene's division, accompanied by General Washington in person, formed a reserve, and took a central position between the right and left wings.

"The divisions detached against Lord Cornwallis formed on an advantageous piece of ground above Birmingham Friends' Meeting-house, chiefly within what is now the lawn surrounding the dwelling of Mrs. Pepper; both flanks being covered with a thick wood. Stirling's detachment advanced to within a short distance of the meeting-house, where he awaited the approach of the enemy. After waiting for some time, the near approach of the British was announced, when Stirling endeavored to secure the highest ground in the immediate vicinity of the meeting-house, but when he reached that point the British had so nearly gained it, that he could not have formed before they would have been upon him. In this dilemma he threw a small force into the graveyard, which was enclosed with a stone wall, for the purpose of giving the enemy employment until he could form his men on the rising ground in the rear. This body, after having made an obstinate resistance, rejoined the main division.

"Unfortunately, Sullivan's division, in taking its position, took too large a circuit, and was scarcely formed when the attack commenced. The battle began about half-past four o'clock, and was kept up warmly for some time. The right having been formed under the enemy's fire, first gave way, and by its flight exposed that flank of the remaining divisions to a galling fire. The line continued to break from the right, and in a short time was completely routed. The right wing made some attempts to rally, but being briskly charged, again broke, and the flight became general.

"Upon the commencement of the action on the right, the reserve division under Washington and Greene pressed forward to the support of that wing; but before its arrival the rout was complete, and nothing could be done but check the pursuit. For this purpose, the 10th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Stephens, and a regiment from Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel Stewart, (neither of which had been in action,) were posted advantageously on the road taken by the defeated army. Though dispersed by General Howe, these regiments did good service in putting an end to the pursuit. To the same end General Greene contributed largely. Placing himself at the head of Muhlenberg's brigade, in the rear of the retreating army, he kept up, especially from his cannon, so destructive a fire, as greatly to retard the advance of the enemy. At one time, it is said, he opened his columns for the fugitives and closed them against their pursuers. Arriving at length at a narrow defile, strongly secured on its right and left by thickets or woods, he immediately halted, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of danger, in case of being compelled to a hasty retreat, and formed his troops, determined to dispute the pass with small arms, notwithstanding the vast superiority of his assailants. He effected his purpose with complete success, for though he was dislodged by Howe, the pursuit was abandoned.

"When the American right was found to be fully engaged with Lord Cornwallis,

Knyphausen made real dispositions for crossing the Brandywine. Chadds' Ford was defended by an intrenchment and battery with three field-pieces and a howitzer, this division of the army being under the command of General Wayne. After some resistance the work was forced, and the defeat of the right being known, the left wing also withdrew from the ground. The whole American army retreated towards Chester, arriving there by different roads and at different times in the night.

"The loss on the side of the British was one hundred killed and four hundred wounded; among the former was a young man named Percy, said to be a relative of the Duke of Northumberland. The loss on the side of the Americans was nine hundred killed and wounded. Among the wounded was the Marquis de la Fayette. As but few Americans were killed or wounded in the retreat, the inequality in the loss sustained has been attributed to the inferiority of their arms; many of their muskets being wholly unfit for service.

"General Howe has received great applause for the plan of this battle, which, but for one circumstance, was the very best that could have been adopted. The circuit taken by the division under Cornwallis was too great. Had General Washington received early and correct information of the wide separation of the two divisions of the British army, he would have crossed the Brandywine with his whole force, and made an attack on Knyphausen with almost a certainty of success, and could have been ready to meet the division under Cornwallis by the time it arrived, or upon some future day as best suited his convenience. To one acquainted with the distance and the ground traveled over by the detached wing of the British army, the taking of such a wide circuit, appears like a serious mistake on the part of Lord Howe, and one that would have changed the fate of the day, but for the extraordinary combination of circumstances that kept Washington in ignorance or in doubt in respect to the extent and character of the movements, until it was too late to take advantage of it."

Upon the arrival of General Washington at Chester, he addressed the following letter to Congress, by whose order it was published:

"Chester, September 11. 1777. Twelve o'clock at Night."

"Sir: I am sorry to inform you, that in this day's engagement, we have been obliged to leave the enemy master of the field. Unfortunately the intelligence received of the Enemy's advancing up the Brandywine and crossing at a ford about six miles above us, was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my plans to get the best. This prevented my making a disposition adequate to the force with which the enemy attacked us on our right; in consequence of which, the troops first engaged were obliged to retire, before they could be reinforced.—In the midst of the attack on the right, that body of the enemy that remained on the other side of Chad's ford, crossed it and attacked the division there under the command of General Wayne, and the light troops under General Maxwell; who after a severe conflict, also retired. The militia under the command of General Armstrong, being posted at a ford about two miles below Chad's, had no opportunity of engaging.

"But though we fought under many disadvantages, and were from the cause above mentioned, obliged to retire, yet our loss of men is not, I am persuaded, very considerable; I believe much less than the enemy's. We have also lost seven or eight pieces of cannon according to the best information I can at present obtain.—The baggage having been previously moved off is all secure; saving the men's blankets, which being at their backs, many of them doubtless are lost:

"I have directed all the troops to assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for the night.—Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits; and I hope another time we shall compensate for the losses now sustained.

Drawn by C P Tholey HEAD QUARTERS OF GEN. WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. Bowen & Co lith, Philada

"The Marquis La Fayette was wounded in the leg, and General Woodford in the hand. Divers other officers were wounded and some slain, but the numbers of either cannot now be ascertained. G. WASHINGTON.

"P. S. It has not been in my power to send you earlier intelligence; the present being the first leisure moment I have since the engagement."

On the next day, the American army marched through Darby to Philadelphia, where it was probably joined by straggling parties who had not reached Chester; one of these, accompanied by a wagon load of the wounded with a surgeon, reached Gibbons' tavern in Springfield about ten o'clock on the night of the battle. Here their wounds were dressed and their wants supplied with everything the house could afford. They left early in the morning, for fear of being overtaken by the enemy.

While the American army was stationed on the Brandywine, Washington occupied the dwelling of Benjamin Ring, a mile from Chadds' Ford, as his headquarters. This house is now (1862) owned and occupied by Joseph Harvey, and has undergone some modifications since it was occupied by the "father of his country."

The quarters of La Fayette were at the dwelling of Gideon Gilpin, who was still living in the same house when La Fayette visited this country in 1825. The procession that accompanied the General to the Brandywine battle-ground, stopped in front of the house while he paid his respects to old Gideon, who was then on his death-bed. This property was owned in 1862 by Samuel Painter, who has erected a neat mansion near the old house, which yet remains in nearly its former condition.

A little above the road leading from Dilworth's town to Brandywine, on the descending ground, there stood a small house occupied by a man named Brown at the time of the battle. When Brown discovered that the Americans were retreating, followed by the British, he ran out of his house, and huzzaed for King George at the top of his voice. An American rifleman within hearing, indignant at his treachery, shot Brown just as he re-entered his dwelling, the ball passing through the fleshy part of his arm.

At the time of the battle, Edward Brinton, Esq., then an aged man, owned and occupied the property of the late Edward B. Darlington, on the road leading from Dilworth's town to the Brandywine. When that division of the American army that met the British at and near Birmingham Meeting-house was retreating, closely followed by the enemy, and before the firing had ceased, a number of British officers stopped at the house of Squire Brinton, set out the dining table, and drank ten or a dozen bottles of wine in a very short space of time; after which some of them passed into another part of the house where the old gentleman was sitting. One of these officers said to him, "Well, old gentleman, what do you think of these times?" The Squire replied that he did not approve of all the measures of the Americans, but that he thought the acts of the British government had been cruel and oppressive. To this the officer replied: "Indeed, old gentleman, I think so too, and had it not been for your declaration of independence, I never would have drawn my sword in America."

In the fight at Birmingham Meeting-house, a party of the Americans for a time occupied a position inside of the rear wall of the grave-yard. A number of the British fell here. The killed of both armies who fell in the vicinity of the meeting-house, were buried in the grave-yard which partly surrounds it; their remains occupying one common grave just inside of the gate, and on the side of it next to the meeting-house. The meeting-house was used as a hospital while the British army remained in the neighborhood.

A Major Furgesson, who was the commander of a small corps of riflemen attached to the British army, mentions an incident which he says took place, while he lay concealed in a small skirt of wood in front of Knyphausen's division. In a letter to Dr. Furgesson, he writes:

"We had not lain long when a rebel officer, remarkable for a huzzar dress, passed towards our army, within one hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkably high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them; but the idea disgusted me; I recalled the order. The huzzar, in returning, made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the woods towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but looking at me, he proceeded. I again drew his attention, and made a sign to him to stop, but he slowly continued on his way. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in or about him before he was out of my reach, I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty, so I let him alone. The day after, when I was telling this story to some wounded officers, who lay in the same room with me, when one of our surgeons, who had been dressing the rebel officers, came in and told me that General Washington was all that morning, with the light troops and only accompanied by a French officer in a huzzar dress, he, himself, dressed and mounted in every way as above described. I am not sorry that I did not know at the time who it was."

The good genius of Washington never forsook him. The young man Percy, supposed to be a relative of the Duke of Northumberland, before mentioned, was killed near the meeting-house. The following anecdote is related of him:

"When he had arrived, with the regiment he accompanied, in sight of the Americans ranged in order of battle upon the heights near Birmingham meeting-house, he surveyed the field around him for a moment, and then turning to his servant, handed him his purse and his gold watch to take charge of, remarking, 'this place I saw in a dream before I left England, and I know I shall fall here.' The coincidence was striking and remarkable—the event verified the prediction. His name is not mentioned in the British official account of the battle, because he held no commission in the army. He was merely a volunteer."

The place where La Fayette received his wound, as pointed out by himself in 1825, was on the high ground a little northwest of the new frame public school-house. It occurred while Washington, in person, and the worthy young Frenchman were endeavoring to rally some of the retreating regiments. Some hard fighting took place at this point.

LAFAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS AT BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

For two days after the battle of Brandywine, the chief part of the British army lay encamped about Dilworth's town. During this time General Howe had his headquarters at the house now owned and occupied by George Gilpin. It was probably occupied by a person of the same name at that time.

On the day after the battle, a detachment of the British army, under General Grant, marched to Concord meeting-house, where Lord Cornwallis, with the balance of the army, joined him on the 13th. From this point the main body of the army moved to Village Green and encamped, leaving a detachment at Concord to guard the wounded left at the meeting-house. Another detachment was sent to Wilmington, to which place some of the wounded were also removed.

The encampment at Village Green was the largest ever established within the limits of Delaware county, extending from Mount Hope to the lower part of what is now Village Green, where General Howe had his headquarters in the old brick house still standing. There is evidence that the British were in possession of the town of Chester, four miles from this encampment, on the 13th of the month. The depredations committed on the property of the people within the bounds of this county, by the British army under General Howe, between the time of the battle of Brandywine and his evacuation of Philadelphia, were enormous. Many families were stripped of every article they possessed, and left in a state of perfect destitution. It is but fair to infer that many of these enormities were committed against the wishes of the commanding General, as the tories were frequently great sufferers, though the Whig families suffered the most. The British army had not before occupied a district of country so rich as this in agricultural products, nor one in which each farm-house was so well stored with everything that could minister to the real comforts of life. An abundant field was presented from which these reckless freebooters did not fail to gather a rich harvest, leaving little to glean, when time and opportunity was afterwards afforded them to finish their wicked work. The plundering was by no means confined to articles that would be useful to the army; every article of female apparel was taken from some houses, and the furniture carried away or destroyed.

While the army lay at Village Green, a tragic event occurred that goes to show that General Howe had become alarmed at the extent of these enormities, and was determined to put an end, at least, to unlicensed plunder. Three Hessians one night started on a plundering expedition, crossing Chester creek into Middletown township, and entered the dwelling of Jonathan Martin, now 1862 the property of Bennet Temple. They compelled Mr. Martin to show them through the house, and to point out such articles as they wanted. Miss Mary Martin, the daughter of Mr. Martin, then aged about eighteen years, and afterwards the wife of William Sharpless, of Middletown, reprimanded them for their conduct, which provoked one of them to inflict a slight wound upon her with his bayonet. Not satisfied with the plunder obtained at Mr. Martin's, they proceeded to the house of a Mr. Coxe, in Chester township, recently the property of Thomas McCall, where they appropriated such articles as they

found suited to their taste, among which was a silver watch. Mr. Coxe had a daughter about the same age as Miss Martin. On the following day, these two young girls proceeded to the headquarters of General Howe and made their complaint to him personally. He promised that if they could point out the men, they should be punished. The troops were at once formed into line, when the girls passed along and pointed out the robbers after which they retired to some distance. The officers then put the troops through various evolutions, leaving the men in different positions. The same men were again pointed out by the girls as the guilty parties. This operation was again repeated with a like result. The men were then searched, when some of the stolen property was found upon them. They were tried by a court martial and all convicted. Two of them were sentenced to be hung, and the third to perform the office of executioner. Upon whom the extreme penalty should be inflicted, the question was decided by casting lots. The sentence was carried out to the letter. The two men were hung on the limb of an apple-tree on the property owned by George L. Nield, in Aston; and, what is remarkable, they were allowed to remain hanging after the army moved away.

Thomas Dutton, upon whose property part of the army lay, was then in his ninth year, his father being deceased. Upon the arrival of the army, he was subjected to a close examination to ascertain the proclivities of his family —whether his father or elder brothers were rebels. Finding nothing objectionable in the family, the officers treated his mother kindly, with the exception, that they appropriated to themselves her eatables rather too freely. They notified her that "the butter, cheese, and milk they must and would have, whether she received pay or not." They paid for everything; and upon the eve of their departure, notified her to secure every species of property from the depredation of the camp followers; to bolt and bar every window and door, and not to admit one of them on any pretence whatever, "as they would steal everything they could lay their hands on."

A few days after the battle of Brandywine, four or five hundred of the American wounded soldiers were taken to Ephrata, in Lancaster county, and placed in a hospital. Here the camp fever set in, which, in conjunction with the wounds of the soldiers, baffled the skill of the surgeons. One hundred and fifty soldiers died, and were buried at this place. They were principally from the Eastern States and from Pennsylvania, with a few British, who had deserted and joined the American army.

When General Washington retreated to Philadelphia, the main body of his army encamped near Germantown, where he allowed his men two or three days to rest. On the 15th of the month he marched up the Lancaster road, and halting at the Buck tavern, in Haverford township, he despatched a letter to the Council, urging a supply of blankets for the troops. On the same evening he reached the Warren tavern, where, hearing of the approach of the enemy by the way of Goshen meeting-house, he resolved to give him battle, for although the conflict on the Brandywine had been sanguinary and disastrous, the troops were by no means discouraged. In fact the opinion generally prevailed that

the loss on each side was nearly equal, and the British had gained but little more than the battle-field.

Howe, anxious to give battle, on the next day marched towards the American army. Some skirmishing occurred between the pickets, but a rain-storm of almost unprecedented violence set in, and separated the two armies. The Americans retreated to the Yellow Springs, where they discovered that scarcely one musket in a regiment could be discharged, and that scarcely one cartridge-box was fit for use. This state of things suggested the precaution of moving to a greater distance. The army accordingly retired to Warwick Furnace, where a supply of ammunition was obtained, and soon after crossed the Schuylkill, except the division under General Wayne, consisting of 1500 men, which was dispatched to the rear of the British army, where he was to join General Smallwood, who was in command of a body of militia. On the evening of September 20th, Wayne was encamped on the ground now marked by the "Paoli Monument," a pedestal erected in commemoration of the serious disaster of that night. General Howe, having been informed by tories residing in the neighborhood of the exact position of Wayne's encampment, dispatched General Gray with an adequate force to capture the whole party. Cautiously approaching in the dead of the night, and probably guided by some local enemy of the American cause, he drove in the pickets with charged bayonets, and at once rushed upon the encampment. "Wayne instantly formed his division; and with his right sustained a fierce assault, directed a retreat by the left under cover of a few regiments, who for a short time withstood the violence of the shock." The total loss of the Americans has been variously estimated at from 150 to 300, while the British only admit a loss of seven.

When the attack commenced, General Smallwood was within less than a mile of Wayne's encampment, a circumstance unknown to General Gray. But his militia gave way on the approach of a party of the British returning from the pursuit of Wayne, with the loss of but one man. Some severe animadversions on this unfortunate affair having been made in the army, General Wayne demanded a court martial, which, after investigating his conduct, was unanimously of the opinion, that he had done everything to be expected from an active brave and vigilant officer; and acquitted him with honor.

Having already been led into a detail of events happening beyond the limits of our county, a further notice of the particular movements of the two armies will be omitted. The British crossed the Schuylkill on the 22d, and entered Philadelphia on September 26th, from whence both Congress and the Executive Council had adjourned to Lancaster only a few days before.

The next object of Washington was to prevent the army at Philadelphia from receiving supplies from the fleet. The works on the Delaware have already been noticed. Immediately upon the entry of the British into Philadelphia, an effort was made by the armed vessels appearing in front of the city, to deter them from erecting defences. This movement resulted in the loss of a frigate called the "Delaware," which ran aground and was captured by the enemy.

After the battle of Brandywine, Lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, sailed to the mouth of the Delaware, and several light vessels entered the river. Among them was the "Roebuck," whose commander, Captain Hammond, was rather familiar with our waters and their defences. Upon his suggestion, General Howe sent a detachment from Chester across the river under Colonel Stirling to attack the fort at Billingsport in the rear. This was accomplished October 2d, without resistance; the small party in charge having first spiked the guns and destroyed the barracks. The site of this fort was regarded by an engineer as the best on the river; much money had been expended in reconstructing it so as to accord with his views; a tier of chevaux-de-frize had been laid across the channel opposite to it, and yet it is left without even an apology for a garrison for its defence. The capture of this fort placed it in the power of the enemy to make a passage through the obstruction in the channel, and to bring their vessels within striking distance of Fort Mifflin.

While a division of the British army was over the river, engaged in the capture of Billingsport, Washington regarded it as a favorable opportunity to make an attack on the troops stationed at Germantown. This happened on the 4th of October. On the same day Billingsport was abandoned by the British, having, it is probable, received news of the attack made on their troops at Germantown. Before evacuating the fort they destroyed every destructible thing left by their predecessors, and so injured the works as to render them almost useless for military purposes. As yet, however, they had not succeeded in floating any considerable part of the chevaux-de-frize, nor in making an available passage through them, being foiled in their efforts, both by the strength of the obstruction and the spirited attacks that were made by the water craft from above. On the evening of the 6th the enemy's vessels, nine in number, fell down to Chester, where they remained till the appearance of the main body of the fleet, which anchored below New Castle on the 8th.

The defence of this obstruction might have been still more successful, but for the great defection that occurred among the seamen by whom the galleys, floating batteries, and other craft were manned. After the loss of Billingsport and the frigate "Delaware," a despondency ensued that induced large numbers, both officers and men, to desert; some of whom went over to the enemy. Desertions also occurred from Fort Mifflin, and Red Bank was nearly forsaken by the militia, to whom its defence had been entrusted. "This desponding temper in the troops was checked by the battle of Germantown, and by throwing a garrison of Continental troops into the fort at Red Bank, now called fort Mercer." The militia of New Jersey were relied on to reinforce the garrison, but were not forthcoming with the expedition required at this critical time; Lieutenant Colonel Smith in a letter, earnestly requested a reinforcement of Continental troops. In consequence of the representations of this officer, Colonel Angel, of Rhode Island, with his regiment, was ordered to Red Bank, and Lieutenant Colonel John Greene, of Virginia, with about 200 men, to Fort Mifflin. Previous to the arrival of these reinforcements, the effective force at

Fort Mifflin was reduced to 156 men, and that at Red Bank did not much exceed 200.

In order to prevent General Howe from obtaining supplies for his army in the well-cultivated district west of the Schuylkill, General Potter with 600 militia was ordered to scour the country between that river and Chester. Congress had also adopted a resolution subjecting to martial law and death all who should furnish provisions or certain enumerated articles, and who should be taken within thirty miles of any place occupied by the British troops.

A battery was erected at Webb's, now Penrose's Ferry, near the mouth of the Schuylkill, but this was soon silenced by the galleys under Commodore Hazlewood. On the night of the 10th of October a party of over 100 men crossed over at the ferry, and threw up a redoubt opposite and within two musket-shots of the block-house on Fort Island. As soon as discovered on the morning of the 11th, Commodore Hazlewood ordered three galleys to attack this hastily-built redoubt, and also one of the floating batteries to play on it, which they did so warmly that the enemy dared not fire a shot. "After about two hours the enemy held out a flag, and the soldiers appeared on the bank with their muskets clubbed." When the Commodore and Colonel Bradford, who with several boats went off to take the prisoners on board, had succeeded in securing about fifty of them, Colonel Smith, who was in the block-house, seeing some British soldiers coming from the house of Adam Guyer, imprudently fired two shots at them, which caused the balance of those who had surrendered to run off, take possession of their battery again, and fire on their captors. It was at first supposed that the soldiers coming from Guyer's were mere stragglers, but it afterwards turned out that the British were there in force, and had just arrived to reinforce the party at the redoubt. The prisoners captured were one lieutenant, one ensign, and fifty-six privates.

The reinforcement sent to the enemy's redoubt was large, but the galleys and floating battery renewed their attack upon it in the afternoon. Failing to make much impression that day, on the morning of the 12th a party of about 150 men were landed from the fort on Province Island, with the intention of taking the redoubt under the fire of the three galleys and the floating battery; but the number of the enemy proving to be much greater than was expected, under cover of the redoubt, and discovering a party equal to their own from the direction of Adam Guyer's, the Americans were obliged to return to the fort, with the loss of two men killed and five wounded. From this time the enemy continued to throw up works at several places in the meadows.

The enemy's ships had taken a position near Billingsport, and had succeeded in removing one of the chevaux-de-frize. On the night of the 12th, the Commodore went down "with two chains of fire rafts to drive them away from that place," which being effected, he returned with his armaments to the fort. Several conflicts ensued at this point from day to day, the enemy succeeding, by degrees, in removing portions of the obstruction in the channel.

The army under General Washington was now in the most destitute situation for the want of clothing, blankets, &c., besides which, no provision had

been made for the recruits coming in. A strong appeal was made by General Washington to Congress for supplies, which, in turn had the matter brought to the notice of the Executive Council. The following order from that body sufficiently explains the means resorted to, to obtain a portion of these supplies, without which the army could not have been continued in the field:

"In Council, Lancaster, October 21, 1777.

"Ordered: That Col. Evan Evans, Col. Wm. Evans, Col. Thomas, Col. Gibbons, Capt. Thomas Levis, Capt. William Brooks, and Capt. Jacob Rudolph, be authorized and required to collect without delay, from such of the inhabitants of the County of Chester as have not taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, or who have aided or assisted the enemy, arms and accoutrements, blankets, shoes and stockings, for the use of the army; that they appraise the same when taken, according to their quality, allowing at the rate of three pounds for a new single blanket, and give certificates for the same to the owners; that they call to their aid the militia of this Commonwealth, who are hereby ordered to obey and assist them in the execution of this order; and that they deliver the same, so taken, to the order of the Clothier General, or his agent, with whom they are to correspond in the discharge of this business."

The Quakers having generally refused to take the oath of allegiance and abjuration, were, no doubt, great sufferers from the enforcement of this order; for, in addition to the inconvenience of parting with articles provided for family use, their conscientious scruples would not permit them to receive the proffered compensation.

It was not until the middle of October that the enemy had so far succeeded in removing the obstruction in the river between Billingsport and Hog Island, as to afford a narrow and intricate passage through them. In the mean time, the fire from the Pennsylvania shore had not produced all the effect expected from it; and it was perceived that greater exertions would be necessary for the reduction of the works than could safely be made in the present relative position of the armies. Howe, therefore, withdrew his troops from Germantown preparatory to a combined attack by land and water upon forts Mercer and Mifflin.

In pursuance of his plan for securing the control of the Delaware, Howe, on October 22d, detached Count Dunop with 1200 Hessians, to capture the fort at Red Bank, orders having been issued for a simultaneous attack to be made on Fort Mifflin by water. The out-works at Red Bank were too extensive for the garrison, but to obviate the difficulty, an inner embankment, eight or nine feet high, "boarded and fraized," had been thrown up. The attack was made about four o'clock in the evening upon the outworks, after a summons to surrender had been answered by a reply of defiance. The garrison maintained its position for a time, but upon the near approach of the enemy, fell back behind the inner work. The Hessians, supposing themselves in possession of the fortress, rushed forward in some confusion, when the Americans, from their second, but more secure position, poured upon the advancing masses such a destructive fire, that they were forced to retire as rapidly as they had approached. The loss of the Hessians was estimated at 400, including Count Dunop and his second in command, while the whole American loss

in killed and wounded, was only thirty-two men. The garrison had been reenforced from Fort Mifflin, and was aided by the galleys which flanked the Hessians in their advance and retreat.

Early on the same day, several of the enemy's ships passed the lower chevaux-de-frize, and awaited the assault on Red Bank before opening upon the galleys and floating batteries. At the appointed signal the action on the river commenced, part of the manoeuvring of the enemy's ships being intended to draw off the galleys that were aiding in the defence of Red Bank. The ships that came up were the "Augusta," a new 64, the "Roebuck," 44, two frigates, the "Merlin" of 18 guns, and a galley carrying a 32-pounder. These were driven back by the galleys and floating batteries, without having accomplished any material part of their mission; but in going down, the "Augusta" and "Merlin" ran aground, owing, it is said, to some change having been caused in the channel by the artificial obstructions. The unfortunate situation of these vessels was not known to the Americans that night, but failing to get off at flood tide, their helpless condition was fully understood early in the morning, when they were furiously set upon by twelve galleys and two floating batteries, under the command of Commodore Hazlewood. The "Roebuck," two frigates and a galley, attempted to defend the disabled vessels, but it was to little purpose, for so fierce and terrible was the fire from the American fleet that the "Augusta" was soon in flames, and blew up about noon, making so terrific an explosion that great apprehensions were entertained at the headquarters of the army—now at Skippac—for the safety of the fort, as the explosion was attributed to the blowing up of the magazine. The action was still continued with the other vessels, but the enemy was forced to give way, first setting fire to the "Merlin" which also exploded. It is supposed the "Augusta" lost 150 or 160 men in killed and drowned; the "Roebuck" was driven from her station, having six killed and ten wounded. The fire-ships that had been prepared with so much care and expense, were sent against the enemy's vessels; but the combustibles being ignited too soon, they served no valuable purpose. Two guns, clothing and other plunder, were obtained from the wreck of the "Augusta" the next day.

A brisk cannonade was kept up against Fort Mifflin by the batteries on the Pennsylvania shore during both days, which was responded to in the best manner that the condition of the fort and circumstances of the garrison would permit. It was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith of Maryland. The batteries on the Pennsylvania shore had been reinforced and supplied with provisions, just before these attacks on the forts and galleys. General Greene with a large body of men was detached to attack what was supposed to be an escort of provisions, &c., for these batteries. What was supposed to be an escort proved to be a large detachment, which proceeded no further than Gray's Ferry; the wagons with provisions, one hundred and thirteen in number, in the mean time were allowed to pass unmolested, and return by way of the Blue Bell. When General Greene arrived at the bridge he found the post evacuated and the bridge torn to pieces. Some works, however, had been com-

menced by the enemy, and some huts built, which the detachment destroyed and then returned to camp.

General Potter, who, with a body of militia, was detailed to scour the country between the Schuylkill and Chester to prevent supplies reaching the enemy, exhibited considerable daring in the performance of his duties. In a letter to Council dated on October 27th, he speaks of having in one day, in company with a few horsemen, visited the upper, middle and Gray's Ferries, Tinicum Island and Carpenter's Island, where he viewed the enemy's works, and saw what he calls an Abess work thrown up in Guyer's orchard. After this visit to the meadows, he learned that a small breast-work had been thrown up at Boon's dam and mounted with one gun. On the next day, in company with Generals Reed and Cadwalader, he visited Darby and Chester. At and below the latter place, sixty of the enemy's ships were lying. He informs the Council that he had put a stop to the transportation of marketing to the enemy, and had removed all the beef cattle and flour from this part of the country.

The garrison at Fort Mifflin had been subjected to very severe duty, expecting at any moment to be attacked by the troops in the intrenchments on the Pennsylvania shore, and from the enemy's ships in the river. Washington had determined not to divide his army so as to be unprepared for another general engagement, in case Howe should afford him an opportunity, until the troops should arrive from the North, which, since the surrender of Burgoyne, were confidently expected. He did, however, parsimoniously divide three hundred Pennsylvania militia between this fort and Red Bank. General Varnum was also stationed with his brigade near Woodbury, with instructions "to relieve and reinforce the garrisons of both forts as far as his strength would permit."

After the repulse at Red Bank, and the loss of the two war vessels, General Howe became more careful in his movements. While he still persisted in his plan of opening a communication with the fleet by the Delaware, his preparations were such as would secure that object without any unnecessary exposure of his troops. Having completed his preparations, the large batteries on Province Island and on the margin of the river below, now well supplied with heavy guns, opened on Fort Mifflin early in the morning of November 10th, and kept up a constant fire during five successive days. "The block houses were reduced to a heap of ruins, the palisades were beaten down, and most of the guns were dismounted and otherwise disabled." The barracks were so much injured that the troops, when an interval of firing afforded them an opportunity to take a few moments repose, were obliged to lie on the earth, now rendered muddy by having been intentionally, but unadvisedly, flooded by opening the sluices. At night a large force was required to repair, as much as possible, the damages of the day; and being under a constant apprehension of an attack by a storming party, little opportunity was afforded for repose, and but for the relief afforded by General Varnum, the duties would have been too arduous to bear.

It was the opinion of both Colonel Smith and General Varnum, that the garrison could not withstand an assault, and General Washington believing

that none would be made until the works were battered down, gave orders for the defence of the place to the last extremity, which were literally obeyed. These orders, which have the appearance of being severe under the circumstances, were probably induced by the report of Major Feury, a French engineer, who believed the place was still defensible. Colonel Smith was wounded on the second day of the siege, when the command devolved upon Colonel Russell, and subsequently upon Major Thayer.

On the 14th a floating battery of the enemy was silenced, but on the 15th "the assailants brought up their ships as far as the obstructions in the river permitted, and added their fire to that of the batteries, which was the more fatal, as the cover for the troops had been greatly impaired. The brave garrison still maintained their ground with unshaken firmness. In the midst of this stubborn conflict, the "Vigilant" and a sloop-of-war were brought up the inner channel, between Mud and Province and Carpenter Islands, which had, unobserved by the besieged, been deepened by the current in consequence of the obstructions in the main channel; and taking a station within one hundred yards of the works, not only kept up a destructive cannonade, but threw hand grenades into them, while the musqueteers from the round-top of the "Vigilant killed every man that appeared on the platform."

An effort was made by the galleys to drive these vessels away, but it could not be accomplished on account of the batteries on the Pennsylvania shore. With these vessels in the inner channel, it was impossible to continue the defence of the fort, and accordingly, about eleven o'clock on the night of the 15th, it was evacuated, the garrison retiring to Red Bank. Before leaving they set fire to the barracks, and moved off the cannon and stores. No troops ever behaved with more firmness—the fort being perfectly riddled before it was evacuated.

The loss at the fort is not officially reported, but it was not considerable before the last day of the conflict. It is reported that Lord Cornwallis confessed that the enemy "lost a great number of brave fellows," at the same time calling the site of the fort, "a cursed little mud island."

The loss on board of the galleys and other craft, constituting the American fleet, on the 15th, was thirty-eight killed and wounded. It cannot be denied that this fleet rendered much more effective service in defence of the chevaux-de-frize, and against the passage of the enemy's vessels, than all the forts put together. The vessels chiefly belonged to Pennsylvania, and were in the service of the State. From that cause, or some other, a misunderstanding existed between the officers of the fort and those of the fleet, which probably led General Washington to underrate the importance of the latter in defending the obstructions placed in the river. The vessels were at no time fully manned, and on the last day's engagement several were not brought into action, partly from the want of men to work them, although the commander, from time to time, had implored Washington to furnish him with the necessary reinforcement.

After the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, it was decided by a conference of

land officers, that the upper chevaux-de-frize could still be defended by holding Red Bank and the Jersey shore, notwithstanding a council of naval officers had concluded that the galleys could not be very serviceable with the fort in the hands of the enemy. It was determined by Washington to make the effort, and accordingly General Greene was detached with a considerable body of troops to reinforce Fort Mercer, and to conduct military affairs in that neighborhood.

General Howe having completed a line of defence from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, and a reinforcement of troops from New York having arrived at Chester, he felt strong enough to place an army in New Jersey sufficient to reduce Fort Mercer without jeopardizing his troops in Philadelphia. Accordingly, at noon on the 17th, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Middle Ferry with 3000 men, and taking the Darby road, proceeded to Chester. At the Blue Bell they came upon a guard of Gen. Potter's scouts, and captured about thirty-three men, with a loss of one captain, one sergeant-major, and three privates, killed, and several wounded. Being joined at Chester by the reinforcement from New York, his Lordship, with the united force, embarked on board of transports the next day, and on the 19th disembarked at Billingsport. Some little skirmishing occurred; but General Greene learning how greatly the force of the enemy exceeded his, recrossed the Delaware, and Fort Mercer was evacuated without an effort to defend it; while the fleet, waiting for a favorable opportunity, passed the city at night, without being molested, except a few vessels which were burnt to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Thus, after a protracted effort of six weeks, the British general succeeded in forming a junction with the fleet.

But little occurred within the limits of our county during the winter, which was now at hand, except sundry depredations committed by foraging parties sent out by the enemy, and the skirmishes that ensued when those parties came in contact with the American scouts that were constantly on the watch for them. In a letter from General Potter, dated at Radnor, December 28th, one of these encounters is thus described: "On Monday last the enemy came out with a view to forrage; they encamped along the road from Gray's Ferry to the heights below Darby. There was a detachment sent down from our army to this place, who with Morgans Riflemen and the Militia went down to their lines and kept them close therein. On Tuesday we took thirteen of their light horse and ten of their horsemen, the next day two more of their horses and their riders. They have been prevented from plundering the inhabitants as they usually do. * * * We had one killed and two wounded. We have taken upwards of twenty prisoners, and a number of deserters have come in. They have carried off a large quantity of Hay from the Islands, and Darby. * * *"

It sometimes happened that some of our militia scouts were captured by the enemy, when not sufficiently on their guard. About this period, such a party, under the command of the late General William Brooke, of Haverford, who was then a captain, were one night taking their ease in a house, late the

property of George Swayne, a mile below Darby, when the house was suddenly surrounded by a large party of the enemy. Brooke, determined not to be taken, leaped from a window and ran, but in getting over the fence into the road, found that a partial dislocation of his knee, to which he was subject, had happened. Putting his foot through the fence, and giving his leg a quick extension, the joint was brought into a proper condition, when he hastily made his escape.

Chester county, about this period, was infested with a bold and daring outlaw named James Fitz Patrick, but who generally went by the name of Fitz or Fitch. He was the son of an Irishman in low circumstances, and learned the blacksmith trade with John Passmore, a worthy citizen of the county. He joined the militia at the breaking out of the war, and accompanied the battalions that went to New York, but soon deserted and returned to his native county, where he was arrested, and afterwards confined in Walnut street prison in Philadelphia. Being released on condition of joining the Continental army, he soon deserted again, and once more returned to his native county, and went to work. Here he was arrested by two soldiers sent for the purpose. He obtained permission from the soldiers to visit his mother, but while there, seized his rifle and set them at defiance. He had now become so much offended at the Americans, that he determined on being revenged, and accordingly, when General Howe landed at the head of Elk, Fitz repaired to him; probably received some appointment, and doubtless, from his knowledge of the country, rendered him essential service. He was present at the battle of Brandywine, and afterwards accompanied the British army to Philadelphia. While the enemy remained in that place, he, in company with one Mordecai Dougherty, from the neighborhood of Doe Run, and others, employed his time in capturing good Whigs and in stealing horses; carrying them within the British lines. Lieutenant Joseph Lucky, and Peter Burgandine, were among the number thus captured. It was believed that these desperadoes were secreted and supplied with provisions by certain Tories of Newline and neighboring inhabitants of Chester county.

After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army, Captain Fitz, as he was generally called, established his headquarters on the Valley Hill, in the neighborhood of the present village of Coatsville, and commenced, on his own responsibility, a depredatory war upon the Whigs of Chester county. After having plundered his victims of their property, it was his custom, and appeared to be his delight, to flog and otherwise abuse them. So numerous and high-handed were the atrocities committed by him, that his presence caused as much alarm in some neighborhoods as that of the British army.

On one occasion, Fitz and Dougherty went into the harvest field of one James Shield, where Archibald Hambleton was reaping, and Fitz told Shield that he had borrowed his watch, a pair of silver buckles and shoes. Shield insisted that he should return them; but Fitz returned for answer that it would depend on his behaviour towards him. Hambleton was then taken prisoner, and carried to his father's house, where they robbed him of a rifle, powder-

horn and shot-pouch; after which, Fitz got the Bible, and forced him to swear "that he would not follow or betray him, or disturb any of his neighbours or friends on his account, and if he did, he would come and burn their house, and likewise the houses of the Rebels in the neighbourhood." They both threatened the lives of several persons in the neighborhood, whom they named.

Captain Fitz frequently fell in with armed men, but before making himself known, he would seize an opportunity to disarm them. Having placed his pursuers in his power, he would tie them to trees and flog them. On one occasion, about fifty men were in pursuit of him, who incautiously parted with their arms while taking refreshment in a tavern. Fitz discovering their position boldly came in upon them, commanded them to keep their places, which command they dared not disobey. He then called for a glass of liquor, drank it, backed off with his rifle pointed towards the men, till he arrived at a safe distance to run.

On one occasion, a meeting was held for the purpose of adopting measures for his arrest, which he attended in disguise. After dark, a militia captain volunteered, with much boasting, to capture Fitz, which being overheard by the bandit, he at once decided to put the bravery of the boaster to the test. Taking a candlestick from the mantel, he invited the young man aside, remarking that he would show him how he might secure Fitz. When at some distance from the company, he demanded the watch of his victim, at the same time snapping the candlestick, and assuring him that he was Fitz. Obtaining possession of the watch, he tied the captain's hands behind him, and sent him back to the company.

Fitz was at length captured by Captain Robert McAffee, of Edgmont, assisted by a young woman named Rachel Walker. Having entered the dwelling of Mr. McAffee, Rachel, who was up stairs, was made acquainted with his presence by the screams of a boy who said, "Captain Fitz was there." Upon coming down stairs, Fitz asked her how she did, and expressed his sorrow at the disturbance he had made. She went up stairs to secrete some valuables, when Fitz drove the balance of the family, consisting of Captain McAffee, his father and mother, and the above mentioned boy, up stairs also. He then proceeded to plunder the house. The manner of his capture is thus given by Rachel before the Council: "Fitz told McAffee to prepare for a march; laid down his sword and pistol, and raising his foot to the bedstead, in order to put up at the heels a pair of pumps taken from Capt. McAffee; she winked at McAffee to seize Fitz; he seemed to decline; she winked again, and on seeing McAffee's motion as if to seize Fitz, she also sprang forward and seized him." Fitz in the struggle, this heroine says, seized a pistol, "which she griped in his hand and prevented him from firing it; that she afterwards took the pistol and stood sentry at the door." A reward of $1000 had been offered for the arrest of Fitz Patrick by the Executive Council, which was equally divided between Rachel and Captain McAffee.

Fitz was captured in the latter part of August, and was convicted at Chester, upon his own confession, of burglary and larceny, on the 15th of Septem-

ber, and was sentenced to be hung. The time for his execution was fixed on the 26th of the same month; but before the day arrived he nearly succeeded in making his escape, "having filed off his irons, and got out of the dungeon." He was in consequence removed to Philadelphia for safe keeping, but succeeded twice in removing his handcuffs before the day of execution. It is not known that his accomplice Dougherty was ever arrested.

The American army having retired into winter quarters at the Valley Forge, and that of General Howe being fortified within contracted lines in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, but little occurred within our limits during the winter, except repeated depredations committed by foraging parties sent out by the enemy. While General Potter remained in command of the militia stationed between the Schuylkill and Chester, the depredations of these parties were greatly restrained, but at his earnest request he was superseded by General Lacey in January, after which, the operations of the militia appear to have been chiefly confined to the country between the Schuylkill and Delaware.

There was an outpost of the Valley Forge encampment in Radnor, on the property now belonging to Tryon Lewis. About seven acres of heavy timber had been cleared, near the middle of a large tract of woodland, by the troops stationed here; this was afterwards cultivated, and was well known in the neighborhood as "the camp field." Radnor Friends' meeting-house, which is more than half a mile distant from this camp ground, was occupied in connection with it, probably as officers' quarters, and for a hospital. The records of the Society show that they were deprived of the use of their meeting-house early in the year, "in consideration of its being occupied by soldiers," and that it required considerable repairs before it was put in a condition for holding a monthly meeting, which was not till near the middle of 1780.

It is probable that during the winter and spring, most of the scouting parties that served to restrain, in a measure, the foraging of the enemy within our limits, and at the same time to prevent disloyal farmers from carrying their produce to the city, were detached from the outpost at Radnor. The inhabitants of the townships on the Eastern margin of the county suffered severely while the enemy occupied Philadelphia, and numbers of the Whigs were captured and carried off as prisoners.

Notwithstanding the punishment of death was denounced against those who furnished aid and comfort to the enemy, still a large amount of marketing reached the British lines, and those engaged in its transportation, when captured by the American scouts, were rarely subjected to any other punishment than the forfeiture of their goods and the imposition of a fine. In default of the latter, a good whipping was sometimes substituted. In the townships nearest the city, even some of those who were not disposed to favor the enemy, engaged in this traffic; for while persons at a distance had no temptation but British gold, these had no alternative but to carry their produce within the lines of the enemy and receive its value, or have it taken without compensation.

It is a singular circumstance, and one not easily accounted for, that such a bold and efficient officer as General Wayne, and one so perfectly acquainted with the country west of the Schuylkill as he undoubtedly was, should not, at this particular juncture, have been assigned a position where his local knowledge would have been so valuable in defending the inhabitants of his native county from the aggressions of the enemy. But his command was encamped during nearly the whole winter and spring at Mount Joy, in Lancaster county, a point so distant that even the advice that his local knowledge would have enabled him to give, could not be made available.

But our people were not subjected to the depredations of the enemy alone. The necessities of our army at the Valley Forge had become so great that Congress had authorized the Commander-in-chief to seize provisions for its use at any place within seventy miles of his headquarters. Washington reluctantly yielded to the overwhelming necessity that induced Congress to confer this unusual authority upon him; but he did yield, and in order that the present year's crop should be made available for the pressing necessities of the army, he had, early in the winter, issued a proclamation enjoining and requiring all persons residing within seventy miles of the head-quarters to thresh out one-half of their grain by the first of February, and the other half by the first of March, under the penalty of having all that remained in sheaves after the last mentioned period seized by the Commissaries and Quartermasters of the army and paid for as straw. The necessities of the army were too great to await the times specified in the proclamation; and the General was obliged to keep parties of his troops threshing grain to prevent his supplies from failing. Certificates were given for the property taken for the American army, payable in Continental money, but unfortunately for the credit of the government, this currency was never redeemed. The Friends generally refused to receive compensation for what was taken from them for war purposes.

On December 10-11-12, 1779, Cornwallis, with a detachment of the British army, made a sally from Philadelphia into Darby, Haverford and Radnor, and at that inclement season of the year stripped many families of all their provisions, their stock and provender, and many articles of household furniture. These outrages were premeditated; were committed under the eye of the General and by his authority, and many of them were against persons who had never raised a hand against the home government. For unfeeling brutality they scarcely have a parallel in civilized warfare. Many of the Whigs were captured at this time, and many had been captured previously and carried to Philadelphia, where they were detained as prisoners till the enemy evacuated the city, but after that event the tables were turned; for now the Tories, who had given aid and comfort to the enemy, or who were suspected of having done so, were seized and tried as traitors, their property confiscated, and a few were executed. No one who resided in what is now Delaware county suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The commissioners of attainder for Chester county, appointed in pursuance of an Act of Assembly, were William Evans, Thomas Cheyney, Patter-

son Bell and John Hannum. The number charged with having "knowingly and willingly aided and assisted the enemies of the State and of the United States of America, by having joined their armies at Philadelphia," who resided in what is now Delaware county, was about fifty, while only about forty persons were actually attainted of treason.

Several classes of the militia were called out in the year 1778, but many refused to turn out, and also refused to pay their fines. When the goods of these defaulters, such as horses, &c., were levied upon and sold, they would be frequently stolen from the purchaser, which rendered the collection of fines very difficult.

In 1777 but little tax was collected in this part of the country. The presence of the enemy rendered its collection very difficult in some places, and the robberies committed by them made collections impossible in others. Many collectors refused to serve, and paid their fines during the period of the Revolution, but more particularly in the years 1777-78. Two taxes appear to have been laid the latter year, but the commissioners of Chester county reported to the Council, May 29th, that "they had not been able to get a return of property from near one third of the townships—the township assessors having refused or neglected to act," owing, as the commissioners supposed, to the proximity of the enemy. The delinquents were fined, and writs issued to the sheriff, but, for the same reason, these writs were not executed. The aggregate of the taxes laid upon the townships now included, or partly included, in Delaware county, amounted to £3059 18s. 4d., but a large proportion of it was never collected, or if collected was received in certificates for articles that had been taken for the use of the army.

In the minutes of a meeting of the county commissioners, "held at the sign of the Ship in East Caln, Jan^{y} y^{e} 5th 1778," the following entry occurs: "The Board appointed Sketchley Morton, David Cloyd and the Clerk to remove the press and chest of books, papers &c. from Chester to James McClellans in Sadsbury." The next meeting of the board was held at the house of James McClellan, on the 26th of the same month, when "the committee appointed to remove the records from Chester, reported that they had removed the same according to order & presented their bill of expense," &c.

During the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, the armed galleys and other craft that escaped up the river were sunk by order of General Washington to prevent them from being captured, but after the evacuation they were put afloat again, and some of them fitted up for active duty. Mud Island fort and Billingsport were both to be put in repair and to be re-occupied; the former was to be supplied with two and the latter with four heavy guns. The Council employed Colonel John Bull to direct the workmen and to complete the works, and agreed to pay him "three pounds per day and forage at Billingsport for one horse."

The evacuation of Philadelphia by the British was the dawn of returning prosperity in this section of our country. Up to this time Pennsylvania had suffered more from the war than any other State; more of her men had been

captured or lost, and no district had been so thoroughly plundered as that which had been overrun by General Howe, between the head of Elk and Philadelphia. From this time till the end of the war, our people suffered no serious inconvenience beyond what was common all over the country. Troops were frequently called out, heavy taxes were laid, and wagons with teams were impressed into service; but really the greatest amount of inconvenience suffered by the people generally, resulted from the great depreciation of the paper money authorized by Congress. Early in the year 1779, it had depreciated so much that the price of every article had become almost fabulous, and yet it had not then reached its lowest point. A barrel of flour was sold for £20, and a bushel of salt for £15; a journeyman blacksmith was paid £8 per day, and the price for shoeing a horse all round was £4.

The county commissioners encountered very great difficulties in levying taxes. The moderate fines that the law had imposed upon officers for neglect of duty when the currency was good, failed to secure the services of those whose duty it was to assess and collect the taxes. By a minute made by the board of commissioners and county assessors for Chester county, at a meeting held on the 18th of January, it appears that "from the greatest number of townships" no return of taxable property had been made. The assessment was consequently postponed till the 26th of April; the Commissioners in the meantime having borrowed money, and the legislature having enacted a law imposing fines on delinquent assessors and collectors more in accordance with the inflated character of the currency.

Many of the small vessels composing the Pennsylvania fleet were sold; but still encouragement was given for fitting out privateers. Garrisons were kept, both at Fort Mifflin and Billingsfort, at the expense of the State; but the object appears to have been more for the prevention of smuggling, and to enforce the temporary embargoes that were from time to time laid, than to guard against any apprehended attack from the enemy.

The crew of the brigantine "Holker," to sail as a privateer, appears to have been enlisted at Chester by Captain Davis Bevan, who probably commanded the vessel. Most of the enlistments were made in July, 1779, as appears by the receipt book of the captain, now in possession of the Delaware County Institute of Science. The bounty paid by Captain Bevan for a single cruise was from $50 to $100, most probably Continental money.

Before the close of the year 1779, Continental money had depreciated enormously. Commissioners appointed by the Assembly to purchase provisions for the French fleet, in October, fixed the price of good merchantable wheat at £15 per bushel, and that of flour at £42 per cwt. The price of salt before the end of the year was £30 per bushel. The rates of toll for crossing the floating bridge over the Schuylkill, at Market street, were, for a single person, 2s. 6d.; for a horse, 5s.; horse and chair, 22s. 6d.; chariot or phaeton and pair, 37s. 6d., &c.

In November, an act was passed by the Assembly for raising the sum of $2,500,000 monthly, during eight months, in the year 1780, for the supply of

the Treasury of the United States, and the Treasury of this State. In the county of Chester, the taxes of two and three months were assessed and collected at one time. The following is the copy of an assessment for two months, on the townships which now compose Delaware county, including the whole of Birmingham and Thornbury:

	£	s.		£	s.
Aston,	2,110	0	Marple,	3,393	4
Bethel,	1,484	6	Middletown,	5,221	0
Birmingham,	4,123	14	Newtown,	3,792	16
Chester,	5,600	2	Providence, Upper,	1,922	14
Chichester, Upper,	2,489	6	" Lower,	1,769	16
" Lower,	3,386	0	Ridley,	6,458	10
Concord,	5,837	10	Radnor,	3,698	18
Darby, Upper,	4,943	2	Springfield,	2,503	12
" Lower,	3,395	12	Thornbury,	5,459	6
Edgmont,	3,500	4			
Haverford,	2,910	14	Aggregate tax for two months,	£74,003	6

In connection with one of the taxes levied this year, there was a small money tax laid on the several townships, to be paid in coin. This tax bears no regular proportion to the tax in continental paper laid upon the same townships, and no regularity is observed in the amounts laid upon different townships. The principle upon which it was laid is not understood.

Many of the assessors and collectors appointed refused to enter upon the duties of their respective offices, notwithstanding the fine usually imposed was £500. It frequently became necessary to distrain in the collection of these enormous taxes, and where no goods could be found, the collectors did not hesitate to cut and sell timber to the amount of the tax. The minutes of the commissioners record a case of oppression, by reason of too much timber being cut by an unscrupulous collector. Though the amount of these taxes was vastly greater in appearance than in reality, still their collection operated very oppressively upon many, and in some cases led to a resistance against their forcible collection. In one instance, in Chester county, a collector named William Boyd, while discharging his duties was murdered by John and Robert Smith, probably brothers. Determined to make an example of the perpetrators of this outrage, the council at once offered a reward of $20,000 for their apprehension. They were shortly afterwards arrested, had their trial at Chester on the 26th of June, and being convicted were sentenced to be hung. It rested with the Council to fix the day of execution. The matter was brought before that body on the 30th of June, when the sentence of the court was ordered to be carried out on Saturday the first of July, being the next day. The murder occurred about the 12th of May.

To persons who had been plundered by the enemy and who had paid their taxes, small amounts were paid upon orders granted by the commissioners from time to time. Many of these orders appear on the books of the commissioners, but how the amount payable to each person was estimated, does not appear.

The Continental money had depreciated so much before the middle of 1780 that £2400 were paid for six head of cattle, and £700 for twenty head of sheep.

The year 1780 is memorable in the annals of Pennsylvania for the passage of the act for the gradual abolition of slavery in this State. This act, which was passed on the first of March, provided for the registration of every negro or mulatto slave or servant for life or till the age of thirty-one years, before the first of November following, and also provided "that no man or woman of any nation or color, except the Negroes or Mulattoes who shall be registered as aforesaid, shall at any time hereafter be deemed, adjudged or holden within the territories of this Commonwealth, as slaves or servants for life, but as free men and free women." The servants of members of Congress, foreign ministers, and persons passing through or sojourning not longer than six months were also made an exception. The registry for the county of Chester, in pursuance of the provisions of this act, was carefully made, and is now kept in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions at West Chester. The name, age and time of service of each negro or mulatto, and also the name of the owner and township in which he or she resided are given. The following list, made out from this registry, shows the number of slaves registered in the several townships now constituting Delaware county:

	Slaves For a term for life. of years.			Slaves For a term for life. of years.	
Aston,	13	1	Middletown,	7	1
Bethel,	0	0	Newtown,	1	0
Birmingham,	0	0	Providence (Upper),	0	0
Chester,	16	1	Providence (Lower),	0	0
Chichester, (Upper),	0	0	Ridley,	34	3
Chichester (Lower),	12	1	Radnor,	0	0
Concord,	7	0	Springfield,	10	5
Darby (Upper),	2	0	Thornbury,	3	0
Darby,	2	0	Tinicum,	8	2
Edgmont,	5	0		—	—
Haverford,	24	2		146	16
Marple,	2	0			

In the remaining townships of Chester County there were registered 316 negro and mulatto slaves for life and nine for a term of years. It must not be supposed that no greater number of slaves for life than 146 had been owned in Delaware county. The Quakers a short time before, had liberated all their slaves, and some other persons, not members of that Society, had followed their example. But few slaves advanced in years were registered, and it cannot be supposed that masters would register such as they intended to emancipate. Of the 162 registered, 100 were minors. The records of some of the meetings of the Society of Friends are imperfect in respect to the number of slaves manumitted; but judging from such records as came under his notice and from other facts within his knowledge, the author has arrived at the conclusion that the number of slaves held within the limits now com-

prising Delaware county, at the breaking out of the Revolution, was not less than 300.

The county records do not appear to have been returned to Chester for some time after the enemy left these parts. On the 30th of June the commissioners of Chester county granted an order on the treasurer to pay Thomas Taylor, Esq., £135 "for hauling the records belonging to the Register's and Recorder's office, from Westown to John Jacobs, thence to Joseph Parker's Esq, and from thence to Westown again."

The rapid diminution in value of the Continental money is elucidated by the two following orders granted by the County Commissioners: "Sept. 3d, 1779. Ordered that the Treasurer pay to Joshua Vaughan Gaoler £1663 3s. 2d. for the repairs of the Gaol and court house, maintaining State prisoners &c." "Nov. 18th, 1780. Ordered the Treasurer to pay Joshua Vaughan £3127, it being in lieu of a pay order granted Sept. 3rd 1779 for £1663 3s."

Notwithstanding the great extent of Chester county, its seat of justice had continuously remained, since the establishment of Penn's government in 1681, at the town of Chester, on its southeastern border. An effort was now made to secure its removal to a more central situation, and the fact that this effort was made during the continuance of the war, and before the people had recovered from the depredations committed by the enemy, is conclusive evidence that those of the remote parts of the county were keenly alive to the injustice they suffered from the location of their seat of justice.

This early removal effort resulted in the passage of an Act of Assembly "to enable William Clingan, Thomas Bull, John Kinkead, Roger Kirk, John Sellers, John Wilson and Joseph Davis, to build a new court-house and prison in the county of Chester, and to sell the old court-house in the borough of Chester." These gentlemen, or any four of them, were authorized by the terms of the act to purchase a piece of land, "situate in some convenient place of the county," and to build or cause to be built a court-house and prison thereon. The act contains no restriction in regard to the location of the new seat of justice, beyond a strong expression in the preamble against the inconvenience of its present location; nor was any time specified within which the Commissioners should purchase and build.

A majority of these gentlemen were probably opposed to a removal of the county seat, and did not enter upon their duties with much energy. They, however, took the first step in the business, by purchasing a lot of land in the township of East Caln for the accommodation of the buildings. The commissioners had a wide discretion, which they may have abused, or they may have been discouraged from proceeding further by objections urged against the site they had selected. Certain it is, that this site was not the favorite one of some of the most active removalists. From some cause the matter was delayed till the year 1784. When that period in our narrative is reached the subject will be resumed.

As the township of Tinicum has become an institution in our commonwealth of some note, about election times, it may not be amiss to explain the

manner in which the island acquired an independent municipal existence. On the last Tuesday of May, 1780, a petition was presented to the justices of the court of quarter sessions, at Chester, signed by "the inhabitants, owners and occupiers of land in the Island of Tinicum," setting forth:

> "That the inhabitants of the Island aforesaid, as a part of the township of Ridley, have heretofore paid a great part of the tax for the support of the roads in said township, and also maintained and supported the roads on the Island at their own cost and charge, without the least assistance from the other part of the township: And whereas the dams on said Island made for the purpose of preventing the tides from overflowing the meadows belonging to your petitioners, were in the year 1777 cut and destroyed with a view of retarding the progress of the enemy at that time invading this State, whereby the roads on said Island were greatly damaged, to the very great prejudice of your petitioners, and as it is not in our power to derive any assistance from the inhabitants of the other part of the township, we conceive it to be a hardship to be obliged to support their roads."

The petitioners, twenty-three in number, then go on to request the Court "to divide the Island of Tinicum from the township of Ridley, and make a distinct township of it," with power to choose officers, raise taxes, &c., &c. The petition was laid over till the August court, when, on the 31st of that month, the new township was "allowed." Since that time the people of the Island have exercised all the privileges belonging to the inhabitants of an independent township, except the election of constable, the number of resident eligible freeholders being too few to fill that office regularly, without compelling the same person to serve the office more than once in fifteen years.

On February 1st, 1781, Council fixed the rate of Continental money at $75 for one dollar of specie; and May 15th ordered that, after June 1st following, nothing but specie or its equivalent paper should be received for taxes. This brought about a great change in public affairs throughout the country. Taxes that had been assessed in thousands of pounds, now scarcely reached hundreds; but the people, though apparently relieved from heavy impositions, found even greater difficulty in meeting the demands of the tax collector than before, so great was the scarcity of the precious metals. The money orders of Council now generally directed payment to be made in specie, or in paper issued by the State, provision for the redemption of which had been made. Province Island, which belonged to the State up to this period, was divided into lots and sold, the proceeds of the sale being appropriated for the redemption in part of this paper. But little property was confiscated within the limits of Delaware county. The largest portion was on Tinicum and Hog Islands, the property of Joseph Galloway, who was never a resident of the county.

On April 8th, 1782, near the entrance of the Delaware bay, the remarkable action took place between the Pennsylvania ship "Hyder Ali," commanded by Captain Barney, mounting sixteen six-pounders, and carrying one hundred and ten men, and the British ship "General Monk," mounting twenty nine-pounders, and carrying one hundred and thirty-six men. The "Hyder Ali" had sailed down the Delaware as a convoy to several merchant vessels. Upon approaching

the Capes, Captain Barney discovered a frigate and other vessels of the enemy inside of the Capes, whereupon he signalled the merchantmen to return. In order to prevent a successful pursuit by the enemy's ships, he determined to occupy their attention for a time. The frigate not being able to reach the position of the "Hyder Ali," she was immediately engaged by the "General Monk," at close quarters. Captain Barney, by a *ruse de guerre,* in giving an order in a loud voice, so as to be heard by the enemy, but which by a private understanding with the helmsman, was to be construed differently, acquired for his ship a raking position, which soon gave him the victory. Another ruse was necessary to avoid pursuit by the frigate. The British flag was again run up on the "Monk," while that of the "Hyder Ali" was struck, giving the appearance of a British victory, while both vessels followed, as if in hot pursuit of the defenceless merchantmen. Captain Barney did not know the extent of his victory till he was out of reach of danger, when he ascertained that the loss of the enemy was twenty killed and thirty-three wounded; the first lieutenant, purser, surgeon, boatswain, and gunner being among the former, and Captain Jackson, the commander, among the latter. In his trip up the Delaware he captured a refugee schooner called the "Hook 'em Snivey." Captain Barney left his own ship at Chester, and proceeded in his prize to Philadelphia with the wounded and prisoners, Captain Jackson being placed in the family of a Quaker lady, who nursed him like a sister until he had recovered from his wounds.

On April 15th, 1783, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed by the Council, but a definite treaty of peace was not concluded till the 30th of November.

Up to the commencement of the Revolutionary War, the Society of Friends had maintained a controlling influence over public affairs in Pennsylvania. In the controversy with the British government, which preceded the breaking out of hostilities, many members of the Society warmly espoused the American side of the question. An armed resistance against the tyrannical measures of the mother country had but few advocates in the beginning, and the idea of an independent government had scarcely gained an ascendency among the people of Pennsylvania, when the Declaration was made. The Society of Friends having ever maintained a testimony against war and bloodshed it was not to be supposed that its members would advocate a policy, (then a doubtful one) certain to produce this result. When it became necessary to resort to "carnal weapons," the Quakers, who had before been active, withdrew from the controversy, and a very large majority of the Society assumed and maintained a position of passive neutrality throughout the war. Still there was a considerable number who openly advocated a resort to arms. Even within the limits of this little county, one hundred and ten young men were disowned by the Society for having entered the military service in defence of their country. Doubtless the Society furnished its proportion of Tories, but the number was greatly exaggerated at the time by those unacquainted with Quakerism. Such persons construed their testimonies against war, and their dealings with members who participated in it, as indirectly favoring the ene-

my. Their refusal to pay taxes exclusively levied for war purposes, was especially viewed in this light.

It has not been discovered that more than two Quakers residing within the limits of Delaware county joined the British army. This small number, contrasted with the large number who entered the American service, may serve to indicate generally the direction of the latent sympathy of the members of the Society who remained faithful to their ancient testimonies. Besides those who entered the military service, there were many members of the Society who openly lent their aid to the American cause.

The minutes of the meetings in this county, throughout the whole course of the war, abundantly show that, as a Society, the Quakers were perfectly passive. If they dealt with and excommunicated those of their members who engaged in military affairs, they were equally strict and impartial in the treatment of other offences against their discipline. Those members who continued to hold slaves received an unusual share of attention during the war, and such as did not promptly emancipate them were disowned. The use or sale of intoxicating drinks, the distillation of grain, being concerned in lotteries, and indeed almost every species of vice, received a greater share of attention during the war than at any former period.

Even General Washington at one time harbored the unjust suspicion that plans "of the most pernicious tendency were settled" at the general meetings of the Quakers; and while the British occupied Philadelphia, issued orders to prevent the country members from attending their yearly meeting, on that ground. These orders required their horses, if fit for service, to be taken from them; but General Lacey, to whom the orders were issued, in his turn gave orders to his horsemen "to fire into those who refused to stop when hailed, and leave their dead bodies lying in the road." In a military point of view it may have been very proper to prevent all intercourse with Philadelphia at the time, but the idea that the Quakers would originate any treasonable plot at their yearly meeting was utterly groundless.

After lying dormant for four years, the removal question was again revived by the passage of a supplement to the original Act. By this act the names of John Hannum, Isaac Taylor, and John Jacobs, were substituted in place of the original commissioners, and they were endowed with the same authority, except that they had no power to erect the new court-house and prison "at a greater distance than one mile and a half from the Turk's Head tavern, in the township of Goshen, and to the west or south-west of said Turk's Head tavern, and on or near the straight line from the ferry, called the Corporation Ferry, on the Schuylkill, to the village of Strasburg." This restricting clause is said to have been introduced at the instance of Mr. Hannum, the first named commissioner, who was then a member of the Legislature, under the belief that the restriction would include his lands on the Brandywine; and as these lands were near the "straight line" from the ferry to Strasburg, they would present a strong claim to be selected as the site of the new county town. Actual measurement excluded Colonel Hannum's land from competition, and the commis-

sioners, who were all active removalists, at once contracted for a tract of land near the Turk's Head tavern, and commenced the buildings.

"But the walls were scarcely erected, when the winter set in, and suspended the operations of the workmen, and before the season permitted them to re-commence building, the law authorizing the Commissioners to build was repealed. This new Act of the Legislature, procured, as is thought, by the influence of some of the members from the southern section of the county, was passed on the 30th of March 1785. The people generally in the neighborhood of Chester, had been violently opposed from the beginning to the projected removal, and a number now resolved to demolish the walls already erected. Accordingly a company assembled, armed and accoutred, and having procured a field-piece, appointed Major Harper commander, and proceeded to accomplish their design. A few days before this expedition left Chester, notice of its object was communicated by some of the leaders to the neighborhood of the Turk's Head, and preparations were immediately made for its reception. In this business Col. Hannum was particularly active. He directly requested Col. Isaac Taylor and Mr. Marshall to bring in what men they could collect, and began himself to procure arms and prepare cartridges. Grog and rations were freely distributed, and a pretty respectable force was soon upon the ground. The windows of the court-house were boarded upon each side, and the space between filled with stones; loop-holes being left for the musquetry. Each man had his station assigned him; Marshall and Taylor commanded in the upper story—Underwood and Patton below, while Col. Hannum had the direction of the whole. All things were arranged for a stout resistance.

"The non-removalists having passed the night at the Green Tree, made their appearance near the Turk's Head early in the morning, and took their ground about 200 yards south-east of the Quaker meeting-house. Here they planted their cannon and made preparations for the attack. They seemed, however, when every thing was ready, still reluctant to proceed to extremities; and having remained several hours in a hostile position, an accommodation was effected between the parties, by the intervention of some pacific people, who used their endeavors to prevent the effusion of blood. To the non-removalists was conceded the liberty of inspecting the defences that had been prepared by their opponents, on condition that they should do them no injury; and they on their part agreed to abandon their design, and to return peaceably to their homes. The cannon which had been pointed against the walls was turned in another direction, and fired in celebration of the treaty. Col. Hannum then directed his men to leave the court-house, and having formed in a line a short distance on the right, to ground their arms and wait till the other party should have finished their visit to the building. Here an act of indiscretion had nearly brought on a renewal of hostilites. For one of Major Harper's men having entered the fort, struck down the flag which their opponents had raised upon the walls. Highly incensed at this treatment of their standard, the removalists snatched up their arms, and were with difficulty prevented from firing upon the Major and his companions. Some exertion, however, on the part of the leaders, allayed the irritation of the men, and the parties at length separated amicably without loss of life or limb."

The foregoing account of this almost-a-battle, is extracted from the "History of Chester County," by Joseph J. Lewis, Esq., published in the Village Record, in the year 1824. It has come to the author traditionally, that the attack of the Chester people was instigated by the removalists proceeding with the buildings after the passage of the Suspension Act, and that a promise to desist from the work was a prominent article in the treaty of peace—a promise that was only kept while the attacking party remained in sight and hearing. The attempt by the non-removal party to

batter down the unfinished buildings, was a high-handed outrage which rendered those engaged in it amenable to the laws. The fact that they were allowed to escape with impunity is rather corroborative of the idea that the attack was not altogether unprovoked, and renders it probable that the cause for it assigned by tradition is the true one.

The Suspension Act had probably been procured by misreprsentation, or in some underhand manner. The representation "that a general dissatisfaction and uneasiness did prevail and subsist among the greater part of the good people of the county of Chester" with the intended removal of the seat of justice "from Chester to the Turks Head in Goshen township," as contained in the preamble to that act, was doubtless untrue. At all events, at the next session of the legislature, the removalists were enabled to show "that a great part of the good people of said county were much dissatisfied with the courts of justice remaining at the borough of Chester, and readily obtained an act to repeal the suspending act." The title of this act, which was passed March 18, 1786, is remarkable for its phraseology. It commences thus: "An act to repeal an act, entitled An act to suspend an act of General Assembly of this Commonwealth, entitled A supplement to an act entitled An act to enable William Clingan, Thomas Bull, &c." By this act the vexed question was finally settled, though its passage was not effected without the most spirited and bitter opposition. It may not be amiss to let the good people of West Chester know in what estimation the site of their town was then held by the non-removalists. In one of the missiles addressed to the legislature, it is described as "that elegant and notorious place vulgarly called the Turk's Head, (by some called West-Chester) a place as unfit for the general convenience, and much more so, than any one spot that might be pointed out within 10 miles square of the above described place—except towards the New Castle line)." The removalists became jubilant over their long delayed victory, and gave vent to their feelings in sundry songs and ditties, couched in language not the most tender towards the vanquished party. One of these, entitled "Chester's Mother," has been preserved in the Directory of West Chester for 1857. On the 25th of September, 1786, an act was passed "to empower the sheriff of the county of Chester to remove the prisoners from the old gaol, in the town of Chester, to the new gaol in Goshen township, in said county, and to indemnify him for the same."

The first removal act authorized the sale of the old courthouse and jail at Chester upon the completion of the new buildings at the Turk's Head, but this sale was not consummated till March 18, 1788, when William Kerlin became the purchaser of the property. The first court held in the new courthouse commenced November 28, 1786, before William Clingan, William Haslet, John Bartholomew, Philip Scot, Isaac Taylor, John Ralston, Joseph Luckey, Thomas Cheyney, Thomas Levis, and Richard Hill Morris as Justices.

In 1783 an agreement was entered into between Pennsylvania and New

Jersey, in respect to the jurisdiction of the river Delaware and its islands. In 1786 an act was passed distributing the islands assigned to Pennsylvania among the several counties bordering on the river. Up to this time the jurisdiction over Hog Island was doubtful, but it had been exercised by Philadelphia county. By this act, that Island was permanently annexed to Chester county, and attached to Tinicum township.

The people of the borough of Chester and vicinity, who had been deaf to the complaints of the inhabitants of the remote parts of the county, on account of their distance from the seat of justice, and who had for years strenuously opposed granting them any relief, were not slow to learn from experience that those complaints had not been wholly groundless, though their distance from the new seat of justice did not compare with the distance of most of the removalists from the old one. The people of the southeastern section of the county had been favored in fixing upon the Turk's Head as the site of the new seat of justice, for several other parts of the county were still much more remote from that place. "The inhabitants of the borough of Chester and the south-eastern parts of the county," however, became restive under their new relation to the seat of justice, and by their petitions, "set forth to the General Assembly that they labored under many and great inconveniences, from the seat of justice being removed to a great distance from them," and prayed that they might be relieved from the said inconveniences, "by erecting the said borough and south-eastern parts of said county into a separate county."

Unfortunately for the pecuniary interests of a large majority of the inhabitants of the part of the county mentioned, the Assembly regarded their petition as "just and reasonable," and by an act passed September 26, 1789, authorized a division of the county of Chester, and the erection of a part thereof "into a new county." The first section of this act provides that all that part of Chester county lying within the bounds and limits hereinafter mentioned, shall be erected into a separate county: "Beginning in the middle of Brandywine river, where the same crosses the circular line of New Castle county, thence up the middle of the said river to the line dividing the lands of Elizabeth Chads and Caleb Brinton, at or near the ford commonly called or known by the name of Chad's ford, and from thence, on a line as nearly strait as may be, so as not to split or divide plantations, to the great road leading from Goshen to Chester, where the Westown line intersects or crosses said road, and from thence along the lines of Edgemont, Newtown and Radnor, so as to include those townships, to the line of Montgomery county, and along the same and the Philadelphia county line to the river Delaware, and down the same to the circular line aforesaid, and along the same to the place of beginning, to be henceforth known and called by the name of DELAWARE COUNTY."

By this act the townships of Birmingham and Thornbury were divided: but provision was made, that the parts falling in each county should each

constitute an independent township, and each new township should retain the name of the original township from which it was taken.

The petitioners for the new county, to make things sure, had contracted in advance with Mr. Kerlin, the owner of the old court-house and prison, for the purchase thereof, "at a price far beneath what such buildings could be erected for, which they were willing and desirous should be conveyed for the use of the [new] county, on repayment of the sum agreed upon." Henry Hale Graham, Richard Reiley, Josiah Lewis, Edward Jones, and Benjamin Brannin, or any three of them, were constituted trustees by the act, to take assurances and conveyances of the property, "for the use of the inhabitants." A conveyance of the old building with the appurtenant grounds was accordingly executed November 3d following, when at the same same time a declaration of trust was executed by the gentlemen above named. The price paid by the county for the property was £693 3s. 8d.

By the same act, John Sellers, Thomas Tucker and Charles Dilworth, or any two of them, were appointed commissioners, "to run and mark the line dividing the counties of Chester and Delaware," in the manner before mentioned. A draft in possession of the author, doubtless prepared from the surveys made by the commissioners, presents several interesting facts which it may not be amiss to notice. A straight line was run from the starting point on the Brandywine to the intersection of the Goshen road by the western line, which is six miles three quarters and fifty-four perches in length; whereas the crooked line, between the same points, passing along the boundaries of the farms, cut by the straight line, and now forming the division line between the two counties, has a length of eleven miles one quarter and nineteen perches. On a line perpendicular to the above mentioned straight line, the courthouse at West Chester is only three miles three quarters and fifty-eight perches distant. The bearing of this perpendicular line is N. 46° W. It is charged, in a note on the draft that a member of the Legislature, while the act for a division of the county was under consideration, asserted that no part of the straight line run by the commissioners "would come nearer West Chester than six miles."

The court-house at West Chester lies nearly due north from the commencement of the division line on the Brandywine, and is a little over five miles distant from that point; whereas it was alleged at the session of the legislature at which the act was passed, that the distance was nine miles. From the intersection of the Goshen road and the county line to West Chester, the distance in a direct line is four miles three quarters and sixty perches nearly, and the course N. 85° W. The shortest distance from the street road to West Chester is 935 perches.

It also appears from the draft that another division line had been proposed. This commenced at the mouth of Davis's or Harvey's run, on the Brandywine, and ran so as to include the whole of Thornbury township in Chester county.

The average gain to the whole people of the new county, in the way of convenience in reaching their seat of justice, did not exceed four miles; and

when it is considered that the whole population of the new county at that time (1790) was only 9,483, and many of the land-holders really poor, in consequence of the war and the exhaustinng system of agriculture that had been pursued, it is truly wonderful that our ancestors ever consented to this division which necessarily subjected them to all the increased municipal burdens incident to a small county.

The first election for the county of Delaware was held at the usual time in October, 1789, when Nicholas Fairlamb was duly elected sheriff, and Jonathan Vernon, coroner. On the 12th of October, John Pearson, Thomas Levis, Richard Hill Morris, and George Pearce, were duly commissioned, by the president and Council, justices of the court of common pleas of the same county. The appointment of a president of the court was delayed till the 7th of November, when the position was unanimously conferred upon Henry Hale Graham. It was soon discovered, however, that the appointment of Mr. Graham was illegal, as he did not then hold a commission of justice of the peace; whereupon, the president and Council "revoked and made null and void" the commission they had granted to him, commissioned him a justice of the peace, and then appointed him President of the several courts of the new county. The first court for the county of Delaware was held February 9th, 1790. No orphans' court business appears to have been transacted till March 2d, following.

On September 2d, 1790, a new constitution was adopted for Pennsylvania. John Sellers and Nathaniel Newlin represented Delaware county in the convention, by which that most important document was framed. Under this constitution, justices of the peace ceased to sit at judges of the courts. The courts were about this time organized as they now are, with a president and two associate judges.

On April 9, 1792, an act was passed to incorporate the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company. The work of making the road was immediately commenced, but was not completed till 1794. It cost $465,000, or about $7,516 per mile. This important road passes only about four miles through Delaware county. It was the first turnpike road constructed in America. The making of this turnpike seems to have inspired the people along the Brandywine with the idea that an easier and cheaper mode of transportation for their produce, and for that brought along the road, to tide water, would be found in a canal and lock navigation by that stream. Accordingly an act was passed in 1793, concurrent with one passed by the Legislature of Delaware, authorizing a company to be incorporated, with authority to make this improvement. The navigation was to extend up each branch of the Brandywine to the point where it is intersected by the Lancaster turnpike road. It is believed that no part of this improvement was ever made.

For some years past the different meetings of the Society of Friends have had the subject of schools for the more careful and guarded education of their youth, under very serious consideration. From the extreme difficulty of finding suitable teachers, the progress made in the establishment

of these schools was at first slow, but up to this period several had been established on a proper basis. Each monthly meeting had a committee specially appointed on the subject, who from time to time reported upon the condition of the schools under their charge. As early as 1788, Concord Meeting had three schools, and notwithstanding the difficulty of the times, the committee express the belief that there were no Friends' children amongst them "but what received a sufficiency of learning to fit them in a good degree for the business they are designed for." Three schools had also been established within the limits of Chester Monthly Meeting—one at Darby, one at Haverford, and one at Radnor. These schools, though established for the benefit of Friends' children, were open to those of every denomination, and being the best then established, were generally well patronized by them. By the constant care bestowed upon these schools, they were greatly improved in after years, so that at the time of the establishment of our general system of education by common schools, several of them were in such excellent condition that it was reasonably doubted whether any benefit would result from the change.

The proper education of the colored population also claimed a share of the attention of the Society. Many had been recently set free, and their helpless condition presented a very strong claim upon those who had been foremost in the work of emancipation.

In early times the general election for the whole county of Chester was held at the court-house in Chester. Before the Revolution, Chester county was divided into three election districts, called Chester, Chatham, and Red Lion—the places at which the election was held. Chester district embraced nearly the same territory that is now included in Delaware county. After the division, the people of the whole county continued to vote at Chester till 1794, when an act was passed dividing the county of Delaware into four election districts. This act constituted the townships of Concord, Birmingham, Thornbury, Aston, Bethel, and Upper Chichester, the second election district—the election to be held at the house of Joshua Vernon, in Concord; the townships of Newtown, Edgemont, Upper Providence, Marple, and Radnor, the third election district—the election to be held at the house then occupied by William Beaumont, in Newtown; and the townships of Darby, Upper Darby, Haverford, Springfield, and Tinicum, the fourth election district—the election to be held at the house then occupied by Samuel Smith, in Darby. The people of the remaining townships still held their election at Chester, and those townships composed the first district.

It was during the year 1794 that the general government was under the necessity of organizing a military force to quell a rebellion in the western part of Pennsylvania, known as the "Whiskey Insurrection." This county furnished one company, which was commanded by Captain William Graham.

The class of laborers known as redemptioners, and who consisted of Dutch and Irish immigrants, who were sold for a term of years to pay their passage,

were much employed about this time. So much were these servants in demand at one period, that persons engaged in the traffic as a business, who would buy a lot on shipboard, and take them among the farmers for retail. But some of these dealers, who were usually denominated "soul drivers," would go themselves to Europe, collect a drove, bring them to this country, and retail them here on the best terms they could procure—thus avoiding the intervention of the wholesale dealer. One of this class of drivers, named McCulloch, transacted business in Chester county about the time of the division. A story is told of him being tricked by one of his redemptioners in this wise: "The fellow, by a little management, contrived to be the last of the flock that remained unsold, and traveled about with his owner without companions. One night they lodged at a tavern, and in the morning, the young fellow, who was an Irishman, rose early and sold his master to the landlord, pocketed the money, and marched off. Previously, however, to his going, he used the precaution to tell the purchaser, that his servant, although tolerably clever in other respects, was rather saucy and a little given to lying—that he had even presumption enough at times to endeavor to pass for master, and that he might possibly represent himself so to him. By the time mine host was undeceived, the son of Erin had gained such a start as rendered pursuit hopeless."

In the winter of 1795, a great ice freshet occurred in the streams of this county, doing considerable damage. The creeks were raised to a greater height than at any previous flood within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants; and yet this freshet was one foot less in height than the ice freshet of 1839, and eight feet three inches below the great flood of 1843, as accurately measured at Sharpless' Mills, on Ridley creek.

The use of intoxicating drinks, and consequently drunkenness, was probably increased by the Revolution. Certain it is, that the Quakers, the moral reformers of the age, about that period, set about the discouragement of the manufacture, sale, or use of these drinks by their members, in a spirit of earnestness not before exhibited. For a long time their success was only partial. A belief prevailed that severe labor, particularly that of harvest, could not be performed without the use of stimulating drinks, but even at this early day, "many Friends had declined using thereof in harvest." That practice was not, however, generally laid aside, and was continued for many years afterwards; yet members of the Society refrained from the distillation or sale of spirituous liquors.

In 1797, subscriptions for the establishment of a boarding-school, to be under the care of the yearly meeting, were circulated among the several monthly meetings of this county, by committees appointed for that purpose. Liberal subscriptions were made; and the result of the undertaking was the purchase of a tract of 600 acres of land in Westown township, Chester county, and the erection of a building 55 by 110 feet, four stories high, including the basement, at a cost of $22,500. The first pupils were admitted in the 5th month, 1799. The main building was subsequently enlarged, and many other improvements have been made to the premises since that time. Westown

school is not within the limits of our county, but many of our people of both sexes have been educated there. Since the division of the Society of Friends, the school has been exclusively under the management of that branch of it termed Orthodox.

The burden of supporting the bridges over our numerous streams, and particularly those on the Southern Post-road became too great for our small county to bear. As a means of relief, an act of Assembly was procured in 1799, authorizing the commissioners to erect toll-gates on that road, and to collect toll from persons traveling thereon. The rates of toll authorized for passing over the road were, for a stage-coach or pleasure carriage with four wheels and four horses, twenty-five cents; the same with two horses, fifteen cents, and with two wheels, ten cents. Carriages of burden were charged about one-half these rates. The act expired by its own limitation at the end of five years.

On May 8, 1803, our good people had a rather unwelcome visitant, so late in the season, in the shape of a snow storm. The snow covered the ground, though the greater part of it melted as it fell. On the next morning still water was frozen into ice a quarter of an inch in thickness, and the ditches and ponds of water in many places were frozen over.

On February 13, 1804, an act was passed "to provide for the erection of a house for the Employment and Support of the Poor in the County of Delaware." This act provided for the election by the people of seven persons to fix upon a site for the county house. The gentlemen chosen selected the property adjoining the present town of Media, upon which the old poor-house now stands. The selection made was generally regarded at the time as injudicious, on account of the exhausted condition of the land that was chosen; but the location of the new seat of justice adjoining the property, made it a very profitable investment for the county. The original farm consisting of 137 acres, was purchased for less than $33 per acre; subsequently an additional small tract was bought for about $100 per acre. The chief part of this property was sold in two tracts—46 acres at $250 per acre and 112 acres at $341.50 per acre. Up to the time of the completion of the new poor-house, the poor were supported in the several townships by boarding them in private families under the charge of two overseers of the poor for each township. This office was abolished as soon as the poor were removed to the newly erected building.

From 1804 till the breaking out of the war between the United States and Great Britain, nothing worthy of particular notice occured. Owing to the European war that raged during this period, the commerce of our country was benefited, and there was an increased demand for its agricultural products. Our county fully shared these advantages, and the result was an effort on the part of our farmers to improve their lands and thereby to increase their products. These lands, in many places, had become exhausted by a system of bad farming that is generally adopted in new countries, and it was not then uncommon to see large tracts abandoned for agricultural purposes, and left unenclosed. These exhausted tracts generally received the appellation of "old

fields." The use of gypsum and lime as manures now began to be introduced, the former, at first, working almost miracles, by the increased productiveness it imparted to the soil. It was soon discovered, however, that its effect was greatly diminished by repeated applications, and as a consequence it became less used; while lime, though slow in developing its benefits, soon became the general favorite with our farmers, and deservedly so, for it cannot be denied that it was owing to its extensive and continued application, combined with a better system of farming, that much of the land of this county has been brought from an exhausted condition to its present state of fertility and productiveness.

The declaration of war by our government in 1812 against Great Britain, created no greater alarm in our community than was common over the whole country. It was not until the summer of 1814 that apprehensions of immediate danger were seriously entertained. The appearance of the British fleet in the Chesapeake aroused the Philadelphians to the adoption of measures for the defence of their city. The approaches by land were to be defended by a series of earthworks which were hastily erected. The most distant of these defences from the city was located in this county between Crum and Ridley creeks, so as to command the Southern Post-road.

The danger of Chester was still greater than Philadelphia, and the means of defence much less, although an extensive earthwork had been thrown up immediately below Marcus Hook, and mounted with cannon, so as to command the river. As a measure of precaution the public records of the county of Delaware were kept packed up, ready for removal to a place of greater security in the interior.

In October, an encampment of several thousand militia was established on the high grounds immediately back of Marcus Hook. The men composing it were drafted from the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. Of these Delaware county furnished two full companies of 100 men upon two separate drafts, the second of which was regarded as illegal. The first company was convened at the "Three Tuns," now the Lamb tavern, in Springfield, on the 14th of October, and marched to Chester that day. Its officers were, Captain William Morgan, First Lieutenant Aaron Johnson, Second Lieutenant Charles Carr, and Ensign Samuel Hayes. This company remained at Chester two weeks waiting for their camp equipage, before repairing to the encampment at Marcus Hook. During this time the men occupied meeting-houses and other public buildings. The second company arrived at camp about two weeks later. It was commanded by Captain John Hall and Ensign Robert Dunn. John L. Pearson, of Ridley, was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment to which the above two companies belonged.

The danger of an invasion of the State by way of the Delaware or Chesapeake having passed away, the encampment was broken up early in December. The two Delaware county companies with others were marched to Darby, where for two weeks they occupied the Methodist and Friends' meeting-

houses, the bark-house, school-house, &c., after which they were marched to Philadelphia and discharged the day before Christmas.

Besides the two companies of militia mentioned, Delaware county furnished two companies of volunteers. One of these, called The Delaware County Fencibles, numbering 87 men, including officers, was commanded by Captain James Serrill; First Lieutenant George G. Leiper; Second Lieutenant James Serrill Jr., and Ensign George Serrill. This company was fully equipped on the 21st of September, and marched on the 23d. On the 26th the tents of the company were pitched at Camp Marcus Hook, where it remained one month. At the expiration of this time the company marched to Camp Dupont, and thence on the 16th of November to Camp Cadwalader; both of these latter camps being in the State of Delaware. On the 29th of November they marched by the way of New Castle towards Philadelphia, where the company arrived on the 2d of December, and was dismissed on the 6th of that month.

The other company was called The Mifflin Guards, and was commanded by Dr. Samuel Anderson as captain; First Lieutenant Frederic Shull; Second Lieutenant, David A. Marshall, and Ensign William Biggart. This company, which did not muster so many men as the Fencibles, was in service about the same length of time. It was stationed part of the time at Camp Dupont, and another part near Kennet. Both of these companies were well officered, and were composed of men able and willing to do their duty. Like the militia, they were called into service to defend the approaches to Philadelphia against the threatened invasion of the enemy; but fortunately the presence of the troops stationed on the Delaware was sufficient for the purpose, and no actual hostilities ensued.

The Bank of Delaware County was incorporated in 1814. The act authorizing its incorporation was passed in opposition to the veto of Simon Snyder, then governor of the commonwealth. A large number of banks was created by this act, but many of them soon failed, and but few of them have been more generally successful than the Bank of Delaware County. This bank, however, met with one serious reverse, in having more than one-half of its capital abstracted. It was never discovered who committed the robbery, nor was the exact time or times when it was committed ever ascertained.

During the war, and for a short time afterwards, the people of this section of our country were in a prosperous condition. The families of the farmers of our county manufactured their own clothing to a considerable extent. There were, and had been for a long time, fulling mills throughout the county, that aided in these domestic operations, and machine cards had been introduced. The difficulties thrown in the way of trade, even before the commencement of hostilities, caused an advance in the price of foreign dry goods, that induced our people to turn their attention to a more rapid production of textile fabrics than that which had heretofore prevailed. As early at 1810, an English family, named Bottomly, converted an old saw-mill that stood on a small stream in Concord (with a small addition) into a woolen manufactory, to the astonishment of the whole neighborhood. Den-

nis Kelly, with the assistance of a Mr. Wiest, erected a small stone factory on Cobb's creek, in Haverford, about the commencement of the war. This establishment was patronized by the government, and with the energetic management of Mr. Kelly, turned out goods to the fullest extent of its capacity. Other mills were soon erected and put into operation, but still, during the war, dry goods of all kinds continued to command a high price. But the almost free introduction of foreign goods, some time after the close of the war, was a severe blow to these hastily gotten up establishments, and caused the suspension of some of them. Still it was in these small beginnings that the manufacturing business of Delaware county had its origin.

Farmers, in consequence, lost their home market, and there was no foreign demand for the productions of their farms. With the fall in price of agricultural products, that of land also declined. During the war, land came to be regarded as the only safe investment, and purchases were made at almost fabulous prices. Many of the purchasers, under such circumstances, were now obliged to sell at a ruinous sacrifice. In this county the number of such sales was, however, strikingly less than in the adjacent counties. This depressed condition of business did not last long, but the improvement was gradual, and as a consequence people could only advance their pecuniary interests by the slow but certain means of industry and frugality.

In the year 1817, Edward Hunter, Esq., a highly respectable citizen of Newtown township, was deliberately murdered by John H. Craig, by lying in wait in the daytime and shooting him. Esquire Hunter had witnessed a will that Craig was anxious to have set aside, and, being an ignorant man, he believed that by putting the witnesses to it out of the way, his object would be accomplished. He had watched more than once for an opportunity to shoot Isaac Cochrane, the other witness to the will, but failed to accomplish his purpose. Mr. Hunter was shot while taking his horse to the stable, and although the fiendish act was committeed in the most cool and deliberate manner, Craig's presence of mind at once forsook him, for he left his gun where it was readily found, which at once indicated him as the murderer. He was subsequently arrested in the northern part of the State, where he was engaged in chopping wood, being identified by a fellow wood-chopper from the description in the advertisement, offering a reward for his apprehension. He was tried and convicted in the following April at Chester, and soon after executed.

On November 8, 1819, the first newspaper published in Delaware county was issued from the office of Butler & Worthington, at Chester. This paper, which made a very neat appearance, was called The Post Boy. Its dimensions were seventeen by twenty-one inches.

Dissatisfaction had for some time existed among the people of the upper part of the county on account of the seat of justice being situated on its southern margin. The people of the township of Radnor, residing much nearer to Norristown, the seat of justice of Montgomery county, than to

Chester, petitioned for the annexation of their township to that county. The fact that the taxes of Montgomery were lower than those of Delaware, is also said to have had an influence in promoting this movement. Be this as it may, the prospect of losing one of the best townships in the county was a matter of serious alarm, when its small dimensions were taken into consideration. The discontented in the other remote townships seeing that the loss of Radnor would weaken their strongest ground of complaint, determined to test the question of a removal of the seat of justice of the county to a more central situation. Accordingly a general meeting of the inhabitants of the county, "both friendly and unfriendly" to the proposed removal, was convened June 8, 1820. The meeting was unusually large and very respectable, and after the subject of removal had been discussed very fully and rather freely, a vote was taken which resulted in favor of the removalists. Removal now became the leading topic of discussion throughout the county. All party distinctions became merged in it, and the most ultra politicians of opposite parties united cordially on a removal or anti-removal platform. Meetings were held and nominations were made accordingly. The ballot-box showed the anti-removalists in the majority. George G. Leiper, of Ridley, and Abner Lewis, of Radnor, both anti-removalists, were elected to the Assembly. The anti-removalists, by the nomination of Mr. Lewis, had secured nearly the whole vote of Radnor—under the belief that the election of the anti-removal ticket afforded them the only chance of being annexed to Montgomery county. The test was not regarded by the removalists as satisfactory, and they petitioned the legislature for redress, but certainly with but small hopes of success. In their memorial, which is very long, they set forth the fact of the effort of Radnor to be attached to Montgomery county; the dilapidated condition of the jail; the insalubrity of the air at Chester to persons from the upper parts of the county; the danger of the records from attack by an enemy; the badness of the water, &c. "And finally," they say, "to satisfy the legislature that nothing is asked for by the petitioners which would throw any unreasonable expense on the county, assurances are given by one of the inhabitants—perfectly responsible and competent to the undertaking—that he will give an obligation to any one authorized to receive it, conditioned to erect the public buildings upon any reasonable and approved plan, for the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, to be paid in seven years by instalments—if the convenience of the county should require credit—and to take the present buildings and lot at Chester at a fair valuation as part pay." This petition was drawn up by Robert Frazer, Esq., then a prominent lawyer, residing in the upper part of the county, and was signed by 912 citizens. The number who signed the remonstrance is not known, but as a matter of course with both representatives opposed to removal, no legislation favorable to that measure was obtained, and it is only wonderful that the removalists should press the matter under such circumstances. What is remarkable, the people of

Radnor appeared to relax their efforts to obtain legislation to authorize the township to be annexed to Montgomery county.

At the next election, John Lewis and William Cheyney, both removalists, were elected members of the Assembly, but from some cause they failed in obtaining the much-desired law authorizing the seat of justice to be removed to a more central situation. The question after this effort, appears to have been allowed to slumber for a time. It was, however, occasionally discussed, and the removalists maintained a strict vigilance to prevent any extensive repairs being made to the public buildings at Chester.

In February, 1822, a remarkably high freshet occurred in all the streams of Delaware county, chiefly caused by the rapid melting of a deep snow. The mill-ponds were covered with a thick ice at the time, which was broken up and occasioned considerable damage in addition to that caused by the great height of the water in the creeks.

In 1824 one of the most brutal murders on record was committed at the residence of Mary Warner, in Upper Darby, upon a young married man named William Bonsall. The family consisted of Mrs. Warner, Bonsall and his wife. Three men entered the house late at night with the object of committing a burglarly, and although Bonsall was sick and made no resistance, one of them wantonly stabbed him in the abdomen with a shoemaker's knife, which caused his immediate death. Besides committing the murder the party plundered the house. Three men were arrested and tried for the homicide; Michael Monroe alias James Wellington, was convicted of murder in the first degree and executed; Washington Labbe was convicted of murder in the second degree, and Abraham Buys was acquitted.

After the close of the war with Great Britain, manufacturing establishments, of various kinds, rapidly sprung up over the county. It became an object of interest to ascertain the extent of these improvements, and also to obtain more particular information in respect to unimproved water-power. For this purpose George G. Leiper, John Willcox and William Martin, Esqs., were appointed a committee, who employed Benjamin Pearson, Esq., to travel over the county and obtain the necessary statistics. From the facts reported by Mr. Pearson, the committee make the following summary:

Thirty-eight flour mills, sixteen of which grind 203,600 bushels of grain per annum.

Fifty-three saw mills, sixteen of which cut 1,717,000 feet of lumber per annum.

Five rolling and slitting mills, which roll 700 tons of sheet iron per annum, value, $105,000; employ thirty hands, wages, $7,200.

Fourteen woolen factories, employ 228 hands.

Twelve cotton factories, manufacture 704,380 lbs. of yarn per annum, value, $232,445; employ 415 hands, wages, $51,380.

Eleven paper mills, manufacture 31,296 reams of paper per annum, value, $114,712; employ 215 hands, wages, $29,120.

Two powder mills, manufacture 11,900 quarter casks per annum, value, $47,600; employ forty hands, wages, $12,000.

One nail factory, manufactures 150 tons of nails per annum, value, $20,000; employ eight hands, wages, $2,400.

Four tilt, blade and edge-tool manufactories, two of which manufacture, per annum, 2000 axes, 200 cleavers, 1,200 dozen shovels, 200 doz. scythes and 500 drawing knives.

One power-loom mill, weaves 30,000 yards per week, value $3,000; employs 120 hands, wages, per week, $500; 200 looms.

Two oil mills, make 7000 galls. linseed oil per annum, value, $7,000.

One machine factory, five snuff mills, two plaster or gypsum mills, three clover mills, three bark mills, and one mill for sawing stone—making, in the aggregate, 158 improved mill seats, and forty-two unimproved on the principal streams. Total mill seats 200.

These returns, though in several branches of small account in comparison with the extensive establishments of the present day, were certainly creditable at that early period, when steam had been but little employed in propelling machinery, and when it is considered that the whole extent of the county is only about 170 square miles.

In 1827 the dissensions, that had for some time existed in the Society of Friends, culminated in an open rupture. The history of this unfortunate feud properly belongs to the history of the Society throughout the United States. The animosities that were engendered among those who, in former times, had lived on terms of the most friendly, and even social intercourse, existed here, as in other places, and were productive of the like consequences. The author has witnessed with pleasure, within the past few years, a softening down of those animosities, and indeed of every feeling of unkindness in each party towards the other. He would, therefore, regard himself as doing an unpardonable mischief in reviving the facts and circumstances that unhappily gave rise to them.

On September 21st, 1833, the institution under whose authority this history was prepared, was organized with the title of the "Delaware County Institute of Science," by the association at first of only five individuals: George Miller, Minshall Painter, John Miller, George Smith and John Cassin. The object of the association was to promote the study and diffusion of general knowledge, and the establishment of a museum. The number of members gradually increased, and when it became necessary for the institution to hold real estate, application was made to the Supreme Court for corporate privileges, which were granted February 8th, 1836. A hall of very moderate pretensions was built in Upper Providence in 1837, at which the members of the Institute have continued to hold their meetings till the present time. Lectures were also given in the hall for some time after its erection. The number of its members was never large, but through the persevering efforts of a few individuals it has been enabled to accomplish most, if not all, the objects contemplated in its establishment. The museum of the Institute embraces a respectable collection of specimens in every department of the natural sciences, and particularly such as are calculated to illustrate the natural history of the county. It also embraces many other specimens of great scientific or historical value. Nor has the establishment of a library been neglected, and

although the number of books it contains is not large, it is seldom that the same number of volumes is found together of equal value. It has not failed to observe and record local phenomena and to investigate local facts; and the usefulness and value of the natural productions of the county have, in more than one instance, been established by laborious scientific investigations. But for obvious reasons the author will forbear to give any detailed account of the doings of the institution beyond such as it may be necessary to notice incidentally, hereafter, in relating a few historical facts. Since the establishment of the Delaware County Institute of Science, many similar institutions have been established in various counties throughout the commonwealth. But few of these are prosperous; a few maintain a nominal existence, while most of them have ceased to exist.

While it has ever been the policy of the religious Society of Friends to have their children well instructed in the more useful branches of learning, it was not till the year 1833 that an institution was established by them, specially for the instruction of their youth in classical and corresponding studies. In that year, members of the branch of the Society termed Orthodox, founded Haverford School. The benefits of this institution were at first confined to the sons of the members of the religious Society mentioned, though that Society, as such, had no control in its management. Connected with the school buildings, which are not large, is a tract of nearly two hundred acres of land. Forty acres of this land, surrounding the buildings, were appropriated to a lawn, which for beauty and the variety of its trees and shrubbery, is scarcely equaled in the country. The balance of the land is used for farming purposes. Some years since, all the privileges of a college were conferred on this institution; and the managers thereof agreeing to receive as students others than the members of their Society, the sphere of its usefulness has been greatly increased. Haverford College now enjoys a high reputation as a literary and scientific institution, while in respect to the moral training to which the student is subjected, it is unsurpassed by any college in the country.

At the commencement of the construction of the Delaware Breakwater, a large proportion of the stone used for the purpose was taken from the quarries in this county. The superintendent of the work, in the autumn of 1836, arrived at the conclusion that the Pennsylvania stone was inferior to that from the quarries in Delaware State, on account of the large proportion of mica it contained. He thought the presence of the mica rendered the Pennsylvania stone "peculiarly liable to chemical decomposition," and also to a further decay from the attrition of the waves. He even stated in his report, "that the experience of the work, within the few years it has been in construction, has shown that the stones have decayed from both these causes."

Large quantities of stone had been quarried, particularly on Crum and Ridley creeks, when the government, on the strength of the report of its agent, rejected the stone from Delaware county. Those engaged in the business, who would be subjected to great loss by the rejection of their stone, brought the matter to the notice of the County Institute, which promptly

appointed a committee to investigate the subject. The author was chairman of that committee, and upon him devolved the task of making the necessary investigations, and of drawing up the report. That report was decidedly favorable to the durability of the Delaware county stone. Its material conclusions were subsequently confirmed by a board of military engineers, and the Pennsylvania stone again accepted by the government.*

The year 1838 was remarkable on account of a great drought that prevailed throughout a large extent of country, embracing Delaware county. From about the first of July till nearly the first of October, no rain fell except a few very slight showers. The earth became parched, and vegetation dried up. All the later crops failed; and what added greatly to the injurious effects of the drought, myriads of grasshoppers made their appearance, and voraciously devoured nearly every green blade of grass that had survived to the period of their advent. Even the blades and ears of Indian corn were greatly injured in many places. Cattle suffered much for want of pasture, and many persons were obliged to feed them on hay during the months of August and September, or upon corn cut from the field.

A great ice freshet occurred in the winter of 1839, which caused considerable damage; but as it sinks into utter insignificance when compared with the great freshet of August 5, 1843, we will proceed to give an account of the storm and freshet of that day, which may be regarded as one of the most extraordinary events that have occurred within the limits of our county since it was first visited by Europeans. This will be an easy task, as all the material facts connected with this unusual phenomenon, and its disastrous consequences, were carefully collected at the time by a committee of the Delaware County Institute of Science, of which Dr. Smith was chairman, and embodied in an elaborate report, which was published in pamphlet form. Only the general and most material facts will be extracted from that report, as the reader who may desire more particular information on the subject, can have recourse to the report itself, which is preserved in several libraries.

The morning of August 5, 1843, at early dawn, gave indications of a rainy day. The wind was in the east or northeast, and the clouds were observed to have an appearance which indicated a fall of rain. The sun was barely visible at rising, and a short time afterwards the whole sky became overclouded. At about 7 o'clock, a. m., it commenced raining, and continued to rain moderately, with occasional remissions, but without any very perfect intermission until noon or later. This was a general rain, which extended much beyond the limits of Delaware county in every direction. This general rain scarcely caused an appreciable rise in the streams; but it had the effect of fully saturating the surface of the ground with water to the depth of some inches, and in this way contributed to increase the flood in some degree beyond what it would have been, had the subsequent heavy rain fallen on the parched

*The chairman of this committee was Dr. George Smith, author of the "History of Delaware County," (1862), from which this narrative is largely taken.

earth. No general description of this rain, which caused the great inundation, will exactly apply to any two neighborhoods, much less to the whole extent of the county. In the time of its commencement and termination—in the quantity of rain which fell—in the violence and direction of the wind, there was a remarkable want of correspondence between different parts of the county. It may be observed, however, that comparatively little rain fell along its southern and southeastern borders.

Cobb's Creek, on the eastern margin of the county, and Brandywine on the west, were not flooded in any extraordinary degree. This conclusively shows that the greatest violence of the storm was expended on the district of country which is drained by Chester, Ridley, Crum, Darby, and the Gulf creeks, and one or two tributaries of the Brandywine. This district will include a part of Chester county, and a very small part of Montgomery; but including these, the whole extent of country that was inundated did not exceed in area the territory embraced within the county of Delaware. The extent of territory that was inundated was also much greater than that which was subjected to any very extraordinary fall of rain. The amount of rain which fell on that part of the county which borders on the river Delaware, and embraces the mouths and lower parts of the inundated creeks, was not sufficient to produce even an ordinary rise in the streams, and to this circumstance may in part be attributed the very unprepared state in which the inhabitants of this district were found for the mighty flood of waters which was approaching to overwhelm them. The very rapid rise in the water in the streams, without apparently any adequate cause, was also well calculated to increase the alarm in this district beyond what it would have been, had the quantity of water that fell there borne a comparison with that which fell in the upper parts of the county.

As a general rule, the heavy rain occurred later as we proceed from the sources of the streams towards their mouths. The quantity of rain which fell will decrease as we proceed in the same direction, particularly from the middle parts of the county downwards.

In those sections of the county where its greatest violence was expended the character of the storm more nearly accorded with that of a tropical hurricane than with anything which appertained to this region of country. The clouds wore an unusually dark and lowering appearance, of which the whole atmosphere seemed in some degree to partake, and this circumstance, no doubt, gave that peculiarly vivid appearance to the incessant flashes of lightning, which was observed by every one. The peals of thunder were loud and almost continuous. The clouds appeared to approach from different directions, and to concentrate at a point not very distant from the zenith of the beholder. In many places there was but very little wind, the rain falling in nearly perpendicular streams; at other places it blew a stiff breeze, first from the east or northeast, and suddenly shifting to the southwest, while at a few points it blew in sudden gusts with great violence, accompanied with whirlwinds, which twisted off and prostrated large trees, and swept everything before it.

So varied was the character of the storm at different places, that the com-

mittee of the Institute, in order to present a satisfactory account of it, was obliged to embody the remarks of the different observers throughout the county. Brief extracts will be made from these remarks.

In Concord township the heavy rain commenced at about a quarter before three o'clock, p. m., the wind being E. S. E., but it veered so rapidly retrogade to the sun's motion, that the clouds appeared to verge to a centre over the western section of Delaware county, from several points of the compass at the same time—the rain falling in torrents resembling a water spout. At about a quarter before four o'clock the wind had nearly boxed the compass, and blew a gale from W. S. W., and about that hour, a tornado or whirlwind, passed across the southern part of Concord, about a quarter of a mile in width, prostrating forest and fruit trees, and scattering the fences in every direction In the neighborhood of Concord the rain continued about three hours, and the quantity that fell in that vicinity, as nearly as could be ascertained, was about sixteen inches. It is not probable that a greater quantity of rain fell in any other part of the county.

In Newtown township the heavy rain commenced about two o'clock, and terminated about five o'clock, p. m., the wind, during the rain, being nearly N. W. There was a heavy blow of wind, but it was not violent. The quantity of rain that fell was between eleven and thirteen inches. At Newtown Square, in forty minutes, immediately before five o'clock, it was ascertained that five inches and a half of rain fell. As observed in the north part of Radnor, the heavy rain commenced about four o'clock, p. m., and ceased about six o'clock. At the commencement the wind blew from the S. or S. W. but changed to the S. E. about four and a half or five o'clock, from which direction came the heaviest rain.

At Crozerville the storm appeared to have concentrated, and spent itself with awful violence. The morning had been lowering with occasional showers of rain, the air cool for the season. After noon the sky was thickly overcast, and clouds floated slowly in various directions, the wind as noted by a vane, N. E. After two o'clock, thunder was heard at a distance, which soon became louder and more frequent. About three o'clock, under an unusually dark sky, rain commenced falling in torrents, accompanied with vivid lightning and almost continuous peals of thunder. The lightning was more vivid than ever had been witnessed by the observer in the day-time, nor had he ever before heard so much loud thunder at one time. The rain terminated a few minutes before six o'clock. Crozerville lies in a basin surrounded by steep acclivities. In every direction from these hills, sheets of water poured down, and mingling with the current below, presented, together with the rapid succession of forked lightning, a scene of awful sublimity.

In the northern part of Middletown the greatest violence of the storm lasted from three to five o'clock, p. m., the wind blowing from every quarter, but not with great violence.

In the northern part of Nether Providence, the heavy rain commenced between four and five o'clock, and continued till a quarter past six o'clock. The wind blew from various directions, and at five o'clock with great violence from the W. N. W. In the northwest of Springfield township the heavy rain commenced between two and three o'clock and continued till five. There was a strong current of air or whirlwind that passed over the high grounds near Beatty's mills, that uprooted and broke off trees. Lower down, on Crum creek, "there appeared to be two storms of rain approaching one another, one from the S. E., the other from the N. W., which appeared to meet, and it could not be told for some minutes which would prevail, but eventually the one from the S. E. carried the sway," the rain being greatly increased during the struggle. At another point in Springfield the heaviest rain fell between five and six o'clock, the wind being variable, and blowing at one time with great violence, prostrating trees and fences in its course.

In the middle part of Chester township the heaviest rain was late in the afternoon; there being no wind it fell in vertical streams. On the upper border of this township

there was some wind. In the township of Bethel, not far from the Delaware State line, a hurricane of great violence occurred between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. The wind blew in opposite directions, as was proven by uprooted trees. Two miles further north the wind was still more violent, tearing up a large quantity of heavy timber in a very small space. A valley of woodland, bounded by high hills, had nearly all its timber prostrated, not lengthwise with the valley, but across it, with the tops of the trees towards the N. E.

In the western part of Upper Darby the rain was very heavy, but the storm was not so violent as further N. W. The heavy rain, however, began about three o'clock, while in the more easterly parts of the same township but three-fourths of an inch of rain (accurately measured) fell during the day. In the neighborhood of Chester it rained moderately through the day, with one pretty heavy shower in the evening.

In Birmingham, heavy rains commenced about noon—the wind east or southeast. The clouds were dark and heavy, the lightning sharp, and the thunder very heavy, "accompanied with a rumbling noise in the air." The wind was changeable, and blew with great violence. The rain ceased about four o'clock.

The most remarkable circumstances connected with the rise in the waters of the several streams, was its extreme suddenness. In this particular, the flood in question has but few parallels on record; occurring in a temperate climate, and being the result of rain alone. The description given by many persons of its approach in the lower district of the county, forcibly reminds one of the accounts he has read of the advance of the tides in the Bay of Fundy, and other places where they attain a great height. Some spoke of the water as coming down in a breast of several feet at a time; others described it as approaching in waves; but all agree, that at one period of the flood, there was an almost instantaneous rise in the water of from five to eight feet. The time at which this extreme rapidity in the rise of the water occurred, was (in most places) after the streams had become so much swollen as to nearly or quite fill their ordinary channels. The quantity of water required to produce such a phenomenon, was therefore immensely greater, as the valleys of the streams in most places have a transverse section of several hundred feet. The breaking of mill-dams, and the yielding of bridges, and other obstructions, contributed in a degree to produce such an extraordinary swell, but we must mainly look for the cause of this sudden rush of waters to the violence of the rain—if the term rain will apply to the torrents of water that fell in the northern and western sections of the county.

Cobb's creek, on the eastern margin of the county, was not swollen much beyond an ordinary flood, although 5.82 inches of rain fell during the day at Haverford College, within the drainage of that stream.

Darby creek, in a narrow valley above Heys' factory attained a height of 17 feet; the greatest height of Crum creek was about 20 feet, and that of Ridley creek 21 feet. At Dutton's mill, Chester creek rose to the height of 33 feet 6 inches.

To notice all the interesting details that are given in the report on the flood, from which the foregoing extracts have been taken, would occupy too much space in this volume. The subject will be concluded by presenting a summary of the damages sustained by the freshet within the limits of the county, both public and private, together with a brief notice of the casualties that resulted in the loss of life, and the narrow escapes from imminent peril.

Thirty-two of the county bridges were either wholly destroyed or seriously injured. The following estimate of the damage sustained by the bridges on the several streams, was carefully made by competent persons:—On Darby Creek, $3,370; on Ithan Creek, $475; on Crum Creek, $6,875; on Ridley Creek, $5,400; on Chester Creek, $8,600; total, $24,700.

Many of the townships also sustained heavy losses in the destruction of small bridges and culverts. The damage to private property will be given in the aggregate, only specifying the amount on each creek:—On Darby Creek and tributaries, $20,000; on Crum Creek and tributaries, $24,000; on Ridley Creek and tributaries, $39,000; on Chester Creek and its branches, $104,000; on tributaries of the Brandywine, $2,600; amount of private loss, $190,375.

It is also estimated that the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company sustained damage to the amount of $4,500.

Nineteen human beings lost their lives by drowning. To persons who cannot bring their minds to realize the almost instantaneous rise in the water, this number may appear large, but it is really almost miraculous, that under the circumstances, so small a number should have perished. Hair-breadth escapes, and rescues from perilous situations, were numerous. Had the inundation occurred at midnight, when most persons are wrapped in slumber, the destruction of human life would have been dreadful indeed. Such a calamity can only be contemplated with feelings of horror.

Seven lives were lost on Darby creek. When the stone bridge at Darby yielded to the torrent, two young men—Russell K. Flounders and Josiah Bunting, jr., were standing upon it. Both perished. At the cotton factory of D. & C. Kelly, on the Delaware county turnpike, five lives were lost. Michael Nolan and his family, consisting of his wife, five children and a young woman named Susan Dowlan, occupied a small frame tenement immediately below the western wall of the bridge. Before any immediate danger from the rise of water was apprehended, Michael and his eldest son had left the house with the view of making arrangements for the removal of the family. There was no water about the house when the father and son started, yet upon their attempt to return, after an absence of five minutes, it was not in the power of any one to reach the dwelling, much less to render the inmates any assistance. The wing-walls of the bridge soon gave way, and shortly after this the house was swept from its foundations, became a complete wreck, and all the inmates perished, except Susan Dowlan, who accidentally caught the branches of a tree, and at length obtained a foothold on a projecting knot, where she supported herself till the water had sufficiently abated to allow her to be rescued. At Garrett's Factory three families, numbering sixteen individuals, were, for a long time, placed in the utmost jeopardy. Their retreat from land was wholly cut off by the sudden rise in the water—the houses they occupied were completely wrecked and large portions of them carried away, and they had nothing left to afford them the least security but the tottering remains of the ruins of their dwellings, which, fortunately, withstood the torrent.

No lives were lost on Crum creek.

On Ridley creek, five individuals perished, a father and his four children. George Hargraves, his wife, four children and a brother, named William, occupied a central dwelling in a long stone building at Samuel Bancroft's factory, in Nether Providence. The family delayed making their escape till it was too late, but retreated into the second story. The flood soon rushed through the building and carried away the two middle dwellings, and with it George Hargraves, his four older children and brother William; his wife, with the youngest child in her arms, being in a corner of the room where the flooring was not entirely carried away. William was carried down the current half a mile, where he fortunately found a place of safety in the branches of a standing tree. Shortly after, George, with his children, floated by him on a bed, and, as he passed, cried out, "hold on to it, William." Scarcely had George given this admonition to his brother when he and his four children were swept from their position on the bed and engulfed beneath the turbulent waters of the flood, not to rise again. After Jane, the wife of George Hargraves, had sustained herself on a mere niche of projecting flooring, with her child in her arms, during five hours, she was rescued. Thomas Wardell Brown, his wife and child, occupied the other demolished dwelling, but were saved by taking a

position on a portion of flooring corresponding to that on which Jane Hargraves stood, but of much less dimensions. This was the only portion of their dwelling not carried away.

A short distance above Sherman's upper factory, a double frame house, occupied by William Tooms and James Rigly and their families, was floated down the stream and lodged against the wheel-house of the factory, in a position opposite to a window of the picker-house. Rigly, after placing his wife and child in the second story of the picker-house, discovered that Tooms, (who was sick) his wife and two children were in the garret of their dwelling, the roof of which was partly under water. He immediately broke a hole in the roof and rescued the inmates, one by one, and placed them in the picker-house. In half a minute after he returned the last time, their late dwelling was whirled over the wheel-house, dashed to pieces and carried down the stream

Edward Lewis, Esq., and his son Edward, were placed in a situation of great peril. They were in the third story of the grist-mill when the building began to yield to the flood—their paper and saw-mill having previously been swept away, and a current of great depth and velocity was passing between the mill and their dwelling, across which was their only chance of retreat. A considerable part of the walls of the mill gave way, and the roof and timbers fell in confusion around them, but fortunately enough of the building remained firm till they were rescued by means of a rope.

On Chester creek seven human beings were deprived of their lives by the flood, and many others were placed in situations of great jeopardy.

Mary Jackson, a colored woman, while assisting her husband to save floating wood, near Flower's mill, was overtaken by the flood and drowned. Near the same place Mr. William G. Flower was subjected to imminent peril. Mr. F. was on the meadow when the flood came down in a wave (represented by spectators as being from three to four feet high), and swept him away. He was carried from his path into an old mill-race, where he succeeded in reaching a grape vine, and by means of that, a tree. But the tree was soon uprooted and borne away. After a short period of extreme peril, during which he was several times overwhelmed with trees, timber, &c., carried along with frightful velocity, he succeeded in catching the branches of another tree, when, almost exhausted, he reached a place of safety.

No lives were lost at Chester, though numbers were placed in extreme danger by remaining in a dwelling adjoining the eastern abutment of the bridge—the western abutment and the bridge having been carried away, and a fearful current passing between the eastern abutment and the town. Mr. Jonathan Dutton was placed in a situation of great jeopardy. While endeavoring to secure some property in his mill from being damaged by the flood, he was surprised by the sudden rise in the water to an alarming height. He retreated from story to story till he reached the upper one. His situation soon became more awfully perilous, for the mill began to yield to the force of the torrent. His position becoming desperate, he leaped from a window of the mill and with great exertion reached the shore.

John Rhoads, a resident of Pennsgrove, (now Glen Riddle) with his daughters, Hannah and Jane, and a granddaughter, were carried away in their dwelling and drowned. Mary Jane McGuigan, with her only child at her breast, in another dwelling at the same place, perished in the same manner.

The new stone cotton factory at Knowlton, 76 by 36 feet, well stored with machinery, was carried away, but fortunately none of the operatives were in the building. There are many other interesting facts and circumstances connected with this unprecedented and disastrous flood, described in the report of the committee of the Institute, but our allotted space will not permit us to notice them.

The county commissioners stood aghast at the almost universal damage or destruction of the county bridges, and scarcely knew where to com-

mence the work of rebuilding and repairs. The legislature was applied to for an exemption of the county from State tax for one year, which application was ungenerously refused. Loans were resorted to; and it became a matter of astonishment in what a short time both public and private damage was repaired, and almost everything restored to its former, or even to a better condition. The recuperative energies of no community were ever more severely taxed, and it was only by this test that the people of our county became fully acquainted with the vast extent of their own resources.

We have now arrived at a period in our narrative when the proceedings commenced which, after a protracted contest, resulted in the removal of the seat of justice of the county from Chester to a more central location, around which has grown up the town of Media. Dr. Smith took an active part in these proceedings on the side favorable to removal, and on that account he would gladly have passed over the subject with the mere notice of the time when the seat of justice was removed. But it is a matter of too much local importance to be passed by so slightly. An effort will therefore be made to narrate the transactions connected with it free from any improper feeling or bias.

On November 22d, 1845, agreeably to public notice, a meeting of citizens of the county was held at the Black Horse tavern in Middletown, "to take into consideration the propriety of removing the Seat of Justice to a more central position." After adopting a preamble and resolutions favorable to a removal of the public buildings to a more central location, the meeting recommended meetings to be held in each township on the 5th of December following, "to elect two delegates in each, to meet on the 6th of December at the Black Horse tavern; the delegates appointed to vote for the removal of the Seat of Justice or otherwise; also, to decide upon those [the sites] designated by this meeting, which of them shall be adopted." The following places were named "as suitable locations for the public buildings:—County property in Providence; Black Horse in Middletown; Chester; Rose Tree in Upper Providence, and Beaumont's Corner, Newtown." Between the time of holding this meeting and the election of delegates, the November court was held, at which the grand jury recommended the erection of a new jail. This was the second grand jury that had made the same recommendation, and it now rested with the county commissioners to proceed with the work, a circumstance that rendered it important that the question of the location of the new prison should be decided as early as possible.

In some of the townships no delegates were elected; and owing to the very icy state of the roads, many who were elected did not attend the meeting appointed to be held on the 6th. Twelve townships were, however, represented as follows: Birmingham—Dr. Elwood Harvey, J. D. Gilpin. Chester—J. K. Zeilin, Y. S. Walter. Upper Chichester—Robert R. Dutton. Concord—M. Stamp, E. Yarnall. Edgmont—E. B. Green, George Baker. Marple—Abram Pratt, Dr. J. M. Moore. Middletown—Joseph

Edwards, Abram Pennell. Newtown—Eli Lewis, T. H. Speakman. N. Providence—R. T. Worrall, P. Worrall. Upper Providence—E. Bishop, Thos. Reese. Thornbury—Eli Baker, David Green. Tinicum—Joseph Weaver, Jr.

After various discussions, a vote was taken on the different sites that had been proposed, which resulted in giving the county property 8 votes; the Black Horse, 6; Chester, 6, and Rose Tree, 2. Eventually, upon further ballotings, the county property received 12 votes, a majority of the whole. Both removalists and anti-removalists were very imperfectly represented by the delegates assembled at this meeting, yet it was their action that determined the particular location of the future seat of justice of the county.

The anti-removalists were present at the meeting to defeat the question of removal altogether; but should not have participated in a vote upon the different sites, if they did not intend to be bound by the result. Those removalists, who felt that they had not been represented at the meeting (and they constituted a majority of the whole) were generally opposed to fixing a site at all, but desired that the vote of the people should be taken, simply, for and against the removal. From this cause and with the view of reconciling all differences, the committee appointed by the meeting held at the Black Horse, called a third meeting, to be held at the Hall of the Delaware County Institute of Science, on the 30th of the same month. This meeting was very largely attended. An address to the people of the county was adopted, and also the form of a petition to the legislature in favor of a law giving the people a right to vote on the question of removal without fixing a site. This was not acquiesced in by a considerable number of removalists residing principally in the northwestern part of the county, and the result was a schism in the removal party, and the adoption of two forms of petition to the legislature.

The county was represented by William Williamson, of Chester county, in the Senate, and by John Larkin, Jr., in the House—both gentlemen being opposed to removal, but both understood to be favorable to the passage of a law that would afford the people of the county a fair vote on the question.

The dispute among the removalists in respect to fixing or not fixing a site in advance, grew warm, and as a majority of them favored a law that would authorize the vote to be taken on the broad question of removal, the anti-removalists were led into the belief that this course was adopted because it was impossible for their opponents to unite on any one location, and consequently that they would run no risk in submitting the question of removal to a vote of the people, provided, that it should be taken between Chester and any one of the sites that had been mentioned. Under this erroneous impression their opposition was directed almost wholly against the party who opposed deciding upon any site till after the question of removal had been decided, and they ventured to say in their remonstrance to the Legislature that they "do not believe it is fair and equal justice to array the friends of all the locations suggested (six in number)

against the present Seat of Justice, for were any one place selected by the petitioners, we [they] are confident that two-thirds of the votes of the people would be found against it."

Though every reasonable effort was made to induce our representatives to go for a bill authorizing a general vote on the question, it was soon discovered that they would not favor any plan that did not fix upon a site in advance. The bill that had been prepared by the committee of correspondence was called up by Mr. Larkin, and being opposed by him, it was of course defeated by a large majority.

The conduct of our representatives was very unsatisfactory to the removalists, and had the effect of exciting them to greater efforts, for carrying their favorite measure. The removal committee of correspondence, in a published address to the citizens of the county favorable to removal, denounced the treatment their bill had received at the hands of the Legislature, and exhorted their friends to a steady and unyielding persistence in their efforts, until the present untoward circumstances that surrounded the subject should be removed, and the clearest rights appertaining to citizens of a republican government should have been yielded to them.

During the autumn of 1846 various efforts were made to secure the election of a strong removalist to the House of Representatives, but these efforts failed, and Sketchley Morton, Esq., a lukewarm anti-removalist, was elected, pledged, however, to advocate the passage of a law that would fairly submit the question of removal to a vote of the people of the county.

The removalists who had opposed fixing a site for the proposed new seat of justice, finding that under existing circumstances no bill could be passed in that shape, gradually yielded the point, and the result was the passage of the act of 1847, entitled "An act concerning the removal of the Seat of Justice of Delaware County." This act provided that at the next general election, "those voters in favor of removal shall each vote a written or printed ticket, labelled on the outside, Seat of Justice, and containing the words County property in Upper Providence, and those opposed to removal, shall each vote a written or printed ticket, labelled on the outside as aforesaid, and containing the word Chester." In case a majority voted for "Chester," the commissioners were required to erect a new jail at the existing seat of justice, while on the other hand, if a majority voted for the "County property in Upper Providence," the commissioners were required "to definitely fix and determine on the exact location for new public buildings for the accommodation of the county," not more distant "than one-half of a mile from the farm attached to the House for the support and employment of the poor" of Delaware county, and not more than one-half mile from the state road leading from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

The question was now fairly at issue, and on terms that the anti-removalists could not object to, for they had proclaimed in their remonstrance to the legislature their conviction, in case these terms should be adopted, that "two-thirds of the votes of the people" would be found against the proposed new

site. They had, however, committed a fatal mistake in allowing a site for the new buildings to be selected so low down in the County, when it was within their power to have had one higher up and more distant from Chester selected. It was this that reconciled the great body of removalists to the proposed site; for while it was not regarded by many of them as the most eligible, its selection greatly increased the number of voters who felt that their convenience would be promoted by a change.

During the summer of 1847 a number of articles appeared in the public papers on both sides of the question, of various degrees of merit. The removalists, through their committee of correspondence, went systematically to work and thoroughly organized their party. Perhaps no party in the county had ever before been organized so well. It can do no harm now to state, that long before the election, the committee had become so well acquainted with the sentiments of the people of the county, that they could count with certainty upon a majority in favor of removal of at least three hundred. Their efforts towards the close of the contest were not really for success, but to swell the majority which they knew they had, as well before, as after the election was held.

On August 30th, the removalists held a public meeting at the house of Peter Worrall, in Nether Providence. This meeting, which was very large and enthusiastic, adopted an address to the citizens of the county, placing the question of removal in the most favorable light. Committees of vigilance were also appointed in the several townships throughout the county—even in the borough of Chester.

Up to this time the opponents of removal had maintained an apathy on the subject that could only have arisen from a confidence in their supposed numerical strength. They now appear to have become suddenly aroused to the apprehension of a possibility of some danger. A committee of correspondence, composed of the following named gentlemen, was suddenly, and perhaps informally, appointed, viz.: John M. Broomall, John P. Crozer, F. J. Hinkson, G. W. Bartram, Jesse Young, George G. Leiper, J. P. Eyre, John K. Zeilin, John Larkin, Jr., Edward Darlington, Samuel Edwards, and George Serrill. This committee issued an elaborate address to the citizens of the county, reviewing the proceedings of the removal meeting, and pointing out generally the evils that would result from a change in the location of the seat of justice of the county.

The committee of correspondence, on behalf of the Removalists, consisted of the following named gentlemen, viz.: Minshall Painter, David Lyons, Nathan H. Baker, James J. Lewis, Joseph Edwards, William B. Lindsay, Dr. Joseph Wilson, James Ogden, John G. Henderson, George G. Baker, Thos. H. Speakman, Henry Haldeman, Jr., and Dr. George Smith. Soon after the publication of the anti-removal address, this committee published a reply, criticising without much leniency, every position that had been taken by their opponents. The anti-removal committee had been particularly unfortunate in over-estimating the cost of new public buildings, or rather the difference be-

tween the cost of a new jail at Chester, and a court-house and jail at the new site. The removal committee happened to be in possession of the exact cost of a large and well built court-house that had been recently erected at Hollidaysburg, the facts connected with which were attested by one of our most respectable citizens. These facts could not be controverted, and consequently the appeal that had been made by the anti-removal committee to the pockets of the tax-payers of the county, proved an utter failure, and the affairs of the removalists were placed in a better position than before the controversy between the two committees commenced. A public meeting was subsequently held by the anti-removalists at the Black Horse, and an effort made to organize the party, but it was too late to make any headway against the regularly organized forces of the removalists.

The election was held October 12, 1847, and resulted in a majority of 752 votes in favor of removal. The following table exhibits the vote in the several townships:

	For Removal.	Against Removal.
Aston,	89	129
Bethel,	10	72
Birmingham,	62	21
Chester,	50	319
Upper Chichester,	4	72
Lower Chichester,	12	92
Concord,	83	70
Darby,	55	91
Upper Darby,	168	32
Edgmont,	150	0
Haverford,	147	3
Marple,	124	13
Middletown,	223	17
Newtown,	118	1
Upper Providence,	129	2
Nether Providence,	113	30
Radnor,	152	40
Ridley,	19	152
Springfield,	114	10
Thornbury,	116	5
Tinicum,	2	19
	1942	1190
Voted in favor of removal,		1942
Voted against removal,		1190
Majority in favor of removal,		752

When the result of the election became known, the majority being so large, no one then thought of making even an effort to defeat the will of the people thus emphatically expressed. A certain act, however, had been recently passed by the legislature, giving the citizens of each township a right to decide by ballot, whether spirituous liquors should be sold in their respective townships. This act had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and there being some similarity between that act and the Removal Act, its constitutionality also became questionable. The commissioners felt unwilling to proceed with the erection of the new buildings until the constitutional question should be decided, or a confirmatory act should be passed. The friends of removal at once determined to ask the Legislature to pass a confirmatory act, not dreaming that a proposition so reasonable and just would meet with the least resistance from any quarter. In this they were mistaken, for their application was met by a remonstrance from a large number of anti-removalists, and other means were resorted to by a few of them, to defeat the measure, which it may be proper at this time to forbear to mention.

The question had been decided, upon the plan that they had accepted as the proper one, and had the removalists been defeated, the erection of a new jail at Chester would have been acquiesced in by them without a murmur. Under such circumstances, Dr. Smith has never been able to see how the gentlemen who continued their opposition to removal, after a vote had been taken on the question, could reconcile their conduct to the injunction, "as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

The Hon. Sketchley Morton still represented the county in the House of Representatives, and acting in good faith, no difficulty was experienced in the passage of a confirmatory bill in that body. But in the Senate, it was soon discovered that our representative, Mr. Williamson, then speaker of that body, was hostile to the bill, and that the services of other members of the Senate from distant parts of the commonwealth had in some way been secured to make speeches against it, and to aid in its defeat. Among these was the late Governor Johnson. The bill was accordingly defeated in the Senate.

After this unfair and unjust treatment, the removalists at once resorted to the Supreme Court, to test the constitutionality of the Removal Act, under which the vote had been taken. Here they were met by counsel employed by the anti-removalists; but before any action had been taken by the court upon the main question, certain signs in the political horizon indicated that it might become a matter of some consequence to certain politicians, that so large a body of voters as the removalists of Delaware county should be pacified, after the treatment their fair and just bill had received in the Senate. A sudden change appears to have been effected in the views of certain Senators, on the grave question of the right of the majority to rule, and information was accordingly conveyed to the leading removalists, that a confirmatory act could then be passed. One was passed; but as the anti-removalists had to be consulted, the action of the Senate of Pennsylvania resulted in the monstrosity that here follows, which was only concurred in by the House, because nothing better could be had:—

"An Act relative to the removal of the Seat of Justice in Delaware County.

"SECTION 1. Be it enacted, &c. That the several provisions of an Act entitled 'An Act concerning the removal of the seat of justice in Delaware County,' approved March 3d, eighteen hundred and forty-seven, so far as they authorize the removal of the seat of justice from the borough of Chester, be, and the same are hereby confirmed and made of full force and effect, and when the public buildings referred to in said act shall have been completed, it shall be the duty of the Court, Sheriff, and other officers of said county, to do and perform the things mentioned and required to be done and performed in said act. Provided, That this act shall not go into effect until a decision shall be obtained from the Supreme Court on the validity of said act of March third, eighteen hundred and forty-seven. Provided, however, that said decision shall be obtained in one year from the date of the passage of this act.

WILLIAM F. PACKER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
WILLIAM WILLIAMSON,
Speaker of the Senate.

"Approved the seventh day of April, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.
FRANCIS R. SHUNK."

The Supreme Court soon closed their sitting in Philadelphia, and no further effort was made to comply with the ridiculous provisions of the confirmatory law till the winter term following. It was now apparent, from the various motions of the counsel of the anti-removalists, that delay was a main object with his clients; but eventually, with much perseverance, the question was argued by the late Joseph G. Clarkson, the counsel of the removalists, and the opinion of the Court delivered just before the close of the year specified in the act. This opinion was a full confirmation of the constitutionality of the Removal Law.

The commissioners, in pursuance of the Removal Act, very soon purchased a tract of forty-eight acres of land from Sarah Briggs, adjoining the county farm attached to the house for the support and employment of the poor, for the sum of $5,760. On this a town was laid out, and many lots were immediately sold, realizing a great profit to the county. It was at first intended to call the town Providence, but in consideration of the great number of places bearing that name, the name of Media, suggested by Minshall Painter as a proper one, was adopted, and inserted in the Act of Incorporation. The town was laid out by Joseph Fox, Esq.

The location of the public buildings increased the value of the adjacent land. In this increase in value, the adjoining property belonging to the county, on which the old Alms-house was located, shared very fully; so that it soon became evident, that by disposing of this property with the old buildings, (which were not well adapted to the purpose for which they had been erected,) the county could be provided with a better farm in another locality, and with new buildings, very much better calculated for the accommodation of the paupers. The old property was accordingly disposed of by the Directors of the Poor, at the price that has been mentioned. In the mean time, the present county farm in Middletown was purchased, and the present neat and substantial Alms-house erected.

Prior to the passage of the act authorizing a vote to be taken on the subject of the removal of the seat of justice, several routes had been experimentally surveyed through the county, for a railroad to West Chester. In adopting the present location for the road, the site of the new county town doubtless had a material influence. On the other hand, the completion of the road, rendering access to Philadelphia easy and cheap, has aided in the rapid growth and improvement of Media.

Since 1845, up to the breaking out of the late disastrous Civil War, the improvement of the county, and the increase in the substantial means of its citizens, have been rapid beyond any former period. During that period, the Delaware County Turnpike, the Darby Plank Road, the West Chester Turnpike or Plank Road, the Darby and Chester Plank Road, and several less important artificial roads, were constructed; a large proportion of the money necessary therefor being furnished by citizens of Delaware county. These improvements became necessary on account of the

improved condition of the farms throughout the county, and the increase in the number and extent of our manufacturing establishments. The completion of the West Chester railroad, and the Baltimore Central road, through the county, to Oxford, in Chester county, gave a great impulse to business in the districts of the county through which they pass.

Tinicum Township.—The priority given to Tinicum in this chapter is not due to its greater prominence or importance, but from the fact that on the island, now the township of Tinicum, the first recorded European settlement in Pennsylvania was made by the Swedes.

Tinicum Island lies along the mainland, from which it is separated by the waters of Darby and Bow creeks, which with the Delaware form the water-courses encircling the island of Big Tinicum, so called to distinguish it from Little Tinicum, a long, low marshy strip nearly in the middle of the Delaware, extending nearly the whole length of Tinicum island proper. At its broadest part Tinicum is about one and one-half miles in width, its circumference about nine miles. It contains 2750 acres, 2000 of which are marsh or meadow land, all but 500 acres having been reclaimed by the construction of dykes. The Indian name was Tanakon, Tutacaenung and Teniko, which after the Swedish settlement was changed to Nya Gotheberg, later to Kattenberg. The English changed the old Indian name to its present form, Tinicum. The first authenticated record of settlement on Tinicum, by the Swedish governor, John Printz, in 1643, is treated in the early pages of this work.

For almost a century Tinicum was a part of Ridley township, but at the May court, 1780, a petition was signed by twenty-three "inhabitants, owners and occupiers of land on the island of Tinicum" praying that they be set off into a separate township. On August 31, 1780, their prayer was granted, and from that date Tinicum became a separate district, having all the rights and obligations of other townships. Under the provisions of the act of the Pennsylvania legislature, passed September 25, 1786, Hog Island and all the islands in the Delaware facing Delaware county, acquired by Pennsylvania by the terms of the agreement with New Jersey, became part of Tinicum township. Hog Island has played an important part in local history, and by a system of banks and dykes has been converted into fertile farm land as has Tinicum. In 1799 a quarantine station was established on Tinicum, buildings erected and quarantine for the protection of the health of Philadelphia, established in 1801. In later years, serious objection was made to its location and strenuous efforts made for its removal. These efforts were persistently defeated, and the station was continued until recent years, when the station was removed.

Tinicum contains two villages,—Essington and Corbindale, both located on the line of the Philadelphia & Reading railway that traverses the township. Connection is also made with Philadelphia and Chester by the cars of the Philadelphia & Chester railway. The population in 1910 was 1135. Churches and public schools have been erected, the schools of the township being noted in the chapter on education.

Aston Township.—Aston township as now constituted is separated on the north by Chester creek from Middletown, and part of Chester township, while on the west and south it joins Upper Chichester, Bethel and Concord. It

is long and narrow in shape, containing in 1910 a population of 2135. Its schools, churches and mills are elsewhere noted in this work. Aston was first known as Northley, probably so named by Edward Carter, who owned a tract of 250 acres in the township, which assumed its present name in 1688, when John Neal (Neild) was appointed first constable of the township of Aston, this being the first recorded mention of that name as applied to the township. Carter was not the first settler, for Charles Ashcom, the surveyor, under date of October 8, 1682, returned 500 acres laid out to John Dutton on the west of Upland creek, beginning at Nathaniel Evans corner tree "and so unto the woods." Even before Dutton, William Woodmansey took up 100 acres at the southeastern end of the township on Chester creek, in 1680, naming his home in the forest "Harold," and there Friends meetings were held.

Among the early settlers was Thomas Mercer, who took up 100 acres on Chester creek, near Dutton's Mills; Nathaniel Evans in October, 1682, had surveyed to him 300 acres laid out so as to have the greatest possible frontage on the creek, but extending west across the entire township. Above the Dutton tract, John Neild in 1682 had surveyed to him 250 acres, which included the site of the present village of Rockdale. Other settlers came in, and in 1715 the taxables were: Robert Carter, John Pennell, Moses Key, John Dutton, Thomas Dutton, Thomas Woodward, John Neild, James Widdows, William Rattew, Samuel Jones, Thomas Barnard, Abraham Darlington, John Hurford, Jonathan Monroe, Thomas Gale. The freemen were Thomas Dunbabin, Isaac Williams, Joseph Darlington, Edward Richards, Samuel Stroud.

The road from Chichester to Aston was laid out by the grand jury at a court held 3 day, 10 mo., 1688, and on the same day they laid out the road from Aston to Edgemont.

The second day following the battle of Brandywine, Lord Cornwallis "with the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry and 2nd Grenadiers marched to join the body under Major General Grant." That evening "the troops reached Ashdown within four miles of Chester." Here Gen. Cornwallis established his headquarters, the encampment extending from Mount Hope to the lower part of Village Green. He sent out foraging parties to secure supplies for the army, seizing for that purpose the flour in all the mills within reach. The express orders of Howe and Cornwallis forbade all plundering of private houses, but these orders were freely disregarded. The plundering of the house of Jonathan Martin is narrated elsewhere in this work.

Manufacturing began in the township at an early date, and constitutes an important item in the township's wealth. All leading denominations are represented by places of worship, and many of the secret orders have lodges in the township, the oldest being Benevolent Lodge, No. 40, I. O. O. F. Chester Heights Camp Meeting Association, formed in 1872, purchased a farm in Aston, containing 162 acres on the line of the Baltimore Central railroad, and there hold annual camp meetings. The principal villages in the township are Village Green, four miles northwest from Chester; Rockdale; Darlington, on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad,

eighteen miles from Philadelphia; Aston Mills, where large plush mills are located. Public schools are the Village Green, Aston Mills, Chester Heights, Crozerville and Brookside schools. At Village Green there is a Baptist church; at Rockdale, a Methodist Episcopal church; Catholic churches at Brookside and Chester Heights. The convent of the Sisters of St. Francis is located near the centre of the township. One railroad crosses the township, its eastern line being traversed by the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, with stations at Bridgewater, Morgan, Rockdale, Wawa, from whence the Baltimore Central crosses the township, passing through the grounds of the Chester Camp Meeting Association, where they have a station of the same name. There are no incorporated boroughs in the township.

Bethel Township.—Bethel, smallest of all the original townships of Chester county, is triangular in shape, its southern line adjoining the state of Delaware, the northwestern boundary being Concord township, the eastern, Upper Chichester. The township is mentioned as early as 1683, and again at the court held 11 mo. 6, 1684, the inhabitants of "Concord, Bethell and Chichester were ordered to meet on the third day of the next weeke." The land is high and very productive; clay used for making fire bricks and Kaolin abound in the northwestern part of the township. Bethel hamlet was founded at an early date, the early settlers building together for the sake of safety. At the September court, 1686, Edward "Beaser" was appointed constable for "Bethel Liberty." In 1683, Edward "Bezer" and Edward Brown had 500 acres surveyed to them in the northeasterly end of the township. On this tract Bethel hamlet, afterwards known as "Corner Catch or Ketch," and the present village of Chelsea, is located. In 1686 the grand jury reported the laying out of the road from Bethel to Chichester (Marcus Hook). The list of taxables for Bethel township in 1693, shows nine tax payers: John Gibbons, Ralph Pile, John Bushel, Nicholas Pile, Edward Beaner, Robert Eyre, Thomas Garrett, John Howard, Thomas Cooper. In 1715, the list had doubled: Robert Pyle, John Grist, Robert Booth, Edward Beazer, John Canady, Benjamin Moulder, Joseph Pyle, John Hickman, Edward Griffith, John Hopton, John Gibbons, Thomas Durnell, constituting the list. There are no railroads in the township, which contains but two villages—Chelsea, in the extreme northern corner of the township, and Booths Corner in the southern part. Public schools are maintained at both these villages. Another in the centre of the township is known as Central School. The Methodists maintain churches and ministers in the township. The population of Bethel in 1910 was 535.

Birmingham Township.—This township, lying in the extreme southeastern corner of Delaware county, adjoins on the west and north the state of Delaware and Chester county, Pennsylvania, being separated from the latter by Brandywine creek; on the east is bounded by Thornbury and Concord townships, Chester county; on the south by the state of Delaware. It is traversed from east to west by the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad (Central Division) which enters the township near Brandywine Sum-

mit and leaves it at Chadd's Ford. The Baltimore turnpike also crosses the township. It was on this road that Washington and Lafayette had their headquarters during the battle of Brandywine, fought September 11, 1777. The name of the township is believed to have been conferred by William Brinton, the first white settler known to have located in that section, in remembrance of the town of like name in England, near which he resided prior to his coming to Pennsylvania in 1684. He had purchased 400 acres from Joseph Allison and William Morgan, and his patent was so located, in 1790, when Delaware was erected out of Chester county, the county lines being so run that the original tract laid about equal in both counties. William Brinton's daughter Ann married in England, John Bennett, who joined his father-in-law in 1685 and in 1686 was appointed constable. The next settlers were Peter and Sarah Dix, a name that in more recent years has become Dicks. Joseph Gilpin and his wife Hannah settled in Birmingham not later than 1695. He inherited under the will of William Lamboll, of Reading, England, a part of the tract of land that had been surveyed and located in Birmingham in 1683 by Lamboll. Gilpin, glad to escape from the persecution to which his Quaker principles subjected him, came to the province and settled on his inheritance. On first coming he dug a cave at the side of a great rock, and therein thirteen of his fifteen children were born. It was on this farm that two valuable varieties of apples originated—the Gilpin, also called carthouse and winter redstreak, and the house apple, also called grayhouse apple. Several years after his settlement, Joseph Gilpin built a frame house, removing from the cave. In 1745, adjoining the frame, a brick house was built. On the evening of Thursday, September 11, 1777, the house, then owned by George Gilpin, was occupied by Gen. Howe as his headquarters, remaining there until the following Tuesday.

Francis Chadsey or Chads and Chadds, as the name is now written, came from Wiltshire, England, early in 1689, his name first appearing in Birmingham taxables in 1696. He served as a member of assembly from Chester county, 1706-07, and about that time erected his corn mill, for at his death in 1713 he willed one of his sons "a half share in my corn mill." John, eldest son of Francis Chads, inherited the larger part of his father's estate, married Elizabeth Richardson, and is believed to have built in 1729 the old stone house, close to the spring in the village of Chadds' Ford, opposite the then ford of the Brandywine. As travel increased, the ford often impassable, failed to meet the needs of travel. John Chads was urged to establish a ferry at that point, and to aid him, the county loaned him £30 to defray the expense he was put to in building a "flatt or Schowe." The ferry was placed in operation in 1717. In 1760, the ferry boat was repaired, Chads charging the county £44 3s. 6d., for "rebuilding the Flatt," one of the items in his bill being: "five weeks diet to boat builder at six shillings per week." The post planted on the west side of the Brandywine to fasten the ferry rope was standing in 1827, but rope, windlass and boat had disappeared. About that same date, Mary Brown, a colored woman, kept a small store at the ford, sold cakes and beer, and for

a small sum would ferry passengers across the creek in a boat she poled across. John Chads' widow was living at the ford on the day of the battle of Brandywine, in the stone house already mentioned. Washington was in the field just above the ford on the morning of the battle reconnoitering, but was driven away by British cannon balls. Several of the farm houses in the section showed for many years the effects of the battle fought in that hitherto peaceful section, September 11, 1777, and several of the spots of especial interest have been marked by tablets, by the societies interested in their preservation.

Chadds Ford, now the principal village of the township, is located on the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, at the old ford, thirty miles from Philadelphia and twelve miles from Media. Schools are located in Birmingham at different points, best to accommodate the rural character of the population. They are known as Kaolin or No. 1 school; Chadd's Ford, or No. 2; Gilpin's or No. 3; Smith Bridge, No. 4. The old octagon school house is near the present Kaolin school. Churches exist in the township, all the principal denominations being represented, St. Luke's Episcopal being located in Chadds Ford village. The population of the township in 1910 was 702.

There are two historic buildings in Birmingham. Washington's Headquarters, a building of stone, two stories, used by Washington as his headquarters during the battle of Brandywine, was built in 1731, by Thomas G. Clark, and was owned at the time of the battle by Benjamin Ring. There are several stories connected with the ancient building, one of which is that the first time an American flag ever floated from the house was during the battle of Brandywine, when the Stars and Stripes were flung from an open window and hung there all through the fight. Another is, that while the battle was raging, Benjamin Ring stood on the porch watching the fray. Bullets were flying all around and Ring was advised to go into the house for protection, but answered, "I always put my trust in the Lord." Just at that moment a round shot struck at his feet. Tradition makes no reference to the revocation of his trust, simply recording the fact that he fled to the wine-cellar. Here Benjamin Ring conducted a tavern, his application for a license being granted in 1800 and refused in 1802. The following year his son Joshua was granted a license, the hotel having the name of "The United States Arms" in 1805. Its career as a hostelry ended in 1807. Extensive repairs were made in 1829, although the interior of the east side remains as it was at the time of the battle.

The house to which General Lafayette was carried after being wounded in the battle of Brandywine, was built in 1745 by a member of the Gilpin family. Before being carried into the house, the General was laid under a large sycamore tree at the side of the building, and after partially recovering his strength was taken within. The sycamore, which was large at the time, is now a massive tree, its wide-stretching branches capable of offering shade and shelter to a hundred wounded soldiers. Upon revisiting America under much more pleasant and more peaceful conditions than on his previous visit, General Lafayette called on Gideon Gilpin, who owned the property at the time of the

battle and who had made his home an asylum for the French nobleman. At this time Mr. Gilpin, a very old man, was confined to his bed, but was very much pleased at the call, the General pressing his hand cordially and wishing him every blessing. The house mentioned stands on the Baltimore turnpike, east of Chadd's Ford, south of the Gilpin school-house, and not far east of the house on the same road which served as Washington's headquarters.

Chester Township.—The original district comprised in Chester township, included the city of Chester, as now constituted and the borough of Upland. As now constituted it consists of the territory lying between those places and the townships of Upper Chichester, Aston, Middletown and Nether Providence. Chester township was one of the first municipal districts erected after Penn's first visit to the Province in 1682, when he divided the territory into counties. Chester creek crosses the township from west to east, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore and the Baltimore & Ohio railroads also cross, the former following the line of the creek from Morgan station to Upland station, the latter road touching only the southern point of the township. The schools are Franklin School in the extreme south, and Washington School at Brookhaven. The population in 1910 was 615. The history of the county, principally comprised in the city of Chester and borough of Upland, will more fully be told in connection with those places, and in the chapter on educational institutions, manufacturing and churches.

Upland Borough.—The first mills erected in the municipal district now known as the borough of Upland, were also the first mills erected in Pennsylvania; after the territory passed to the ownership of William Penn. It was in connection with the mills of Upland that John P. Crozer came into prominence, and it is within the limits of the borough that Crozer Theological Seminary is located, an institution established by the Crozer family in 1868, as a memorial to their father. Crozer Home for Incurables is also a monument to the generous humanity of the Crozers. Upland station, on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, is situated within the limits of the city of Chester, no steam railroad entering the borough limits. Two public schools of modern character are located in the borough, while both the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal denominations have houses of worship. The grist mills that have for so long been the life of the borough, are still a great source of prosperity. The borough is a favorite resident section, its proximity to Chester and Philadelphia rendering it a most desirable abode. It was created a borough May 24, 1869, being then a most prosperous village. In 1910 the population was 2221.

The oldest building in Pennsylvania is the Pusey House at Upland, yet preserved as a relic of the long ago, and in almost the same form as when built by Caleb Pusey, whose name is inseparably connected with Chester Mills, although long before his death he had parted with all his interests in the land and business. He died in February, 1726-27. He was a last maker by trade, and emigrated from England in 1682 with his wife Ann, settling at the present site of Upland. The old house bearing his name is on the north side

of the mill race; is about thirty feet in length, fifteen feet in breadth, one story, with hipped roof. The thick walls are of stone and brick, while the floor is of broad solid oak planking. The brick part of the wall was evidently put there to take the place of stones which had fallen out. The bricks in the eastern gable it is said were placed there after Chester Mills had become the property of Samuel Shaw, who repaired the house. A low doorway gives admission to the room; the low ceilings and the heavy beams above still disclose the marks of the axe which hewed the timber into form more than two centuries ago. A stepladder enclosed in a rude gangway gives access to the garret. There is the old widemouthed fireplace (now enclosed) before whose hearth sat the sedate Penn with his trusted agent, Caleb Pusey, discussing the prospects of their business enterprises and forming plans for the future good of the colony.

South Chester Borough.—Originally part of Chester township and now part of the city of Chester, South Chester was in its separate form a busy hive of manufacturing industry. As part of Chester it now constitutes an important part of the wealth and prosperity of that city. On April 15, 1869, the legislature created the District of Lamokin, and March 12, 1870, passed an act providing "that the district of Lamokin in the county of Delaware, together with two certain tracts of land, each containing about twenty acres, lying adjacent to the said district * * * be and the same is constituted a borough * * * with the name style and title of the Borough of South Chester in the County of Delaware." The first burgess was Thomas J. Clayton, elected in April, 1870, when the first vote cast by a colored man in the state of Pennsylvania was cast at the first borough election held in South Chester, by William Henry Cooper. In 1879 the town hall was erected, and dedicated October 27, of that year. Churches, schools and mills of South Chester are treated in separate chapters. In 1897 the borough gave up its separate corporate existence and became a part of the city of Chester and now constitutes the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Wards.

The first fire company in the borough was the Felton Fire Company, organized in 1882, which the same year erected at a cost of $3,000 a brick fire house between Morton and Feffrey streets. The first newspapers were the South Chester News, established by W. Warren Webb, March 23, 1883. The Plain Speaker was established August 1, 1883, by Olin T. Pancoast.

North Chester Borough.—This borough, created by act of legislature, March 14, 1873, included the villages of Paultown, Powhattan, Waterville and Shoemakerville, "beginning at the intersection of the boundary lines of the city of Chester, the borough of Upland and the township of Chester," the line continuing "along the northeastern boundary of the said borough of Upland," following the line of Chester creek to the northern boundary of the city of Chester. The upper part of the borough was part of the 184½ acres surveyed to James Sandelands, December 2, 1685. At the southeastern end of the borough, December 18, 1685, 197 acres were surveyed to Eusta Anderson, the greater part not in the borough, the part that was included being known

as Powhattan, because of the mills of that name erected there. At the time of the erection of the borough, Powhattan Mills and Irvington Mills were in successful operation, Chester Rural Cemetery also being within its limits. The first election for burgess and council was held March 29, 1873; John M. Sharpless, the first elected burgess, declining to serve, Henry L. Powell of the council was chosen to act in his stead. North Chester continued its separate borough existence until 1888, when it was consolidated with the city of Chester, and is now known as the First Ward.

Upper Chichester Township.—In the early days of the province of Pennsylvania the term Chichester was used to indicate that part of Chester county now known as Upper and Lower Chichester townships. Chichester had been surveyed prior to 1686, and at the October court of that year the justices ordered "that the township of Chichester extend its bounds as formerly laid out by Charles Ashcom until further order." The peculiar western line, which separates Upper Chichester from Bethel township, was run to conform to the lines of the tracts surveyed to the early settlers and certainly a more irregular line it would be difficult to lay out.

Among the earliest settlers was Walter Martin, founder of St. Martin's Church. Adjoining his land to the east were 250 acres surveyed to Jeremiah Collett, June 16, 1682. The latter was an earnest churchman, and by will devised a certain sum of money for the support of the rector of St. Martin's Church. Other settlers came in rapid succession; roads were built; churches, schools and mills followed; and the routine of a prosperous rural township constitutes the history of Upper Chichester. The water courses are Naaman's creek, its east and west branches, and Marcus Hook creek; good roads prevail, and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad crosses the township with stations at Twin Oaks, Boothwyn and Ogden. The public schools are excellent, being known as Larkin or No. 3, Twin Oaks or No. 2, Boothwyn or No. 1. Two Friends' Meetings exist in the township; the Presbyterian and Methodist, also having places of worship. The population in 1910 was 671. The villages are Boothwyn, population about 125; Twin Oaks and Ogden Station (Hance P. O.)

Lower Chichester.—This township includes that part of Chester county lying between Upper Chichester and the Delaware river, including the now borough of Marcus Hook. The division was made early in 1700, the Lower township being part of the grant made by Queen Christiana of Sweden to her subjects on the Delaware, the remaining part of Lower Chichester being patented by Gov. Andros, March 28, 1679, to Charles Jansen, Olle Rawson, Olle Nielson, Hans Hopman, John Hendrickson and Hans Olsen, the tract containing 1,000 acres. The principal history of the township centres in the present borough of Marcus Hook. The Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad crosses the township, with stations at Trainer and Linwood, trolley lines connecting with the Chester systems of transportation. A grammar school near Trainer, and the Rockhills school, constitute the public school system of the township outside of Mar-

cus Hook, there also being a Methodist Episcopal church near the Grammar school. The population in 1910 was 1250.

Borough of Marcus Hook.—At Upland court, in 1678, a record appears acknowledging from Hans Ollsen a deed to William Clayton, for all his land, "right and interest of & to his houses and appurtenances Lying and being all Marretties hooke." In 1682 the ancient name of Marcus Hook was changed by an order of Upland court to Chichester, and for many years the latter name was born in legal documents, but the popular name was so fixed in the public that it would not accept the new name and the village retained the old name Marcus Hook in spite of legislation and executive power. After the coming of Penn in 1682, Marcus Hook grew rapidly, becoming a formidable rival of Chester, the two towns being about equal in size in 1708, each consisting of about one hundred houses. Pirates at an early day came to Marcus Hook, a record of the Provincial Council stating that Gov. Keith in 1716 called their attention to "the great losses which the colony had already sustained beyond any of its neighbors, by our Trade's being blocked up and infested with pirates at the Capes of this river and bay." He further informed them "that one Trench, a noted pirate who has done the greatest mischief of any to this place, has been lurking for some days at this town."

At a meeting of the council at Philadelphia, at which Gov. Markham presided, the minutes show that the town was granted permission to hold "a weeklye market on friday's to be kept in broad st as is desired." Penn seven months later granted a full charter to Marcus Hook as a market town, with all rights and privileges fully set forth. Boat building was an important industry, Peter Kahn, a Swedish naturalist, recording: "they build here every year a number of small ships for sale, and from an iron work which lies higher up in the country, they carry iron bars to this place and ship them." In 1753, William Howell, of Marcus Hook, was a leading shipwright. The ancient town continued prominent in shipbuilding until the larger vessels required, were beyond the capital or plants of the yards, which restricted the industry in Marcus Hook to small coasting and river craft. The industry gradually died out, although as late as 1884, Samuel J. Barton launched a large schooner from his yards. William Cranston and Simon Sherlock were noted ship builders.

The wooden piers of Marcus Hook were erected by the state of Pennsylvania, prior to the Revolution. In 1785, Philadelphia merchants memorialized the state government, praying for construction of new piers along the Delaware in the interest of the commercial supremacy of that city. This agitation resulted in the construction of piers at Marcus Hook. April 18, 1893, Marcus Hook was incorporated a borough, Samuel Vernon being elected the first burgess; Henry A. Lewis is the present incumbent. The United States Pipe Line enters the borough, which is the seat of a large refining interest. The principal plants are the Pure Oil Company, Sun Oil Company, Union Petroleum Company, Atlantic Refining Company, A. K. Knabb & Co., (barrel factory), American Viscose Company (artificial silk), Hardwood Package Company

(barrels). The Episcopal, Baptist and Methodist Episcopal churches all have houses of worship in the borough, there also being an African Methodist Episcopal church. St. Martin's, the Episcopal church, owes its first land to Walter Martin, an embittered Quaker, who donated an acre and one perch of ground for a church and burial place for the inhabitants of Chichester (Marcus Hook), "Quakers and reputed Quakers only excepted." The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Improved Order of Red Men, Knights of Pythias, and Modern Woodmen, all have lodges, and an excellent public school system is maintained. The State Quarantine Station formerly existing on Tinicum Island, has been in recent years established and is still maintained in Marcus Hook. The Marcus Hook Fire Company is the strong defense of the borough against the fire fiend, and has done excellent service whenever called upon. The population of the borough in 1910 was 1573.

Concord Township.—This township, the largest in Delaware county, is first mentioned in the records of a court "held at Chester, on the 27th of the 4th month called June, 1683," when John Mendenhall was appointed constable for "Concord liberty." A small part of the township in the south, borders the state of Delaware, the other boundaries being Bethel, Birmingham, Thornbury and Aston townships. The township was laid out in rectangular form, and a road exactly in the middle, called Concord street, ran from Bethel on the south to Thornbury on the north. This street laid out in 1682 does not appear ever to have been opened to public travel. Elam road crosses the township from Elam post office, continuing on to Chester Heights, in Aston. The Baltimore turnpike also crosses Concord, as does the Central division of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad. Numerous creeks traverse the township.

Early surveys were made to William Beazer, March 29, 1683, which a little later passed to William Cloud, 300 acres; to John Beal, 200 acres the same year; to John Haselgrove, 500 acres, October 12, 1683. Above Concordville, John Lee received a patent, December 3, 1701, for 152 acres; John Mendenhall purchased 300 acres June 27, 1684, on which Concord Friends' Meeting House was built, Mendenhall donating the land. A tract of 200 acres surveyed to William Byers passed in 1693 to Nicholas Pyle, who settled in the township in 1686. He was active in the early milling industry, served six years in the assembly, and was an important factor in the pioneer settlement. Another of the early settlers was Nicholas Newlin, reputed as very wealthy, a nobleman by descent, being one of the De Newlands who came over with the Conqueror. Although of English family, he came to this country from county Tyrone, Ireland. He was a member of the Provincial Council and a justice of the courts. His son Nicholas, a man of education and means, accompanied his father to Pennsylvania, being then twenty-four years of age. In 1698 he was a member of assembly, serving also during other years. He was one of the proprietaries, commissioners of property, a justice of the courts, and one of the commissioners of the loan office from 1722 until his death. A list of taxables, dated 1715, re-

veals the following settlers: Nathanial Newlin Jr., Nicholas Pyle for ye mill, James Claniston, Nathaniel Newlin Sr., Joseph Cloud, Henry Oburn, John Palmer, John Palmer Jr., Goodwin Walter, George Robinson, Jacob Pyle, Ralph Pyle, Henry Peirce, Matthias Carle, Ralph Evenson, James Heaved, William Ammett, Thomas Smith, John Lee, Robert Chamberlin, Robert Chamberlin Jr., Thomas West, William Hill, Morgan Jones, Thomas Durnall, George Lee, Daniel Evans, Joseph Nicklin, John Hannum, Benjamin Mendenhall, John Mendenhall, John Newlin, Joseph Edwards, Thomas Broom, William fforde, ffrancis Pulin, John Penneck, James Chiffers, John Hackney, Christopher Penock. Freemen: Caleb Pearkins, Richard ffar, Peter Poulson, John Pennock, John Egram, Henry Jones, Thomas Ealthan. Each successive year showed an increase of settlers and wealth, the census of 1910 showing a population of 1213. The schools, churches, mills and military of the township are treated elsewhere.

The villages of the township are Ivy Mills, Concordville, Ward and Elam, the largest being Concordville, with a population of about 300. A noted family of the township is the Willcox, founded in 1718 by Thomas Willcox and his wife Elizabeth Cole, who settled on the west branch of Chester creek, in Concord. Both he and his wife were members of the Roman Catholic faith, this being, it is asserted, the second Catholic family to settle in Philadelphia. The old Ivy paper mill, with which the family was so intimately connected, was founded by Thomas Willcox, and was the second paper mill built in this state, the first having been the Rittenhouse mill on the Wissahickon. This is the oldest business house now standing in the United States. It has had intimate relations not only with Franklin Carey and all the principal printing houses of the last century, but with the colonial authorities for forty years preceding the Revolution, issuing all their money, did business with the authorities of the Revolutionary period and with the United States government ever since, all in the line of its regular business as manufacturers of printing, currency and security papers. The Old Ivy mill, after standing one hundred years, was torn down in greater part and rebuilt by a grandson of the founder, James M. Willcox. Two men, the founder and his son, (Judge) Mark Willcox, conducted the mill ninety-eight years. It was then continued by James M. Willcox, who doubled its capacity, and with improved machinery, continuing with bank-note paper a specialty. For a long period not only were the banks of the United States supplied with their paper from the Ivy Mill, but its lofts were at times piled with peculiar looking paper of various tints, bearing ingrained watermarks of most of the governments and banks of South America. James M. Willcox built Glen Mills No. 1 and 2, and also maintained his commercial house in Philadelphia. He took his sons Mark and William into partnership, and March 3, 1852, he retired, leaving his business to his sons, and died unexpectedly before the following morning. He is buried with his father, grandfather and many descendants, in the old family burying ground at Ivy Mills. The sons continued the business, meeting the

great demand made upon them during the civil war for bank-note paper. Later they manufactured in a costly mill the peculiar paper used by the Treasury department in their bank note issues, but patented by the Willcox house. This "localized fibre" paper, made at the Glen Mills, attained not only a national but world-wide reputation, it making counterfeiting impossible. For ten years the mills were jealously guarded by United States secret service men and forty employees of the Treasury department, to see that no scrap of the paper should reach any but its intended use. During that period, not a sheet out of the millions made was lost or missed; not a counterfeit on any treasury note or bond of the issue or series that began on that paper; and when in 1878 Secretary John Sherman removed the place of manufacture of government paper, the paper account at Glen Mills balanced and a clear quittance was given. The old Ivy Mill is now a picturesque ruin, but it played an important part in Concord township history and will ever be an interesting relic.

Darby Township.—This township was settled soon after the coming of Penn, being recognized as a place of permanent settlement in 1683. In 1684, Darby Friends' Meeting had been established, the members meeting at the house of John Blunston. In the same year the first official record of Darby appears in the list of collectors, "to gather the assessments for the building of the court-house." Thomas Worth and Joshua Fearne were appointed "for Darby," Mons Stacker and William Cobb for "Amosland and Calcoone Hook." The latter was recognized as a separate municipal district until 1686, when it was made a part of Darby township, and Amosland annexed to Ridley. Calcon or Calkoens Hook comprised all the territory between Cobb's creek on the east, and Muckiniattas creek on the west, but later became restricted to a lesser area. A patent was issued June 18, 1668, by Governor Lovelace to Israel Helme, Hendrick Jacobson, Ole Kock and Jan Minsterman, that included almost all the land in the township south of the Queen's Highway and west of a line drawn due south from the toll gate on that road. This great area of land is now covered with the buildings constituting several thriving boroughs, making the former farms appear like one continuous settlement, a present map of that section of old Darby township reveals but a small area left under township government. After the Revolution, Upper Darby was set off as a separate township, and in that district are also now several thriving boroughs. In 1747, the township was divided by authority of a township meeting, for every purpose except the support of the poor, the permanent total division occurring in 1786. The mills at Darby were built about 1695 or 1696, and are mentioned as "three water grist mills and a fulling mill." The mills, schools and churches of the township will be found in separate chapters on these subjects.

The Queen's Highway, the Southern post road from Darby to Chester, was laid out in 1706, and caused a great deal of bitter feeling against the commissioners for the manner in which it was surveyed. One of these men, Jasper Yeates, was accussed of having the road enter Chester at the point it did,

to the benefit of his own and his father-in-law's estate. "God and Nature," it was asserted, "intended the road to cross directly across the creek, but the Devil and Jasper Yeates took it where it was located." On this highway Washington marched his army on Sunday, August 24, 1777, moving southward to give battle to Howe at Brandywine, and over it on the following September 12 the beaten Americans "poured through Darby on their way to Philadelphia." On December 22, Howe with 7000 troops camped on Darby Heights, and during the entire time the British remained in Philadelphia, Darby township suffered excessively from the spoliation of the soldiers foraging, especially the Friends. The latter never made claim for their losses, so they cannot be stated. Other claims from the inhabitants of both Upper and Lower townships aggregated £1475. The population of the township in 1910 was 1763.

Darby Borough.—After the establishment of mills, Darby soon became a centre, although there is no direct mention of Darby Village until 1773, although Darbytown is mentioned in 1698. About the year 1800, the place is thus described: "Darby is situated about seven and a half miles from Philadelphia, on the east side of the creek of the same name that empties into the Delaware a little above Chester. It contains about fifty or sixty houses, and has a Friends' meeting house." In 1836 the Upland Union, published a description of the borough and villages of Delaware county: "Darby is next in importance to Chester. It is on the southern great road about seven miles from Philadelphia by a good turnpike. It contains a Friends' Meeting House, Mt. Zion Methodist Church, a lyceum, a library company, a printing office, four public houses, three stores, a cotton factory, a post office and about sixty dwelling houses, and many elegant dwellings on the Haverford road." The village prospered and grew, retaining its village government until May 3, 1853, when it was incorporated a borough. On the third Friday in May following the date of incorporation, an election was held, William Jones being elected the first burgess.

An institution of which special mention is a pleasure, is the Darby Library Company, founded May 1, 1743. Twenty-nine persons founded the library by signing articles of agreement and effected an organization. These articles required each person in the copartnership to pay on becoming a member, twenty shillings to a person who should be appointed to receive the money and purchase books for a library, and also annually thereafter to pay five shillings "for and towards the purchasing of such books and the necessary expenses of the Library as two thirds of the Company shall direct." Proper rules and regulations were provided, and the Library started on its useful prosperous career. Many valuable books were donated and many purchased, the earlier purchases being made in England. No effort was made to erect their own library building until January, 1795, when a committee was appointed, their report being that they could not obtain a suitable lot "at a price that would possibly do." In 1872 a successful effort was made to purchase a lot and

erect a suitable building. The cost of lot and buildings was about $10,000, and on March 29, 1876, the building was dedicated.

Another ancient association is Darby Fire Company, organized January 27, 1775, by the active male adults of the village. It is set forth in the articles of association that each subscriber, "for the better preservation of our own and neighbors' houses, goods and effects from fire, would at his own proper charge provide two leathern buckets, to be marked with his own name and respective Company, and shall be kept ready at hand and applied to no other use than preserving our own and neighbors houses, goods and effects." Any neglect of this agreement subjected the member so offending to a fine of five shillings. A sufficient sum was contributed to purchase ladders that were forbidden to be used for any but fire purposes, and only then by members of the company. A fine of five shillings was imposed on all members who failed to attend at a fire occurring on the premises of one of the company, unless a reasonable excuse could be given; a member refusing to pay his fines, his name was erased from the roll and he was excluded from all rights and forfeited all interest in the ladders and other property of the company. The articles of agreement, "presented by Zachariah Poulson Jr., 106 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, 1796," concluded: "XI. Lastly, that upon the death of any of our company, the survivors shall, in time of danger as aforesaid, be aiding and assisting to the widow of such deceased, during her widowhood, as if her husband had been living, she only keeping the buckets in repair and causing them to be sent to every fire as aforesaid." The company existed as a volunteer company until 1871, ninety-six years, when it gave way to a paid fire department instituted November 6, 1871, by the borough officers, who elected Enos Verlenden chief engineer. On January 1, 1871, a room was rented at the mills of Verlenden Brothers, and the "old Machine" laid away after a half century of service.

Darby's banking institutions are the First National Bank, established in 1870, of which W. L. Verlenden is president, and G. W. Dwier, cashier; the Darby Trust Company, established 1912, Charles R. Lee, treasurer, O. L. Skilton, secretary. The Progress, a semi-weekly newspaper, Republican in politics, is edited by M. H. Magnin.

Famous old inns of Darby include: "The Ship," just licensed in 1735; "The Market Wagon" licensed in 1739; "The Blue Anchor," licensed in 1747.

Orphans' Rest Lodge No. 132, I. O. O. F., was instituted October 20, 1845. General Taylor Encampment, I. O. O. F., was chartered, January 29, 1847. Other modern fraternal orders also flourish in the borough. The population in 1910 was 2412.

Upper Darby Borough.—Upper Darby was created a separate township in 1786. Its northern boundary is Haverford township, Cobbs creek its eastern line, separating it from Philadelphia county, Darby creek, its western, Darby township its southern boundary. Settled originally by Friends, its history is one of prosperity and peace. At the southwestern limit of the township a tract of 150 acres was surveyed to John Blunston, July 12, 1683, to which

the name "Primos" was given. The name is still preserved in Primos station and post office, on the Baltimore Central railroad. Kelleyville was located on ground acquired by Richard Bonsall, March 1, 1697-1698. Garrettford, Fernwood, Arlington, Cardington, Pembroke, are also stations or post offices in the county, and several boroughs have also been formed on lands formerly owned by the old families of the township. Within its limits are also located: The Flower Observatory, Burd Orphan Asylum, Montrose, Arlington and Fernwood cemeteries. The township is traversed by steam and electric railways, and good wagon roads are the rule. The many mills, churches and schools of the two Darby townships, are fully described elsewhere.

The first society formed in the township was an abolition society organized prior to May 4, 1830, on which occasion George Sellers, Abram Powell, Dr. Caleb Ash, James Rhoads, Joseph Fussell, Joseph Rhoads, Saul Sellers Jr., Lewis Watkin, Nathan Sellers, John Sellers Jr., J. Morgan Bunting and William H. Bunting were appointed a committee to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia, May 17, 1830. The few members of the society continued to meet occasionally until the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln accomplished the object of its existence. Thomas Garrett, with pronounced anti-slavery views from his youth, was a fearless advocate of abolition not only in words but deeds, he having aided between three and four thousand slaves to escape. In May, 1870, at a great parade of colored people in Wilmington, Thomas Garrett, then eighty years of age, was taken in an open barouche through the streets of the city, a guard of honor bearing banners inscribed "Our Moses."

It is noted that the first use of gas in Delaware county for illuminating purposes was in 1853, in the spacious mansion erected by Christopher Fallon, on the south side of Garrettford road, west of the Darby and Haverford roads.

A remarkable case of longevity is cited in the case of Mrs. Mary Ash, who died March 24, 1862, aged ninety-seven years. She was the mother of sixteen children, surviving them all except two, her eldest and youngest, the latter being over sixty years of age at her mother's death. Mary Ash was twelve years of age when the battle of Brandywine was fought, and could remember that some of the American soldiers on the retreat to Philadelphia stopped at her father's house, there obtaining food and drink. She had lived in the house in which she died seventy-five years, and retained all her faculties until three days prior to her death. Population of Upper Darby in 1910 was 5385.

Edgemont Township.—Bordering on Chester county, encircled north, east and south by Newtown, Upper Providence, Middletown and Thornbury townships, Edgemont is almost entirely an agricultural community. Although possessing good water power on Ridley and Crum creeks, it was never developed to any extent. Good roads pass through the township, which possesses no large

villages or boroughs. The population, according to the census of 1910, was 525. The post offices of the townships are Gradyville and Edgemont. "Edgemont Great Road," the early name of the highway from Chester, crossing the township in a northwesterly direction, was laid out in 1687. There is a tradition that Henry Hollingsworth, the surveyor, caused an apple tree to be planted at the end of every mile; being at odds with Richard Crosby, he planted no tree at the mile end opposite the latter's farm. During the Revolution the township suffered repeated losses from the scouting parties of both armies, the losses as filed in a claim against the government, amounting to £504.

On Crum creek, where the West Chester road crosses, was the tract of 240 acres laid out to Samuel Bradshaw, April 10, 1682. Part of this estate is known as "Castle Rock," because of the cluster of peculiar rocks, rising in confusion, boulder upon boulder, to the height of two hundred feet. This rocky formation, pierced through and through with fissures and caverns, is a remarkable natural curiosity.

Among the early landowners were Joseph and Mary Baker, whose descendants are numerous in Delaware and Chester counties. He represented Delaware county in the Provincial Assembly, and died in 1716. Philip Yarnall, with his brother Francis, came from Worcestershire, England, first settling in Springfield township, and for several years they were members of Darby Friends' Meeting. Francis married Hannah Baker, of Edgemont, and purchased 510 acres adjoining Edgemont line in Chester county. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly, and died in 1731. His son Mordecai was a noted preacher among Friends; Peter, a grandson, studied medicine, entered the army and sailed as surgeon's mate on the privateer "Delaware" during the Revolution. He subsequently became a noted Quaker preacher. Philip Yarnall married Dorothy Baker, in 1694, and purchased 480 acres in Edgemont, where he died in 1734, his wife in 1743, leaving ten children, founding the influential numerous Yarnall family. Ephraim Jackson came from England in 1687 and bought land south of Philip Yarnall. Robert Pennell, in 1691 and 1705, bought 500 acres north of Philip Yarnall. Other noted families of the township are the Lewis, Smedley, Eachus and Mendenhall.

Haverford Township.—This township, bordering Montgomery county joins south and west Upper Darby, Marple and Radnor townships, and lies wholly within the limits of the original "Welsh Tract." It was the second township settled by the Welsh in this tract, Merion in Montgomery being the first. Under a warrant from Penn, the Welsh Friends contemplated having their settlements together, intending them to constitute one municipal district, allowing them to manage their public affairs in their own way. Consequently, when the division line was run between Philadelphia and Chester counties, directly through the "Welsh Tract," thus separating the settlements of Haverford and Radnor from Merion, great dissatisfaction arose. No notice was taken of their complaint to Penn, but they steadfastly continued their refusal to recognize a division, and in the Provincial Coun-

cil and in the courts of Chester county, unsuccessfully battled for their rights. At the June court of 1689 the commission of William Howell, of Haverford, as a justice, was read and published, and "he did afterwards subscribe to the solemn declaration prepared by the 57th chapter of the great law of this province." At the same court, William Jenkins, of Haverford, served as a juror, and at the December court John Jerman was attested constable for Radnor. This was the first official recognition by the inhabitants of these townships that they were subject to the jurisdiction of Chester county, both of which later became part of the county of Delaware. The original lists of taxables in Haverford in the year 1693 is preserved, containing the names of John Bevan, William Howell, Morris Llewellin, Thomas Rees, William Lewis, John Richard, Humphrey Ellis, Ellis Ellis, Ralph Lewis, William Jenkins, Daniell Humphrey, David Lawrence, Lewis David, John Lewis, Henry Lewis, John Lewis, Junior, Richard Hayes, Benjamin Humphrey, William Howell for Tho. Owen, Richard Hayes for David Lewis, John Bevan for Evan Williams.

Haverford street or road was laid out in 1683, the Haverford and Darby road in 1687, and other roads later, as needed. The men who controlled the township in early days were the most prominent in the Tract and county, and are thus eulogized by Dr. George Smith:

> "It is even still more wonderful to see the large amounts that were appropriated to charitable purposes. This was particularly the case among Welsh Friends. Every reasonable want was attended to. If a newly arrived immigrant or a 'poor friend,' stood in need of a house, it was built for him; of a plow or a cow, he was provided with one. The fields of the sick and the weak were not allowed to remain uncultivated and their pecuniary wants and other necessities were liberally supplied. Nor was their care in these respects confined to their own little communities. Wherever suffering humanity was found, our Quaker ancestors were ever ready to contribute liberally to its relief."

The religious obligations of the Friends, composing the greater part of the population of the township, forbidding taking part in the war, did not prevent their actively aiding in the care of the sick and wounded soldiers or in performing many acts of kindness to the soldiers, and in some cases the saint was sunk in the patriot, and the term "fighting Quaker" was often correctly applied. In each succeeding year the population showed a goodly increase; improvement continued its steady march, the township ever maintaining a leading position in all departments of civil, business, religious and educational life. The population in 1910 is given as 3989, living in the many beautiful villages and on the fertile farms of the townships. Haverford College, founded, erected and controlled by Friends, is of special mention elsewhere. The principal post villages and stations of the township are: Llanerch, Beechwood Park, Grassland, Haverford, Ardmore Junction, Brookthorpe, Coopertown and Manoa. Steam and electric railroads traverse the township, bringing the rural population within easy and frequent communication with Philadelphia, a fact that has caused a wonderful increase in population and land values. In the southern corner

of the township the grounds of the Delaware County Country Club are located. The churches, schools and manufacturing of Haverford will be found in the chapters treating these subjects.

Marple Township.—This township adjoins Haverford on the west, separated from it by Darby creek. It is further bounded east, south, west and north by Springfield, Upper Providence, Newtown and Radnor townships. Marple is almost exclusively an agricultural township, its milling industries being principally the saw and grist mills, located on Darby and Crum creeks. The first mention of Marple occurs in the records of a Chester county court held "5th day of the Sixth month 1684," at which time Jonathan Hayes and James Stamfield were appointed tax collectors "for the publick aid of Marple," and at the same time Thomas Pearson was appointed "constable and supervisor for the highway for Marple." The great road of Marple, which enters the township at its southern boundary just above the Springfield meeting house, was laid out in 1683, and ran almost due north through the centre of the district, uniting with the West Chester road a short distance south of Newtown line. A list of the taxables of Marple in 1693, contains fifteen names—Jonathan Hayes, Peter Worrall, James Stamfield's estate, William Huntley, John Person, Thomas Person, Ralph Dralcutt, Geo. Williard, Thomas Marcy, John Howell, Josiah Taylor, David Morris, Henry Cadman, John Shaw and John Hoopes. Thomas "Person," mentioned in the list, is the Thomas Pierson (Pearson) who tradition states came in the "Welcome" with Penn, and on whose suggestion the name Upland was changed to Chester. Margaret, wife of Thomas Pierson, John, his brother, and Mary Smith, his sister, came from England in the "Endeavour" in September, 1683, nearly a year after Penn's arrival. Sarah Pierson, daughter of Thomas, married John West, they becoming the parents of Benjamin West, the famous American artist. Peter Worrall (Worrell, Worrall) was a tanner from Berkshire, England. Jonathan Hayes, the largest land owner in the township, was a member of assembly in 1689, and a justice in 1703-11. In 1715 he was murdered by Henry Pugh, a millwright, and Lazarus Thomas, a laborer. The trial of his assassins is the first case of homicide known in the records of Chester county. Although Marple during the Revolution was removed in a great measure from the din of war, British foraging parties and their Tory allies caused a loss to the residents that is partly shown in the bill for damages, amounting to £217.

A small settlement known as Marple post office is on the line of Marple and Springfield townships. Prior to 1831 a store was kept there by William Edwards, and in 1849 E. R. Curtis, who established a store there in 1831, was appointed postmaster, a position he was still holding thirty-five years later. Broomall post office, in the northern part of the township, contains a stone dwelling built in 1798 by Hugh and Rebecca Lownes. It was a licensed house in 1800, known as the "Drove Tavern," kept by David Reed. About 1832 a store was established at the crossroads by Isaac Haldeman. In 1868 a post office was established and named Broomall in honor of John M. Broomall,

then member of Congress from the Seventh District. George Essey was the first postmaster. Foxcroft, a station on the Philadelphia & Delaware County railroad, is in the extreme northern part of the township on the Haverford line. The population of Marple in 1910 was 895.

Borough of Media.—One hundred and sixty-eight years prior to the location of the village of Media, Peter and William Taylor, brothers, bought of William Penn, yet in England, 1250 acres of land in the province of Pennsylvania at a price averaging ten and a quarter cents per acre; 700 acres of this land was taken up on the exact location of Media, Peter taking 400, and William 300 acres, the balance of their purchase being located elsewhere. The brothers came from England early in 1682. William lived upon his estate until his death, January 6, 1683, surviving his wife's death but three days. Peter Taylor married Sarah, daughter of John Houlston, a neighboring settler, and moved to East Caln township, Chester county, where 500 acres of their original purchase had been located. The Taylor land passed to other hands and was used for agricultural purposes, although at the time of the removal of the county seat from Chester in 1848 there were twelve buildings included in the present borough, including the old almshouse and the house of Peter Worrall, which was a tavern. The original name of the village, Providence, was changed to Media at a meeting held at the Providence Inn, January 10, 1850. It is an interesting fact that Gen. Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican war, and president of the United States, was a lineal descendant of Peter Taylor, original owner of the land upon which Media stands.

The agitation over the removal of the county seat began at a meeting held at "Black Horse Tavern," in Middletown township, and continued with bitterness in the county and legislature until the signature of Gov. Shunk was finally affixed to a bill authorizing the removal, passed by the house January 19, 1848, by the senate March 30, and signed by the governor April 7, following.

The first sale of building lots in Providence (Media) of which Joseph Fox had completed the survey and plat July 26, 1849, was held by the county commissioners, Monday, September 17, 1849, they having purchased a tract of forty-eight acres from Mrs. Sarah Briggs. Seventy lots were sold, realizing a sum of $7580, but $180 less than the sum they had paid Mrs. Briggs for the entire forty-eight acres, leaving one hundred and thirty-four lots still in their hands. The commissioners making the purchase and conducting the sale were Edmund Pennell, Mark Bartleson and Caleb J. Hoopes. The purchaser of lots Nos. 1 and 2 was Dr. George Smith, the price paid $3 per front foot. Other purchasers in rotation were Gideon Miles, one lot; Jacob Smedley, three; William Jones, two; J. Morgan Hunter, two; Minshall Painter, eight; Joseph Hood, one; Capt. William Apple, two; Isaac Taylor, one; Isaac Haldeman, three; Geo. Smedley, two; John Miller, three; James Edwards, two; J. T. Hawkins, one, and John C. Beatty, one. Other buyers recorded were: John Hardcastle, William Smedley, Phelin Campbell, Abram Pennell, James Smith, Thomas Pratt, Isaac C. Malin, Charles Palmer, Henry Bowen, Thomas Inman, Isaac S. Williams, Jabez Lawson, James Pennell and John

Hill. Large reservations had been made for the court house, jail and a market house. The lots were twenty feet front, one hundred and seventy feet in length. At a second sale, October 15, forty more lots were sold, and the same day the Briggs farmhouse and barn were purchased. After the first and second sale of lots, the increase in the value of surrounding property was so marked that it became expedient to sell the ground upon which the old almshouse stood, particularly as the buildings were old and not well adapted to their purpose. The old structure was bought by a Mr. Primrose, of Philadelphia, who sold it to David Milne, another Philadelphian, who converted it into lodgings for a large number of colored families. The place soon became known as the "Continental."

The first building erected after the act of removal, was a fine brick store, located at the northeast corner of State street and South avenue, built by John C. Beatty, who commenced it in the fall of 1849, finishing it early the following spring. The lower story was occupied as a dry goods and grocery store by Ellis Smedley; the upper story, finished as a hall, was dedicated to the cause of temperance, February 16, 1850. Other buildings were in course of erection before the Beatty store was finished, and soon the locality began to take on the appearance of a busy town. On Friday, June 20, 1851, the first fire occurred in the infant village, Peter Hill's shingle factory, which stood not far from the bridge over Ridley creek, on the Black Horse road, being destroyed, with a considerable quantity of lumber.

Early in the history of the borough, stage lines to outside points were established, and in August, 1851, Walter C. Brodhead thus advertised in the Delaware County Republican. "For Media—Mr. Brodhead, the accommodating proprietor of the line of stages between this borough and Media, will place extra coaches on the route during the session of court. A capacious four-horse omnibus will leave the depot at half past eight o'clock in the morning." This line was continued until the opening of the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad. In August, 1852, a telegraph line was run through Media, although a local office was not at once established.

Various improvements were inaugurated at this time, all tending to increase the prosperity and beauty of the town. Early in 1853, John C. Beatty bought from the Thomas estate eleven acres partly within the town limits, and in August bought of the directors of the Poor and House of Employment, forty acres attached to the poorhouse property and lying south of State street. This he divided into building lots. The movement for church organization had already commenced, and the Presbyterian church was afterward erected on this tract. Early in 1853, Isaac Haldeman began the erection of a large store and dwelling on the northwest corner of State and Lemon streets. The same year a fine residence and bakery were erected on the opposite corner by David Middletown. Near Sandy Bank, Nathan G. Shaw also erected a handsome dwelling. By midsummer of 1853 there were seventy dwellings in the borough, fifty-seven of which had been erected after the town site had been surveyed. Four more houses were in course of construction and

eight were under contract to be built in the fall; the court-house, jail and Charter House were finished; a school-house, blacksmith shop and coachmaker's shop also had been erected; all this having been accomplished, in less than four years. In 1854 the spirit of improvement increased wonderfully. The Media Loan and Building Association was organized; the Methodist, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches were built or started. Preparations were made also for the erection of Brooke Hall and Gayley's Academy, (subsequently the Sanitarium), and the building of private houses kept pace with public improvement. Thomas Pratt erected five brick houses northeast of Olive street, and in partnership with Jesse Bishop built the five original offices on the western side of South avenue. Abram P. Smedley put up the handsome three-story brick building in which he afterwards lived, and other buildings were added to the growing town. In the meantime an ordinance was passed forbidding the erection of frame buildings within the borough, a wise precaution, resulting in solid improvement and lessening fire risk. In the years intervening, Media has grown and prospered until it is one of Delaware county's most beautiful and desirable residence sections. Steam and electric roads connect it with the great city, while its freedom from all licensed drinking resorts has resulted in a much to be commended moral tone.

As a borough, Media has existed since March 10, 1850, when the bill introduced by James J. Lewis, representative from Delaware county, was passed by the senate March 30, and received the governor's signature April 7 following. At preliminary meetings asking for incorporation as a borough, a resolution was adopted, prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits within its proposed limits. This brought on a fierce fight, and every individual was forced to take sides, either for or against. As finally passed, the bill contained the following prohibitory clause:

"It shall not be lawful for any person or persons to vend or sell vinous, spirituous or other intoxicating liquors within the limits of said borough, except for medicinal purposes; or for use in the arts; and it shall not be lawful for the court of Quarter Sessions to grant any license or licenses therefor to any inn or tavern in said borough. If any person or persons, shall within said borough, vend or sell or cause to be vended or sold, any vinous, spirituous, or other intoxicating liquors to any persons (except as provided for in this section) such person or persons, so vending or selling, shall be liable to indictment, and on conviction thereof shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, a sum of not less than twenty dollars, nor more than one hundred dollars at the discretion of the court: Provided—That it may be lawful for the Court of Quarter Sessions of said county to license inns or taverns in said borough without permission to vend or sell intoxicating drinks: And provided such license may be granted without the publication of any previous notice, as is required for other taverns."

As a direct result of this clause, the Charter House of Media was built, a place of happy entertainment for the "wayfarer and the stranger," and a monument to those zealous friends of temperance, who triumphed after a hard fight to make prohibition of the liquor traffic a part of the fundamental law of the borough. Only a few months after the incorporation of the borough, at a temperance harvest home held in Media, August 13, 1850,

Drawn by C P Tholey

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AT MEDIA.

Bowen & Co lith Philada

(From an engraving of 1862.)

it was resolved, at the suggestion of Rev. James W. Dale, to raise subscriptions to build a temperance hotel. The assemblage, one of the largest ever gathered in the county, flushed with their victory, responded liberally, and $4000 was at once subscribed. It was decided that the proposed hotel should commemorate their victory, bear the name of Charter House and should not cost over $5000. At a meeting held in Temperance Hall, September 9, 1850, of which John P. Crozer was chairman, John C. Beatty and Ellis Smedley, secretaries, the Charter House Association was organized, articles of government drawn up and subscribed to. The cost of the building was extended to $10,000, and the present site of the building agreed on. John Eves was on November 9th awarded the contract for constructing the house and outbuildings for the sum of $9,500, and pledged himself to have the building completed by August 1, 1851. The cornerstone was laid November 18 by Hon. Sketchley Morton. The fourth installment of subscriptions due to the Charter House Association was paid to Abraham Pennell, the treasurer, March 24, 1851, and up to that time but one person had repudiated his subscription. The house was finished May 1, and on June 18 was rented to D. Reese Hawkins at a rental of $600 per year, he to furnish the building. He moved in on Thursday, July 10, and opened the hotel for the accommodation of guests on the following Monday. With but two short intervals he retained the management of the hotel until 1871. There has been a succession of landlords since, but the Charter House has always borne an excellent reputation, and under its present landlord, Walter S. Westcott, (treasurer of Delaware county,) it has become exceedingly popular and well patronized. The history of the Charter House is a sufficient answer to the charge that a hotel cannot be successfully maintained without a bar for the sale of liquor.

The Court House and Jail.—The county commissioners, after the act of removal, which became a law April 7, 1848, at once began to provide the necessary public buildings for the new county seat. The site was decided upon May 15, and an offer of $50 made for an acceptable plan for a court-house and jail. The plan adopted June 18 was prepared by Mr. Sloan, of Philadelphia, the estimated cost of the court-house being $15,000. On August 28 the commissioners awarded the contract to Joseph Esrey, John Williamson and Joseph Lawson for the erection of both court-house and jail, for the sum of $32,000. Work was at once begun, the cornerstone laid September 24, 1849, and May 1, 1851, the court-house was pronounced finished, though it was yet too damp for occupancy. At the last term of court held in Chester, which convened May 26, 1851, official notice of the completion of the court-house and jail was given in these words: The commissioners reported to the court that the county buildings at Media were completed and ready for occupancy and the court ordered the following minute to be entered upon the record: "May 29, 1851—The Court of Common Pleas of Delaware Co., are satisfied that the Buildings, to wit—New Jail, Court House and Public Offices in the Borough of Media are fully completed according to the true intent and meaning of the act of the

Legislature entitled an Act concerning the removal of the Seat of Justice of Delaware County. Approved the 3rd day of March, 1847." After the close of this term of court, the last to be held in the old court house in Chester, the Delaware County Republican said in alluding to the change: "The next term will be held at Media, an order having been issued by the court to remove the records and other property to the new county seat prior to August. Our ancient borough, which had been the Seat of Justice from the time of the Swedes will never again we suppose be visited by the hurry, bustle and commotion of Court Week."

The records were all moved to Media and safely housed in the new building, the work begun on Monday, June 16, being finished the following Wednesday, the prisoners from the Chester jail also having been placed in their new quarters. The bell, of Philadelphia manufacture, was received August 12, but was not placed in position in time to announce the opening of the first court held in Media, which opened August 25, 1851. The business of the term was opened by President Judge Henry Chapman, aided by Associate Judges Joseph Engle and George G. Leiper. The first case tried was that of John R. Bergen, indicted for keeping a tippling house. He was found guilty and fined $30 with costs of prosecution.

The first attorney to locate in Media was Ezra Lewis, who located in 1850; he was followed soon after by Charles D. Manley, Edward Darlington, Joseph R. Morris, and Samuel B. Thomas. The first lawyer admitted to the Delaware county bar, after the removal, was Thomas J. Clayton.

In 1870 it was found that the court-house was inadequate, and in 1871 two wings were added at a cost of $29,000. Other improvements were made as needed, but in 1913 the building is being greatly enlarged, changed so from its former appearance and so constructed as to meet the requirements of a modern court-house in both external appearance and internal arrangement.

There are many instances of escapes from the jail at Media, becoming so frequent that in 1868 improvements were made. An addition was built and cells to the number of forty provided, well ventilated and supposedly secure. In 1872, however, the commissioners found the jail defective in several particulars, and in 1877 extensive improvements were made. In 1878 a new building was erected adjoining the original jail, which has since proved a reasonably secure place of confinement.

The House of Employment, or County Poor House, was located at what is now Media, long before the town existed. The act creating it was passed February 13, 1804, a farm of 137 acres bought, and a poor house completed about 1807. The house was of stone, one hundred feet long by forty in width. A description of the institution written by Miss Dix in 1845 says:

"Several miles from Chester is a large stone building, clean, well kept and well directed. The provisions are good and sufficient and the food well prepared. Here were eighty-five inmates, the third week in October; of these but few were children. From twelve to fifteen are insane or idiotic; were clean and comfortable, with the

Drawn by C.P. Tholey.

DELAWARE COUNTY ALMS HOUSE.

Bowen & Co. lith. Philada

exception perhaps of wearing chains and hobbles. None were in close confinement, though such cases often occur. * * * The entire establishment seemed excellently conducted and but for the difficulty of managing the insane and idiotic would afford a quiet home for the aged and infirm."

The Directors of the Poor decided in April, 1854, to sell the House of Employment and property attached and to purchase the farm of Abram Pennell, in Middletown, which was done, and a new poor house finished in Middletown by April 1, 1857. The old house was torn down, and upon its site was erected the Haldeman House, later the home of Shortlidge's Boarding School.

Street improvement in Media has kept pace with other improvements, and in this particular, little more can be desired. With the era of better streets, the borough council also began taking steps to secure a sufficient supply of pure water. This work was first taken under consideration in 1853, resulting in the completion of a small system of water works in 1855. Extensions and improvements were made until 1871, when the Palmer Mill property on Ridley creek was purchased and a contract made with the Philadelphia Hydraulic Works Company for the erection of pumps, and a system of modern supply inaugurated. In addition to the new water works system begun in 1898 and finished in 1899 a twelve-inch pumping main was laid for a distance of two thousand feet connecting with other mains leading to the reservoir and stand pipe, which are located at the highest point in the town. A modern system of filtration is employed, and the highest authorities declare the purity of the water unsurpassed by the supply of any other municipality. So well known is the purity and quality of the water that Wallingford secured the passage of a legislation act enabling Media to supply that section with water, which has been done for the past twenty-eight years. Another main from the Media water works supplies South Media, Moylan and Rose Valley, also on the State road in Upper Providence township, a supply is furnished the residents. January 1, 1911, twenty-four acres belonging to the Lewis estate were purchased by the borough, thus insuring more perfect protection from contamination and providing a place for the erection of a modern setting basin in the future. In 1901, the borough council installed at the pumping station a modern municipal electric lighting plant, which furnishes energy for the illumination of the streets and public buildings of the borough. The Media Gas Company was incorporated April 11, 1866; works completed, mains laid and gas introduced into the homes of several citizens on September 10th. With the introduction of electricity, the usual changes were made and both systems of lighting and heating employed.

During the first years of Media's existence, as a rule, mail was received from Rose Tree, but in 1852 through Nether Providence post office, at the public house of Peter Worrall. About this time the office was moved to Media, the papers of that date stating that "the post office at Nether Providence has been removed to Media, its name has been changed and Ellis Smed-

ley appointed deputy until the present postmaster removed to a more convenient location." Ellis Smedley resigned, and in May, 1853, Charles R. Williamson was appointed postmaster and the office removed from Smedley store, northeast corner of State street and South avenue, to the residence and store of Mr. Williamson, on the southeast corner of Front and Orange streets. The present postmaster is Matthew S. Fox. The first burgess of Media was William T. Peirce; the present incumbent is Harry P. Engle. The first members of the council were: Dr. George Smith, Dr. Joseph Rowland, Isaac Haldeman, Nathan Shaw, Thomas T. Williams, John C. Beatty. The first treasurer of the borough was Charles Palmer; the first clerk, Thomas Richardson. The population of the borough according to the census of 1910, was 3562.

The borough is also the home of the Delaware County Institute of Science. The first meeting was held in Upper Providence, September 21, 1833, five persons attending—George Miller, Minshall Painter, John Miller, George Smith and John Cassin. An acre of land was purchased near Rose Tree, and in 1837 a two-story brick building was erected, which was formally opened in September of that year, Dr. Robert M. Patterson, then director of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, delivering the dedicatory address. The society increased in numbers and was incorporated February 8, 1836. The lectures were given in the hall, a museum established, which received specimens in every department of natural science, and a library opened. In 1867 the society erected their building in Media, and removed their treasures thereto. The library contains thousands of volumes, besides valuable and rare pamphlets. The museum is large, containing many specimens of historical and scientific interest, Indian relics, zoological specimens, minerals, coins, birds, insects, etc. Dr. George Smith was president of the Institute from its organization until his death in February, 1882, when he was succeeded by John M. Broomall.

The Delaware County Mutual Insurance Company had its origin under the name of The Delaware County Mutual Protection Company, incorporated June 12, 1839, for the purpose of "insuring their respective dwellings, houses, stores, shops and other buildings, household furniture, merchandise and other property, against loss or damage by fire." No attempt was made at organization until the charter was extended by act of May 1, 1852, for a period of twenty years. The first meeting was held at Media, August 26, 1852, the incorporators then adopting by-laws and dividing the county into districts. Later, John M. Broomall was elected president, Jesse Bishop secretary, and John C. Beatty treasurer. Rates were adopted, and by October 20, 1852, the entire machinery of the company was in motion. By January 1, 1853, insurance to the amount of $300,000 had been effected. On June 15, 1853, the company announced that it had issued three hundred policies, covering property to the amount of $600,000. October 18, 1873, the company moved to its own building on the corner of Front street and South avenue. The losses paid up to 1913 aggregate $610,000.

The financial institutions of Media are: the First National Bank, established in 1864, William H. Miller, president, R. Russell, cashier; The Media Title and Trust Company, established in 1880, H. W. Rhodes, president, T. E. Levis, vice-president, W. E. Johns, treasurer, and the Charter National Bank, established in 1887, Jesse Darlington, president, Miss A. J. Darlington, cashier.

Three newspapers are published in the borough—The Delaware County American, established in March, 1855, now published under the firm name of Thomas V. Cooper & Sons; The Delaware County Record, founded March 23, 1878, now published by Joseph Chadwick, and The Media Ledger, established in 1891, William Ward, Jr., editor.

The churches in Media, ten in number, are treated in another chapter, as are its most excellent schools for which $75,000 has recently been voted to still further improvement.

George W. Bertram Lodge, F. A. M.; Media Chapter, R. A. M.; Kossuth Lodge, I. O. O. F.; Bradbury Post, G. A. R.; and other fraternal societies are located in the borough.

There was no early organized body of fire fighters in Media, although provision had been made by the council for protection by the purchase of a hand engine and several hundred feet of leather hose. In 1889, at the suggestion of the Delaware County Republican, steps were taken to form an organization. At a meeting held at the home of Frank I. Taylor, was organized the Media Fire and Protective Association. The association took charge of the hand engine and hose, but it was not until August, 1891, that application was made to court for the incorporation of Media Fire and Hook and Ladder Company No. 1. The charter was granted October 6, 1891, Terrence Reilly becoming first president. The apparatus of the company consists of a La France fire engine, a chemical engine, and hose wagon. The company's roster contains the names of the judges, lawyers, physicians, mechanics and merchants, and has a proud record of efficiency in actual service as well as holding prize records in competition with the best companies in the state. The company now has under advisement the purchase of an additional engine of the automobile type.

Company H, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard, is quartered in a handsome graystone armory on State street, erected by the government of Pennsylvania at a cost of $25,000. The building was erected five years ago, and besides containing a spacious drill-room is fitted out excellently for the comfort and convenience of the enlisted men, having numerous lounging and smoking rooms, as well as commodious locker and dressing accommodations. The enrollment at present is fifty-five men, who meet in the armory every Tuesday night for drill. The officers of the company for the present term of three years are Captain, William Westcott; First Lieutenant, Henry C. Saulnier; Second Lieutenant, George Owen Cornod.

Middletown Township.—Ranking as one of the largest townships of Delaware county and located near the centre of that county, Middletown has Ridley creek as its eastern and Chester creek for its western boundary. The land

records extend back to October, 1681, when John March had surveyed to him 300 acres, part of a purchase of 1000 acres made by him in England. It is not known that he ever settled on this tract. Other surveys were made to actual settlers, and in 1715 a list of taxables contains the names of: John Martin, George Grist, Caleb Harrison, Edward Woodward, Daniel Cookson, Joseph Jervis, William Pennell, Jacob Tregoe, John Edwards, George Smedley, Jacob Minshall, Peter Tregoe, senior, Thomas Barns, John Chauley, John Turner, Joseph Sharpless, Alexander Hunter, Moses Martin, Robert Baker, Thomas Barnsley, Thomas Martin, junior, and Edward Laurence. Freemen:—Hans Hamilton, Peter Tregoe, James Tregoe, George Martin, Francis Ferrel, Thomas Smith, William Chamberlain, Simon Barton.

Manufacturing began at an early day, this feature being treated elsewhere, as are schools and churches. The township population, according to the census of 1910, was 3806. The Central Division of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad crosses the township, maintaining stations at Elwyn, the Williamson School, Glen Riddle, Lenni and Wawa. Near Lima the Delaware County Industrial Home is located, having been removed from Media in 1857, ground for the site having been purchased from Abram Pennell. Near Elwyn station is located the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble Minded Children, and the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades, both being state institutions of highest merit. Following the course of Chester creek from Wawa to Knowlton Station is the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad. Stations between these points are Lenni, Rockdale (in Aston) and Mt. Alverno. West of Wawa, on the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad (Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore), is Darlington station, the location of Darlington Dairies. Jesse Darlington over a century ago established the original dairy at this point, beginning with fifteen or twenty cows, which had increased at his death in 1842 to a herd of forty. He was the first man to introduce on the Philadelphia market the packing of butter in ice to keep it firm and hard. He met with much opposition, but finally won the market approval. His trade was with private families, neither he nor his successor, his son Jared, ever selling on the open market. At the death of Jared Darlington in 1862, the dairy herd had increased to seventy. The business was continued by his sons, who greatly extended its scope, maintaining on the original and adjoining farms hundreds of cows, and in their dairies using every modern improvement, shipping their product to wealthy private families of New York, Washington, Philadelphia and other localities.

The Rockdale Herald, a weekly newspaper, was established at Glen Riddle in 1898, William E. Griffith, editor.

Newtown Township.—From its extreme western corner to its extreme southern point, Newtown is bordered by Crum creek, which separates it from Upper Providence and Edgemont townships in Delaware county, and from Willistown township, Chester county. From its western to its northern point, Newtown borders Chester county; from north to east, Radnor township, and from the eastern to the southern corner, Marple forms the boundary line.

Darby creek flows across the northern part of the township from west to east.

The first mention of Newtown as a municipal district was at the court held in January, 1685, when Thomas Norbury and John Humphrey were appointed collectors of the "Levie for the cort house and Prison, for ye Township of Newtowne." At the December court, 1686, Thomas Norbury was appointed constable. Newtown was largely settled by Welshmen, and the township was laid out with a "townstead" in the centre. Lots in the village were distributed among the purchasers of land in the township according to the number of acres bought by each settler. The following is the list of taxables in 1715: Daniel Williamson, Reece Howell, William Bevan, David Thomas, William Phillips, Thomas Reece, John Reece, junior, Lewis Reece, Lewis Lewis, Evan Lewis, William Lewis, John Reece, John Ffawkes, Morgan James, Lawrence Peirce, Daniel Williamson, John Williamson, James Price, John Meredith, Edward Thomas, William Thomas. Freemen:—John Goodwin, Adam Treheall.

During the Revolution, Newtown was visited by British foraging parties and much loss incurred thereby. Many of the losers being Friends, no demand was made on the Assembly for compensation by them; other claims, however, to the amount of £86 were presented, but there is no record of their having ever been paid.

On Hunter's Run, in Newtown township, and extending to the Marple line, was a tract of 170 acres owned by Matthias Aspden, who was declared an attainted traitor to the colony by act of March 6, 1778, unless he surrendered himself and submitted to a legal trial for "such his treason." Aspden was one of the wealthy merchants of Philadelphia, fled to England, and the tract in Newtown was seized by the authorities, later being sold to Edward Bartholomew, to whom the state issued letters patent. In April, 1786, Aspden was pardoned by the state, and much of his property returned to him. His will subsequently gave rise to the most extensive litigation ever had under the Confiscation Acts. The claimants numbered over two hundred. The decision, as finally rendered by Judge Grier, awarded an estate of over $500,000, his decision being affirmed by the United States Supreme Court.

The principal village in the township is Newtown Square, so named at the establishment of a post office there in 1820. The population now is about 300. Another post office in the township is Wyola. In the eastern part of the township, extending from Newtown Square to the Radnor line is the tract upon which the Pennsylvania Hospital was erected, maintained by the state. At the extreme northern point of the township, old historic St. David's Church is located, the second oldest church edifice in Delaware county (see churches). In 1910 the population of Newtown township was 739.

Nether Providence Township.—Nether and Upper Providence township originally constituted one municipal district known as Providence township. The first mention of Providence is in 1683, when the court appointed Richard Crosby and Andrew Nelson collectors of the "Levie for Defraying the

charges of the Cort House and Prison att Chester," and appointed Thomas Nossiter constable for Providence. The first record of the division of the township into Nether and Upper Providence occurs in the minutes of Chester Friends' Meeting, on the "13th of ye 8th month 1690." For over sixty years after this date, the southern part of the township as at present constituted, was part of Ridley township, but for the convenience of the settlers, it was then made a part of Nether Providence. The township lies between Crum and Ridley creeks, extending from the line of Upper Providence township to the limits of the city of Chester, from which it is separated by the creek. In this southern part, John Nixon settled in 1683. Above his tract 200 acres known as "Smallgaine" were taken by Thomas Nossiter, who settled there in 1678. In 1684, Nossiter conveyed the tract to Walter Faucett. Above the Faucett tract Nossiter had 200 acres, which on September 12, 1682, he conveyed to John Sharpless, who came with his wife Ann from England in 1682. On August 24, 1882, two thousand descendants of John and Ann Sharpless held a bi-centennial celebration at the old homestead. Robert Vernon, from Chester, England, owned adjoining land to John Sharpless, while in the immediate neighborhood, Thomas and Randal Vernon settled, they coming in 1682. Randal Vernon was a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1687. At the extreme northern end of the township, Thomas Minshall had 380 acres, purchased from Penn before he came to the province. A list of the taxables in 1715 contains these names: James Sharpless, Joseph Sharpless, Isaac Minshall, Jacob Vernon, John Vernon, Joseph Vernon, Thomas Vernon, Henry Hasting, William Swafer, Jacob Edge, John Powell. The township settled rapidly and has always been an extensive manufacturing centre, Crum and Ridley creeks furnishing abundant water power before the introduction of steam as a motive power. These mills with schools and churches are treated elsewhere. The population in 1910 was 1941. The villages are Wallingford, a residential village; South Media, Briggsville, Todmorden, Rose Valley and Waterville.

Upper Providence Township.—Lying between Ridley and Crum creeks, Upper Providence extends from Nether Providence to a north and south line dividing it from Edgemont. In the southern part of the township, the borough of Media, county seat of Delaware county, is situated, and in the extreme southern point is the village of Moylan. Near the Edgemont line the village and post office of Upper Providence is located. Near the centre of the township are the grounds and club house of the Rose Tree Hunt Club. The taxables of the township in 1715 were: John Edge, Jacob Edge, Henry Miller, Sarah Powell, Thomas Williamson, Joseph Taylor, Peter Taylor, William Sinkler, Zachary Butcher, Joseph Carter, Thomas Jones, Jacob Chandler, Jacob Malin, Joshua Calvert, Daniel Calvert, John Cam, Job Harvey, Randal Malin, Randal Croxson.

Manufacturing has always been important in the township. It was in Upper Providence that the first building of the Delaware County Institute of Science was erected. While located there, the map of Delaware county, pre-

UPPER PROVIDENCE FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE, MEDIA

DELAWARE COUNTY COURT HOUSE, MEDIA.

(Before recent improvements.)

pared by Dr. Joshua W. Ash, and the "History of Delaware County," by Dr. George Smith, were published under the auspices of the Society. Here also the grounds of the Delaware County Agricultural Society were established in 1855. In September, 1813, a library company was formed, erecting a building at Bishop's Mill, the upper story being used for literary purposes, the lower as an office by Amor Bishop. In May the company incorporated as the Union Library Company. The company had a successful career until 1867, when but four hundred of their fourteen hundred books remaining, they were sold by the sheriff to the Delaware County Institute of Science for the sum of $25. The population of the township in 1910 was 961. Providence road, which begins in Edgemont near the Chester county line at Edgemont post office, passes through the centre of both Upper and Nether Providence townships, leaving the latter at Waterville.

Radnor Township.—Radnor occupies the extreme northern part of Delaware county, bordering both Montgomery and Chester counties. From its extreme southern point to the Chester county line it borders Newtown township, and from the same point to the Montgomery county line borders Marple and Haverford townships. Its first settlers were natives of Radnorshire, Wales, members of the Society of Friends, Radnor being included in the "Welsh Tract." In 1681, a Welshman, Richard Davies, purchased 1000 acres of land from William Penn in England, lying chiefly in the southern part of Radnor, which he soon sold to various purchasers, there being no record of his ever visiting this county. The highway, Radnor street or road, was laid out in 1683, and divides the township into nearly equal parts, the road running almost north and south through the township. John Jerman or Jarman, Stephen ap Evan, David Meredith, Richard Miles, John Morgan, Evan Protherah, Richard Ormes, William Davis, Howell James and others, all Welsh Friends, were the first to settle in Radnor and were all located on their lands by 1686. The first white child born in Radnor was John Jerman, Sr., November 12, 1684. Sarah, daughter of Stephen Evans, was the first girl born there. In the French and Indian war many Radnor men served, including eight young Friends, who on their safe return were "disowned" by the Society. Radnor suffered from the British foragers during their occupancy of Philadelphia, many families being left without live stock or provisions to carry them through the winter of 1777-78. The bill for damages from the township for losses in that year amounted to over £1000. Many skirmishes occurred in Radnor between the British and the American militia.

After the Revolution, an unusual degree of prosperity was noticeable in Radnor—new highways were laid out, new settlers came in, and a new Methodist church erected. In 1792, the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike was commenced, to be completed two years later. This was the first turnpike built in America, and was the cause of increased travel through the central part of the township, causing the establishment of numerous wayside inns along its route. In 1809, Radnor Library was established, and through the liberality of eighteen subscribers five hundred volumes were placed in a store

near Friends' Meeting House. In 1820 an attempt was made to annex Radnor to Montgomery county, but a strong opposition defeated the movement. In 1838 Radnor Lyceum was organized. In 1847, Radnor polled over 100 majority in favor of the removal of the county seat of Delaware county from Chester. Saw and grist mills abounded in the township as early as 1766, other mills following. Along the lines of the Pennsylvania railroad, the Lancaster pike and the electric railways, villages and numerous costly private residences have been built, making the northern half of the township a most popular residential section. Among many others, George W. Childs, the Philadelphia publisher, chose it for his country residence, purchasing ample grounds, creating a perfect country estate known as Wootton, residing there until his death. In cooperation with his friend, Anthony J. Drexel, the village of Wayne was founded, which has become the leading residential section of that part of Pennsylvania. In 1906, Wayne had a population of about 3000, the entire population of Radnor township in 1900 being 5474, according to the census report. In 1910 the population of the township was 7094, according to the same authority. Banking advantages are furnished by the Wayne Title and Trust Company, organized in 1891, Louis H. Watt, president, John H. Maguire, secretary and treasurer. The Suburban, a Republican weekly newspaper, established in 1895, is edited by A. M. Ehart.

Other stations on the Pennsylvania Railroad in the township are: Villanova, where the college of the Augustinian Fathers, known as Villanova College, is located; Radnor, and St. David's. On the Philadelphia & Western railway, which enters the township at Bryn Mawr station, running westward across the township to Stratford, the stations are: Rosemont, Villanova, Radnor, Ithan, St. David's, Wayne, and Stratford. On the Philadelphia & Delaware County railroad, which crosses the southern corner of the township, a station is maintained at The Hunt, not far from the grounds of the Radnor Hunt Club. Darby creek is the principal water course of the township, running in a general southeasterly direction through the southern part of the township, not far from the Newtown line. Good roads and all the attending conditions of a prosperous suburban section prevail in all parts of the township. Its streets, churches, and mills, are elsewhere described.

Thornbury Township.—The present township of Thornbury, in shape, baffles description, the wonder being that any surveyor was able to run its lines and then describe them. The line separating the township from Chester county, resembles nothing so much as a series of mountain peaks and table lands, and could only have been determined by allowing each landowner to elect which county he wished to be in, when the act of September 26, 1789, created the new county of Delaware. In 1842 a part of Aston township, was annexed, which added further irregularity to its shape in a parallelogram of land lying between Middletown and Concord townships. The original township was divided by the erection of Delaware county, about three-quarters of its area going into the new county, the other fourth constituting a township of the same name in Chester county.

The first mention of Thornbury as a municipal district occurs in 1687, when Hugh Durborow (Darborough) was appointed constable. In that part of the township formerly Aston, Joseph Baker, John Worrilow and Daniel Hoopes on 1st mo. 12th day, 1699, took up 500 acres, part of John Simcock's grant of 1500 acres, 400 acres of which comprised almost all the territory of Aston. Neither of these purchasers settled on the tract, the greater part of which in 1724 was purchased by John Taylor, who erected at Glen Mills the noted Sarum Forge. That portion of the township jutting into Edgemont and extending to the Middletown line was seated by William Bostock in March, 1681. West of the Taylor tract and on a straight line drawn from the overlapping corner of Edgemont across the township to the Birmingham line, 1500 acres was surveyed to John Simcock in March, 1681. This tract embraced the present village of Thornbury and all the land south of the line mentioned to Concord township. The tract later passed to the ownership of a number of persons: Joseph Taylor, before mentioned, obtaining the greater part of 500 acres, Randolph Vernon, John Kingsman, George Pearce, and Elizabeth Hickman, also obtaining large portions. West of Thornton, Edward Brown took up 500 acres in 1683. A great deal of the land in Western Thornbury was taken up in one hundred acre lots, but in the north, 1500 acres belonged to John Beller, taken up in 1685, but in 1724 passing to the ownership of John and Thomas Cheney. Chester Creek with its abundant water power, attracted many manufacturing enterprises, including one of the earliest iron works in the county, Sarum Forge, of which Acrelius wrote, referring to the period of 1756, "Sarum belongs to Taylor's heirs, has three stacks and is in full blast." (See chapter on manufacturing for an account).

Glen Mills is the principal village in the township, having a population of 300, with paper mills, stone works, etc. Thornton is another village, early located; Cheney and Locksley are stations on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, as is Glen Mills. In Thornbury is located the House of Refuge, a well managed institution with ample grounds and good buildings. In 1910 the population of Thornbury township was 1944.

Springfield Township.—Beginning at the southern end of Haverford, Springfield's northwestern boundary is Marple township to Crum creek, where from a point near Western school house it follows the line of the creek, to Avondale, thence along the line of Ridley township to near Secane station, thence north along the line of Upper Darby to Darby creek, following the line of that creek to the extreme northern point of the township to the place of starting. Within these limits Swarthmore and Morton boroughs are located, the first mentioned borough being the seat of Swarthmore College (q. v.).

The first record of Springfield as a township is in 1686, when Peter Lester was appointed constable. In the south, 850 acres had been surveyed in 1681 to Henry Maddock and James Kennerly. Henry Maddock represented Chester county in the General Assembly in 1684, but subsequently returned to England, the tract mentioned becoming the property of his son, Mordecai, and included the present grounds of Swarthmore College. Other early land own-

ers were: John Gleaves, Peter Leicester, Jane Lownes, (a widow, who came in 1682, settling on 150 acres in Springfield in 1684; on this farm, yet owned by her descendants, is a stone bearing this inscription: "Jane Lownes, her cave and home, 1684"); Robert Taylor; Bartholomew Coppock; Bartholomew Coppock, Jr., at whose house the first Friends' meetings in Springfield were held, and who gave the two acres of land on which the church and graveyard were located, he a member of the Provincial Council and representing Chester county in the General Assembly several terms; George Maris and others. George Maris located, October 26, 1683, 400 acres lying along Darby creek, from Marple township above the mouth of Lewis run. In a valley he built a stone house near a spring (from which it is asserted the township derived its name) and there lived until his death in 1705. He was a man of influence; was justice, and from 1684 until 1693 (excepting 1689) represented Chester county in the General Assembly. In 1722 the old house was removed by his grandson, George Maris, who erected on its site "Home House," a two and a half story stone building. In the grove back of this house, on August 25, 1883, the two hundredth anniversary of the coming of George Maris and family was held, more than a thousand descendants attending. Samuel Levis came in 1684. He was a justice of the court, and was frequently elected to represent Chester county in the General Assembly; Francis Yarnall had 150 acres, and John Simcock of Ridley was a very large land owner in Springfield. Besides the Levis, Coppock, Maris and Lownes families, the taxables of 1715 were: William West, Isaac Taylor, senior and junior, Samuel Hall, James Barrot, Thomas Poe, Thomas Taylor, George James, Richard Woodward, John Glere, Nicholas Smith, Thomas Kendall, Mordecai Maddock, William Miller.

The northern part of Springfield is rural, but in the south much more thickly populated, Morton and Swarthmore being thriving boroughs. Schools are located in the eastern, central and western sections, in addition to those maintained in the boroughs (see schools). Friends' meeting were early established, followed later by other denominational organizations.

Springfield has the honor of having been the birthplace of Benjamin West, the great early American artist, his birth date being October 10, 1738. Pennsdale farm, directly opposite Lownes Free Church, has since prior to 1800 been owned in the Thompson family. Prior to that year it was owned by John Thompson, a noted engineer, who when a young man was in the employ of the noted Holland Company. He built at Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania) a small schooner in which he made the voyage to Philadelphia, his vessel, the "White Fish," being the first that ever passed from Lake Erie to Philadelphia, being taken around Niagara Falls by land and relaunched in Lake Ontario. The journey from Oswego to New York City is thus described:

"Up the river Oswego to the Falls, 20 miles, then by land around the Falls, one mile, thence up the same river to Three Rivers Point twelve miles, thence up the straits leading to Oneida Lake 19 miles, thence through the Oneida Lake 28 miles, thence up Wood Creek 30 miles to the landing between Wood Creek and the Mohawk River, thence by

Drawn by C.P. Tholey

BIRTH PLACE OF BENJAMIN WEST.

Bowen & Co. lith. Philada.

land passing Fort Schuyler—formerly Fort Stanwix—one mile into the Mohawk River, then down the Mohawk River 60 miles to the Little Falls, thence around the Falls by land one mile to the landing, thence down the same river 60 miles to Schenectady thence by land 16 miles to Albany thence down the river Hudson 170 miles to the City of N. Y.; thence by sea 150 miles to the Capes of the Delaware River, thence up the Delaware to this city 120 making in all (from Erie) 947 miles."

The "White Fish" was taken to Independence Square and remained until decayed. This voyage was made in 1795.

John Thompson after this returned to Delaware county, and was the leading spirit in the building of the Philadelphia, Brandywine & New London turnpike, later known as the Delaware county turnpike. The company incorporated March 24, 1808, and in 1810 nine of the forty miles of turnpike was constructed at a cost of $3500 per mile. The road was twenty-one feet wide, and laid to a depth of fifteen inches in broken stone. John Thompson built the bridge on this turnpike over Stony creek, inserting a stone in the wall, thus described: "Built Gratis by John Thompson for the Philadelphia, Brandywine and New London Turnpike Company in 1811." In 1815, when the legislature authorized the State road from Market street bridge, Philadelphia, to McCall's Ferry, on the Susquehanna river, John Thompson was one of the commissioners appointed, and chief engineer of the survey. He built the Leiper railroad in Ridley, and was employed as civil engineer in the construction of the Delaware & Chesapeake canal. He died in 1842. Pennsdale farm passed to the ownership of Isaac Taylor, the first Commissioner of Agriculture, appointed to that office by President Taylor, when that bureau was created by Congress, and continued in office under every president until his death. The farm was later purchased by J. Edgar, a son of John Thompson. He was born on the farm, February 10, 1808, and became a civil engineer under his father. In 1827 he was employed on the survey of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad, continuing until 1830, when he entered the employ of the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company as first assistant engineer of the Eastern Division. He then visited Europe, inspecting public works, and shortly after his return was appointed chief engineer of the Georgia railroad, then controlling 213 miles of railway, then the longest system controlled by any one company in this country. He continued until 1847, when he was elected chief engineer of the Pennsylvania railroad. On February 2, 1852, he was elected president of that company, continuing until his death, twenty-two years. He was a great engineer and a great railroad executive, and in the history of the railroads of the United States there is none greater than J. Edgar Thompson.

The Springfield Free Fountain Society was formed in April, 1882, at a meeting of men and women at the home of C. C. Ogden; they incorporated, and in July, 1882, erected their first fountain, on the state road opposite the property of George Maris, obtaining a neverfailing supply from a spring on his grounds. Other fountains have been erected in the township by the society, whose first president was Joseph P. Maris. The last of the Indians

who had a home in Delaware county, was "Indian Nelly," who had her cabin in Springfield near the line of the Shipley farm, residing there as late as 1810. The population of Springfield in 1910 was 1132; of Swarthmore borough (q. v.) 1899; of Morton borough (q. v.) 1071.

Ridley Township.—This township as at present constituted, extends from Darby to the city of Chester and Nether Providence township, and from Springfield township to the Delaware river, on which it has a frontage extending from the mouth of Darby creek to the mouth of Crum creek. The former creek separates the township from its mouth to Prospect Park borough. from Tinicum, the latter creek forming the boundary between Eddystone borough and Ridley township. Boroughs incorporated in the township are Eddystone, Ridley Park, Prospect Park, Norwood and Rutledge (q. v.). Stations on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad are: Holmes, Folsom, Ridley, Milmont and Fairview; on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad stations are located at Crum Lynne, Ridley Park, Prospect Park and Norwood. Leiperville, a post village, and Wyndon, are in the northern and southern parts of the township respectively. That part of the township now Eddystone, was taken up by Olof Persson Stille, one of the Swedish settlers coming with the third Swedish emigration in 1641. He was a millwright, but had agreed to engage in agriculture. He seems to have become an important man in the colony. After the conquest by the Dutch, he was one of the four magistrates appointed "to administer justice among the inhabitants," thus was a judge of the first court of record on the banks of the Delaware. His son, John Stille, in 1664 was living in Passyunk, Philadelphia. One hundred acres of the Stille land was patented to Neals Mattson, June 13, 1670. It was his wife, Margaret Mattson, who was tried February 27, 1683-1684, on an indictment for witchcraft, before William Penn and a jury. Above this tract 100 acres was set apart by a court held at Upland, November 12, 1678, to Anthony Nealson, a Swede, father of the above Margaret Mattson. East of Crum creek, south of now Avondale, Jacob Hendricks had 100 acres called "Stony Point." Valuable stone quarries were later opened in that neighborhood. Charles Ashcomb, the surveyor, had 300 acres which included the present village of Leiperville and a greater part of the lake at Ridley Park. John Simcock was a large early land owner, part of his 2200 acres being in Ridley. He was a wealthy Friend, who came in 1682. He was a member of Penn's council, continuing one of the governors council until Gov. Blackwell in 1689. He was then appointed one of the judges of the Provincial Court, and in 1691 was again a member of the council. In 1693 and again in 1696 he was elected to the Assembly, and chosen speaker the latter year. In 1697-98 he was a member of the council. He was one of the commissioners appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was deputy president of the Free Society of Traders. He died March 7, 1703, aged seventy-three years. The following were taxables of Ridley in 1715: Jacob Simcock: Joseph Harvey, John Stedman, John Hanby, Thomas Dell, John Sharpless, Jacob Simcock, Junior, John Simcock, Joseph Powell, John Crosby, Lawrence

Friend and Gabriel ———, Amos Nicholas, Enoch Enochsen, George Brown, Andrew Hendrix, George Vanculine, Andrew Torton, Hance Torton, Andrew Morton, John Hendrick, Andrew Morton, Jr., John Orchard, Israel Taylor, Jonathan Hood, Obadiah Bonsall. The population has steadily increased, and in 1910 was 2945, exclusive of the boroughs within its borders. In 1809-10, Thomas Leiper constructed the first railroad in Pennsylvania and the second in the United States. It was three-fourths of a mile in length, and used in transporting stone from his quarries in Springfield to tide water at Ridley creek. The survey and draft of the road was made by John Thompson, and in 1873 the original map drawn by him was presented by Dr. Joshua Ash to the Delaware County Institute of Science. The road continued in use nineteen years. The cars were drawn by horses, the rails were of wood, the gauge four feet, and was a practical success for drawing loaded cars over.

Thomas Leiper, son of Thomas and Helen (Hamilton) Leiper, was born in Strathaven, Scotland, and came to America in 1764, settling in Virginia, later in Philadelphia, where he made a fortune in the tobacco business. He was an ardent patriot, and is said to have been "the first man in Pennsylvania to advocate a rupture with the mother country." He raised a fund to prosecute the war, and as treasurer of the First Troop bore the last subsidies of the French to the Americans at Yorktown. He was orderly, treasurer and secretary of the First City Troop, and later president of the common council of Philadelphia. He was often chosen presidential elector; was an intimate personal friend of Thomas Jefferson, and was alluded to as the "patriarch" of the Democratic party. He made it a rule of life never to accept an office of pay or profit; hence while he served as director of the Bank of Pennsylvania and of the United States, and was commissioner for the defense of Philadelphia in 1812, he drew no salary. He used his private fortune to prosecute the war, and in the darkest hour gave £5000 to the North America Bank fund. He subscribed $100,000 to various public improvements in Pennsylvania, introduced machinery for breaking and grinding plaster and oyster shells, for sawing stone, threshing grain and making cider, all of which he had in operation on his Ridley estate. He tried to secure an appropriation from the state to build a canal to lessen transportation cost from his quarries, but not succeeding, built the railroad previously mentioned.

The canal, which was about a mile in length, not only was used to transport stone to the creek below Leiperville, but the water was led by it as by a race to supply power to the mill at Leiperville. (See "Manufacturing," for the great mills of Ridley township and borough).

Aldan.—Alphabetically considered, Aldan borough heads the list of municipalities created in more recent years in Delaware county. Aldan was incorporated a borough, September 22, 1893, James E. Dougherty being the first elected burgess. It is strictly a residential community, having a fine school house and grounds. The present burgess is Samuel M. Simins. Population in 1910, 661.

Clifton Heights.—This borough, situated eight miles west of Philadelphia, on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, was created a borough June 1, 1885, the first burgess being Dr. Samuel P. Bartleson. Extensive cotton, woolen and knitting mills are located here, the more important being: The Kent Manufacturing Company, the Nelson Kershaw Towel Works, the Caledonian Mills, the Colonial Manufacturing Company and Columbia Mills. Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, Greek Catholic and Polish Catholic churches are located in the borough, the English speaking Catholics having their church just across Darby creek, in Upper Darby township. Lodges of the Improved Order of Red Men, Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, United Order of American Mechanics and Foresters of America, are maintained, as well as the Carpenters and Plasterers Union. Two fire companies, the Fire Protective Association No. 1, and Clifton Heights Hose, Hook and Ladder Company, provide an efficient fire department. A public library is a feature of the borough, as is a fine school and grounds costing $37,000. The present burgess is Nathaniel S. Keay, exercising authority over a population of 3155, according to the census of 1910, having increased in a decade from 2330.

Collingdale.—This borough, incorporated in December, 1891, is situated six miles southwest of Philadelphia, extending from Aldan to the line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, which is the dividing line from the borough of Sharon Hill. Springfield road is the dividing line from Darby borough. This is also a residential borough, having in 1900 a population of 603, which had increased in 1910 to 1361. Trolley lines connect the borough with Philadelphia and Chester, the Baltimore & Ohio railroad furnishing steam railroad advantages. The Collingdale Building and Loan Association is one of the important factors in the borough's prosperity. The Collingdale Mill Work Company operates a modern planing mill within the borough, its only mill industry. Churches have been erected by the Baptist, Protestant Episcopal and Reformed Episcopal denominations, and are well supported. Fire protection is furnished by the Collingdale Fire Company. The first burgess of the borough was M. F. La Roche; the present incumbent is William M. Joyce; borough secretary, Justus J. Arnold.

Colwyn.—South of the borough of Darby, in the pointed tract of land formed by the junction of Darby and Cobb's creeks, is the borough of Colwyn. In 1900 the population was 1226; in 1910, 1584. The first burgess was S. Drewes, the present incumbent is H. F. Potter. Presbyterian and Baptist churches have been erected in the borough. The principal manufacturing concerns are the G. Woolford Tank Works and Morrison's Auger Works. An efficient volunteer fire company, the Colwyn, well equipped with a chemical engine and ladder trucks constitute the borough's fire protection. The Colwyn Athletic Club is a prosperous organization.

Eddystone.—Lying along the Delaware river, between Crum and Ridley creeks, Eddystone extends inland to the line of the Chester turnpike. It has rail communication with cities north and south by the Philadelphia, Wilming-

ton & Baltimore and the Philadelphia & Reading railroads. A village built up around the print works of the Eddystone Manufacturing Company, Eddystone grew and prospered until 1889, when it took on the dignity of a borough, William P. Hood being the first burgess, William H. Berry, former state treasurer, now collector of the port of Philadelphia, the second. The present burgess is Hugh Blair; governing a population in 1910 of 1167. The borough has two churches,—Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal; a good school system (Simpson School) and a volunteer fire department, the Eddystone Fire Company. The manufacturing plants to which Eddystone owes its progress, are: The Eddystone Manufacturing Company (limited), textile manufacturers, formerly William Simpson & Sons, of Philadelphia; the Baldwin Locomotive Works, a branch of the great Baldwin Works of Philadelphia; the Tindel-Morris Company; the Belmont Iron Works, and the Pennsylvania Iron Works.

Glen Olden.—This borough was incorporated in 1894. In 1900 it had a population of 873, which in 1910 had increased to 1157. The borough lies between Sharon Hill and Norwood, eight miles southwest of Philadelphia on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad. The borough is the home of the H. K. Mulford & Co. chemical laboratories, the chief manufacturing industry of the borough. There are two churches in the borough, Presbyterian and Congregational; also, a good public school system is maintained. Glenolden Fire Company No. 1 is the borough's defense from fire, and has proved efficient whenever called upon. The first burgess was George K. Cress; the present incumbent is William H. Harrison, Jr.

Lansdowne.—Lansdowne, located on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad, five miles from Philadelphia, was created a borough in 1893, William H. Barker being the first burgess; Benjamin W. Carskaddon is the present incumbent of that office. Banking facilities are furnished by the Lansdowne and Darby Savings and Trust Fund Company. The Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and African Methodist Episcopal congregations have houses of worship. The Lansdowne Fire Company, equipped with an auto-truck, is an efficient body of fire-fighters. The Lansdowne Country Club has handsome grounds and a large membership. Lansdowne is a purely residential borough, there being no manufacturing.

Millbourne.—Youngest of all the municipalities, Millbourne dates its birth as a borough from October 12, 1909. The first and present burgess is George Bertram Regar, whose term expires January 1, 1914. The Millbourne Flour Mills are located within the borough, constituting its principal manufacturing industry. The city is guarded from fire by the Millbourne Fire Company. The population of the borough in 1910 was 322. The terminal station of Philadelphia's elevated railroad system and of the Philadelphia & Western trolley lines is within the borough. The Market street surface electric line also has its terminus in Millbourne. These roads give constant communication with Philadelphia, and half-hourly service to many Delaware county points, also to other localities outside of the county.

Morton.—Morton, created a borough June 6, 1898, reported in 1900 a population of 889; in 1910 the census report shows 1071. Morton lies in the southern part of Springfield township, nine miles southwest from Philadelphia, on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad. There are no important manufacturing plants in the borough, it being purely a residential centre. The original village was named in honor of John Morton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The first burgess was J. Frank Beatty, George H. Alexander being the present incumbent. Three churches are located within the borough,—Kedron Methodist Episcopal, the First Baptist and Shorler African Methodist Episcopal. The fraternal orders are: Washington Camp, No. 634, Patriotic Order Sons of America; Faraday Lodge, Knights of Pythias; and Hauka Tribe, Improved Order of Red Men. A prosperous building and loan association is one of the borough's valued institutions; also a good public school building and system; others are a public library, a men's club and a women's club, providing educational and literary advantages of a high order. The Chronicle, an independent weekly newspaper, established in 1880, is edited by George W. Whitaker.

Norwood.—Norwood, with Darby creek for its eastern boundary, extends back to the line of the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad, between the boroughs of Glenolden and Prospect Park, located eight and three-fourth miles southwest of Philadelphia; it has become a prosperous residential community. Norwood was created a borough in 1893, reported a population of 1286 in 1900, and in 1910 had increased to 1668. The first burgess was William Hamilton; the present is William J. MacCarter. There is no important manufacturing plant in the borough, it being a community of homes. The Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal and Roman Catholic denominations have places of worship, and a good school system is maintained. The fraternal and other organizations of the borough are: The Artisans' Order of Mutual Protection; the Order of Foresters; Sons of Temperance; Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of Veterans, Boy Scouts, and the Century Club. Fire protection is delegated to Norwood Fire Company No. 1, a fully equipped and efficient company of fire-fighters.

Prospect Park.—This borough was created in 1894. It is located nine miles southwest of Philadelphia, on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad, which forms its northwestern boundary, its eastern line being the borough of Norwood, Ridley Park, and Ridley township join west and south, and Darby creek forms the extreme southern boundary. Prospect Park, as originally founded in 1874, consisted of 103 acres of the estate of Joshua Pierson, which John Cochran purchased and laid out in villa lots. He later sold an interest to John Shedwick & Son, of Philadelphia, who later purchased Pierson's interest. The village attracted a good class of residents, and has had a prosperous career, reporting in 1900 a population of 1050, increased in 1910 to 1655. There are no manufacturing plants, it being purely residential in character. The Methodist Episcopal, Baptist and Presbyterian denominations have houses of worship; the Masonic order maintains a lodge. Pros-

pect Park Fire Company No. 1, is reliance in event of fire. A good school system is maintained. The first holder of the office of burgess of the borough was John L. Galloway; the present holder, Ellis C. Abrams.

Ridley Park.—In 1870, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad determined on a change of its route between Philadelphia and Chester. The new line opened up a new region for settlements, and several new thriving communities were inaugurated on the "Darby Improvement," as the new line was at first termed, Ridley Park, near the centre of Ridley township, being one point selected. The site was selected by Robert Morris Copeland, a capable landscape gardener of Boston, who saw in the rolling land, the creeks, woodland, river view and nearness to Philadelphia, an ideal site. On May 26, 1871, Lindley Smith, Samuel M. Felton, Isaac Hinkle and William Sellers entered into partnership as the Ridley Park Association. On the land previously secured, improvements began under Mr. Copeland's supervision. The new road was opened for travel in November, 1872. Ridley Park has had a continuous career of prosperity, reporting in 1880 a population of 439; in 1900, this had grown to 1234, and a decade later the enumeration showed a resident population of 1761. The village was incorporated a borough in December, 1888, H. F. Kenney being elected the first burgess; John H. Devine at present (1913) holding that office. A live Civic Association keeps constant vigil over borough interests and improvements; a golf, men's and women's clubs flourish, that give direction to the borough's social life. There are no manufacturing plants in the borough, it being a community of homes. An efficient fire company protects the borough.

The religious sentiment of the borough is marked, houses of worship being maintained by the leading denominations:—Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist and Roman Catholic. An excellent public system, including a high school, provides educational advantages of a high order. The borough is located ten miles southwest of Philadelphia, and joins Prospect Park borough on the north.

Rutledge.—Rutledge is located in the northwestern part of Ridley township, touching the Springfield line at Morton, at its southernmost corner. Rutledge was incorporated a borough June 10, 1885, and in 1900 reported a population of 369. The same authority gave the borough in 1910 a population of 523. There is no manufacturing in the borough. The Presbyterians have a house of worship, other denominations not being so represented. Rutledge Fire Company No. 1, have a house and apparatus that affords protection in event of fire. Communication by rail is by trolley, the steam railroad nearest being across the line in Morton. The first burgess of Rutledge was J. Rugan Neff, the present being Samuel C. Burton.

Sharon Hill.—Located six miles southwest of Philadelphia, on the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad, and adjoining the boroughs of Collingdale, Darby and Colwyn, is the borough of Sharon Hill. Darby creek, its eastern boundary, separates the borough from Colwyn. The manufactur-

ing plants of George K. Goodwin, Frank P. Smith and the Corona Chemical Company, are located in the borough, all prosperous concerns.

Sharon Hill was incorporated a borough, July 14, 1890, William G. Douglass being elected the first burgess. In 1900 the population was 1058; in 1910, 1401. The present burgess is William E. Wallace. Churches have been erected by the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic denominations. The Convent of the Holy Child Jesus is located within the borough. Other educational advantages, are an excellent public school and a parochial school, the latter maintained by the Roman Catholic church. The fraternal societies are: Independent Order of Americans, Improved Order of Red Men, and Daughters of Liberty. The Sharon Hill Fire Company, an efficient organization of fire-fighters, has an auto fire engine and other necessary apparatus.

Swarthmore.—In the southern part of Springfield township, twelve miles from Philadelphia, on the line of the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroad, is Swarthmore, the seat of Swarthmore College (of the Society of Friends)—an institution founded in 1864 (see special mention). The population of Swarthmore in 1900 was 903, increased in 1910 to 1899, having doubled its population in a decade.

The location of the borough is ideal, while its many splendid streets and modern homes, with spacious grounds adorned by the landscape gardener's art, constitute with nature's aid a beautiful rural municipality. Houses of worship have been erected by the Society of Friends, the Methodist Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations. Banking facilities are furnished by the Swarthmore National Bank, Edward B. Temple, president, C. Percy Webster, cashier. The Swarthmore Building Association, Edwin J. Darnell, president, is a helpful, prosperous aid to the upbuilding of the borough, the assessed valuation of which in 1913 was in excess of $2,000,000. The Swarthmore Fire Association, a well equipped volunteer fire company, constitutes the borough's protection from fire. The present chief burgess is Carroll Thayer; secretary, Dr. Charles Varell.

The Delaware County Republican, a weekly newspaper, is edited by J. Scott Anderson; The Phoenix, a monthly publication is edited and published by the students of Swarthmore college.

Yeadon.—Alphabetically the last, Yeadon is not the youngest or the least of Delaware county boroughs. Its eastern boundary line is Cobb's creek, which separates it from Philadelphia county. Its southern limit is Darby borough, whose irregular line Yeadon follows to Darby creek, thence along that creek to Lansdowne borough, thence a northeast course to Cobb's creek. Three great silent cities of the dead are included within these limits,—Holy Cross, Mount Moriah and Graceland cemeteries. Yeadon was constituted a borough April 23, 1894, H. D. Cooke being the first burgess. Brick manufacturing is the only important industry of the borough; a Baptist church has been erected, and a public school building. In April, 1904, Yeadon Fire Company was organized, now an efficient organization of firemen. In 1900 the population

Drawn by C.P. Tholey

UPLAND.

Bowen & Co lith. Philada.

was 689. In 1910, it had increased to 882. The present chief burgess is Frederick J. Petry. The boroughs (Darby, Marcus Hook, and Media) will be found in the histories of the townships in which they are located.

THE CITY OF CHESTER.

Chester is located on the Delaware river, fifteen miles below Philadelphia, and fourteen miles from Wilmington, Delaware. As Upland it was settled by the Swedes in 1643, and is the oldest town in the state. In 1644 the present site of the city was a tobacco plantation occupied by servants in the employ of the Swedish company. The Swedish government granted to Jörankeen a patent for land one and a half miles inland, following the right bank of Chester creek above its mouth and extending along the Delaware as far as Ridley creek. The land on the west bank of Chester creek, extending along the river to Marcus Hook, was granted by Queen Christina of Sweden to Captain John Amundson Besh, "his wife and heirs," by patent dated August 20, 1653, Captain Besh, however, never entered into possession, as the land included in this vast tract seems to have been claimed and held by Armgart Papegoya, daughter of the first Swedish governor Printz. In 1645 Upland is still reported a tobacco plantation, but prior to 1648 was a settlement of some importance and is mentioned by Campanius as "an unfortified place but some houses there." The Indian name of the present city was Mecoponacka; the Swedish, Upland; the Dutch called it Uplandt, while the English alternated between Upland and Chester. Dr. Smith thus describes the naming of Chester by Penn, on his first arrival:

> "He landed at Upland but the place was to bear that familiar name no more forever. Without reflection, Penn determined that the name of the place should be changed Turning around to his friend Pearson, one of his own society, who had accompanied him in the ship 'Welcome,' he said: 'Providence has brought me here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I shall call this place?' Pearson said 'Chester,' in remembrance of the city from whence he came. William Penn replied that it should be called Chester, and that when he divided the land into counties one of them should be called Chester. Thus for a mere whim the oldest town, the name of the whole settled part of the province, the name that would have a place in the affections of a large majority of the inhabitants of the new province, was effaced to gratify the caprice or vanity of a friend. All great men occasionally do little things."

This explanation of the change of name has been strongly refuted, and the name stated to have been changed to Chester because most of its English inhabitants came from Cheshire in England. A letter written by Penn, November 1, 1682, is dated Upland, but one written December 16, 1682, states: "An assembly was held at Chester, alias Upland." This is the first record of the name Chester as applied to the old Swedish settlement at Upland. Penn when he landed resided temporarily at the house of Robert Wade, but during the winter of 1682-83 was a guest at the "Boars Head Inn," a noted public house of Chester, destroyed by fire March 20, 1848. The first meeting of the General Assembly was held in Chester, beginning its session December 4, 1680.

Penn, shortly after his arrival, sent for James Sandelands, the elder, to confer with him, for it was "talkt among the people, that it was Intent to build a city." Seemingly the chief owner of land in Chester demanded too much, if it had been Penn's intention to make of Chester a "Great town." The first street in Chester laid out by authority, was now Edgemont avenue, ordered by the grand jury in 1686. In November, 1699, William Penn granted a charter to the borough of Chester. In 1708, the borough contained "one hundred houses." In 1758, Acrelius says "it had 120 houses," which indicates a very slow growth. Between 1761 and 1770, Francis Richardson built extensive warehouses and two piers known as Richardson's Upper and Lower Wharf, believing Chester could be made a rival of Philadelphia as a shipping point, but the Revolution ruined him. After the Revolution, Chester was incorporated by act of assembly, March 5, 1795, with all the rights and privileges of a shire town, and was the capital of Chester county until the erection of Delaware county, then continuing as the county seat of the new county. In 1840 the borough had only increased to a population of 740. In 1848 the Supreme Court decided that the act under which Media had been chosen the new county seat of Delaware county was constitutional, and in the summer of 1851, new buildings having been erected, court records and all movable county property were transferred to the new court house and jail in Media. This was considered a fatal blow to Chester, but was in reality the beginning of its advancement. The advantages it offered to manufacturers became apparent, and the farms around the borough held by old men in easy circumstances that could not be bought at any price, began on the death of their owners, to come on the market, clearing the way for expansion. Tracts were laid out in streets and squares, manufacturers came in, and Chester began an onward march that has never been checked. The history of its past and present churches, schools and manufacturing is told in separate chapters.

In 1724 the present city hall was built for a court house, and was so used until the removal of the court of Chester county to West Chester. In 1789 an act was passed dividing the county, and creating Chester the capital of the new county of Delaware. The old court house was again made headquarters for the county officials and courts, continuing until the removal of the county seat to Media. The building is now used as the city hall, the old court room on the lower floor being the offices of the mayor, chief of police and city surveyor, while the old grand jury room is now used as the common council chamber.

On February 13, 1866, Chester was incorporated a city, and John Larkin Jr., was elected the first mayor. In 1888 the borough of North Chester was consolidated with the city of Chester, and is now known as the First Ward. In 1889 (October 8), Chester became a city of the third class under the provisions of an act of assembly approved May 23, 1889. On February 27 the borough of South Chester was annexed to the city, becoming the Ninth Ward, although later the territory was divided into three wards,—the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh. The city now contains eleven wards, and is a city of the third class, the lawmaking bodies being a select and a common council. The city

Drawn by C P. Tholey.

TOWN HALL AT CHESTER, BUILT 1724.

Bowen & Co. lith. Philada.

is provided with an efficient volunteer fire department, consisting of the Franklin, Hanley, Good Will and Felton hose companies, and the Moyamensing Hook and Ladder Company. Chester contains, according to the census of 1910, a population of 38,537, constantly increasing; has ninety-five miles of paved and unpaved streets; has trolley connections with Philadelphia, Wilmington, Delaware, and all suburban towns; thirty churches, four national banks, two trust companies, two savings banks, two daily and two weekly newspapers, and eighty-two secret organizations.

The New Chester Water Company, J. L. Forwood, president, furnishes the city's water. The source of supply is the Delaware river; reservoirs with a capacity of 21,000,000 gallons, a filtration plant of 10,000,000 gallons daily capacity being located on Harrison's Hill, three and a half miles from Chester, inland. The pumping capacity of the plant is 18,000,000 gallons daily; the efficiency of the filtration plant for six years has been 98.8 per cent. Among the city's educational institutions (see schools) are the Pennsylvania Military College, Crozer Theological Seminary (Upland), and Chester Commercial College. The charitable institutions of the city include Chester Hospital, the Crozer Home for Incurables, and the J. Lewis Crozer Hospital.

A feature of Chester's educational and religious work is that done under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, incorporated 1874, whose brick six-story building, with basement and roof garden, stands at the corner of Seventh street and Edgemont avenue. This building was dedicated and opened November 17, 1907, the cost being approximately $175,000. The association uses the entire building, except stores on the first floor, having in addition to all the features of a modern Young Men's Christian Association, dormitories that accommodate forty-five roomers. Every department of their four-fold plan of work—spiritual, mental, social and physical—is fully organized, and a grand work is being done. The officers of the association are: M. Ocheltree, president; Orlando H. Cloud, vice-president; Elson W. Sheffield, general secretary; John C. Hinkson, treasurer; William M. Bowen, recording secretary.

The first post office building erected by the government was located on the corner of Fifth and Welsh streets, and was first occupied in November, 1896, John L. Garrett being postmaster. The building becoming too small for the large business transacted, large additions were begun, now nearing completion. Free delivery was established under Postmaster Robert Chadwick, about 1892, twenty-six carriers, now covering the entire city, the village of Trainer and a part of Marcus Hook. The office is one of the first class, employing thirteen clerks. The building is also used by governmental departments,—customs, internal revenue, pensions, civil service, and inspection of engineering machinery. The present postmaster, James W. Hamilton, was reappointed, February 12, 1912; assistant postmaster, Charles Longbotham Jr.; Lois Armstrong, superintendent. The following is the amount of business done at this office for the periods named:

Year ending		June 30, 1876.	Total receipts of office				$13,959.14
"	"	June 30, 1886	"	"	"	"	22,030.31
"	"	June 30, 1896	"	"	"	"	35,520.68*
"	"	June 30, 1906	"	"	"	"	63,477.82
"	"	June 30, 1913	"	"	"	"	74,967.05

*Year the present building was occupied.

An efficient Board of Trade, that looks after the commercial, industrial and general interests of the city, was organized December 7, 1886, that did excellent service for several years, then practically ceased its efforts. In 1907 activity was resumed, and in 1912 a thorough reorganization was effected, annual dues increased from $5 to $25, the present paid membership numbering 487, S. D. Clyde, president; Neil B. Sinclair, secretary.

Steam transportation facilities are furnished by the Baltimore & Ohio, and Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington railroads; water transportation by several companies running steamboats north and south on the Delaware; the Southern Pennsylvania Traction and the Philadelphia Rapid Transit companies furnish city and interurban facilities. Twelve building associations flourish in the city, all prosperous and helpful.

Chester Free Library, Library Hall, 116-118 East Ninth street; West End Free Library, Fourth and Jeffrey streets; and the Young Men's Christian Association Library, at their building, Seventh and Edgemont, furnish free and excellent library service. Two companies of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, with armory at Eighth and New Market streets, meet for drill Monday and Tuesday nights of each week—Company B, Sixth Regiment, Captain Samuel Linville; and Company C, Captain Harry P. Vercoe.

The Delaware County National Bank was chartered under the "Omnibus Bank Act" of March 21, 1814. A temporary board of directors was chosen August 27, with John Newbold, president *pro tem.* On November 28, 1814, the first regular board of directors was elected, consisting of John Newbold, Jonas Eyre, Samuel Anderson, Peter Deshong, John G. Hoskins, Thomas Robinson, George G. Leiper, Jonas Preston, Charles Rogers, Joseph Engle, Pierce Crosby, John Cowgill and Nimrod Maxwell. On the same day John Newbold was chosen president, Preston Eyre, cashier. The first building erected and owned by the bank was first used for banking purposes November 20, 1815. The bank prospered and paid dividends until the fall of 1834, when it was found that a large amount of redeemed notes of the bank had by some means gotten into circulation, therefore, between 1834 and 1837, dividends were passed, the earnings going to repair weakened capital. They soon recuperated and steadily prospered, ranking in credit second to no similar institution in the state. When Lee invaded Pennsylvania in 1863, money and securities of the bank to the amount of several hundred thousands of dollars were sent to the Bank of North America in Philadelphia, to be forwarded to New York, with the funds of the latter bank, should occasion demand it, but when Meade and his army rolled back the tide of invasion, the money was returned. On March 14, 1864, the bank ceased its existence as the Delaware County Bank, and was

chartered as the Delaware County National Bank. On March 6, 1865, after the amount necessary to secure the charter had been deposited in the United States Treasury, the surplus funds of the old bank were divided among the stockholders, paying a dividend of $7 per share, and December 28, 1868, a further dividend of $2.50 was paid, this finally settling all the outstanding business of the old bank. Samuel A. Crozer was the first president of the Delaware County National Bank, and Caleb Emlen the first cashier. In 1884 the building erected in 1815 was removed, and a modern banking house erected on its site at a cost of $50,000 for building and finishings. The report of June 4, 1913, to the United States government, showed total resources of $2,427,269.67, with deposits, subject to check, of $957,239.33. The capital stock of the bank is $300,000; J. H. Roop, president; T. M. Hamilton, cashier.

The First National Bank was organized May 15, 1864, a charter having been previously obtained under articles of association—Abram R. Perkins was elected president; William Taylor, cashier; directors—Abram R. Perkins, Samuel M. Felton, Thomas Reanney, Benjamin Gartside, Samuel Archbold, Samuel Eccles Jr., and William Ward. The bank began business at the southwest corner of Penn and Second streets, continuing until January 18, 1871, when it moved to a new location, and on the 23rd of the same month, Abram R. Perkins, having moved from Chester and in failing health, resigned the presidency and was succeeded by John Larkin Jr., one of the four men to whom Chester is indebted for much of the prosperity that attended their period, the others being John P. Crozer, James Campbell and John M. Broomall. Later the bank business was located at No. 408 Market street, and in 1890 it moved to its present fine building at Fifth and Market streets. The report rendered to the government June 4, 1913, showed resources of $1,700,991.86, with deposits subject to check $1,090,300.19. The capital stock is $200,000; George M. Booth, president; T. Edward Clyde, cashier.

The Chester National Bank was chartered as a national bank March 1, 1884, beginning business April 1st following. The first president was Samuel A. Dyer, the first cashier Samuel H. Leeds, the first board of directors: J. Frank Black, Robert Wetherill, Hugh Shaw, Charles B. Houston, William Appleby, George B. Lindsay, Jonathan Pennell, H. B. Black and Samuel A. Dyer. The bank is located on West Third street, near Market Square, in a handsome granite building erected in 1873 by Samuel A. Dyer and William Appleby for a private banking office, to which they made large additions and improvements. In 1875 William Appleby retired, Mr. Dyer continuing the business until its incorporation as the Chester National Bank. In 1899, the corporation erected their present substantial bank building. The statement furnished the government June 4, 1913, showed total resources of $19,334,404.83; deposits subject to check, $787,429.23. The capital stock of the bank is $300,000; J. Frank Black, president; Samuel H. Seeds, cashier.

The latest addition to the national banks of Chester, is the Pennsylvania National Bank, organized in March, 1903, with $100,000 capital stock, John D.

Goff, the first president; A. V. Lees, cashier. The present officers are: John J. Buckley, president; Edward C. Burton, vice-president; D. E. Casey, cashier. At the close of business, June 4, 1913, the report showed total resources $719,053.83, with deposits subject to check, $442,157.20.

The Delaware County Trust, Safe Deposit and Title Insurance Company was organized July 2, 1885; capital stock, $250,000; Judge Isaac Johnson, the first president. The company occupies the Old Clayton building, Market Square. A condensed report, May 3, 1913, shows resources in the bank department to be $2,537,884.21; deposits, $2,089,842.82. The trust department shows trust funds invested to be $1,866,751.50; uninvested, $34,715.71; corporate trusts $2,698,000. The present officials are: James A. G. Campbell, president; John C. Hinkson, vice-president; R. E. Jefferis, secretary and treasurer.

The Cambridge Trust Company, located at Fifth and Market streets, on the site of the old Cambridge Hotel, was organized in November, 1901; capital stock $250,000. Their report of May 1, 1913, shows in the banking department resources of $1,891,333.20; deposits, $1,515,339.50; trust funds invested, $1,158,036.05; uninvested, $8,634.47; corporate trusts, $1,770,100. The officers are: Garnett Pendleton, president; W. A. Dyer, treasurer, and others.

The foregoing banks and trust companies form the Chester Clearing House Association, J. H. Roop, president.

The City Hall at Chester bears eloquent witness to the great age of that city. It was erected long before the foundations were laid for Independence Hall in Philadelphia, its history being concisely given in the inscription upon a bronze tablet placed on the front of the building by Delaware County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. The following is the inscription: "This building was erected in 1724, during the reign of George I. of England. It was the court house of Chester county, 1724-1786; the court house of Delaware county, 1789-1851; hall of Chester borough, 1851-1866; hall of Chester city, since 1866. In 1739 England declared war against Spain, and soldiers were here enlisted for an expedition to Cuba. Here Anthony Wayne rallied and drilled his troops, January, 1776. In 1824 Lafayette, as guest of the nation, was entertained in this building.

Some Old Historic Houses.—The Logan house was built by Jasper Yeates in 1700, and formerly a stone on which was cut the initials "J. & C. Y." with the date 1700, was set in one of the gables. These initials stood for the names of the owners, Jasper and Catherine Yeates, natives of Yorkshire, England, she the daughter of James Sandelands, the elder. He was appointed by Penn one of the four first burgesses of Chester; was one of the justices of the county, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the province; a member of the Provincial Council and of the General Assembly. The house was two stories in height, with a tentlike roof forming within an attic with steep sides. A wide doorway gave admission to the hall, while many small diamond shaped panes of glass set in lead gave light to the several apartments and casements at the head of the stair landing, furnished the same way to the wain-

scotted hallway. All the rooms were wainscotted and the panels stained in imitation mahogany. Under the high wooden mantel pieces in the parlor and the room opposite, the fireplaces were lined with illuminated tile illustrating incidents of Bible history. The house descended to the widow of John Yeates, third son of Casper, who sold it to Joseph Parker. He was a native of Cumberland, England; at the age of twenty-five years came to Chester to be near his uncle, the noted Quaker minister, John Salkeld. Parker became register and recorder of Chester county and a justice of the peace. The house descended to Mary, daughter of Joseph Parker; she married Charles Norris, who died January 15, 1766. She then returned to the parental home, which she devised by her will to her only daughter, Deborah. Deborah lived in the house during her girlhood until her marriage to Dr. George Logan, September 6, 1781. She was a woman of high intelligence and literary attainment. Her remarkable store of historical information gave her the title of "The Female Historian of Colonial Times." She mingled freely with Revolutionary leaders; her cousin, Charles Thompson, the first secretary of the Continental Congress, was her intimate friend, and from him she gained much knowledge concerning the inner history of the times. For several years she worked early and late collating, deciphering and copying the manuscripts in her possession concerning the correspondence of William Penn and James Logan, her husband's grandfather. Her manuscripts made eleven large quarto volumes, forming two octavo volumes when published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The old Hoskins (Graham) house, aged over two centuries, was built in 1688, on ground sold by John Simcock to John Hoskins in 1684. The house, a substantial one, was used by Hoskins as an inn—two stories with attic, its front extending to the sidewalk line, the old house stands a monument in brick to the quality of its builders, and a perfect illustration of the early colonial style. Evidences of the thousands of feet that ascended and descended the easy stairs at the end of the wide hall running through the centre, are seen on the ash steps, also wormeaten and discolored. Heavy beams supporting the upper floors stand out prominently from the ceilings, which are unusually high for that period. The floors are of hard wood, the boards of which it is laid being very wide, almost the width of the trees from which they were cut. The numerous rooms gave sleeping accommodations for many guests, while a wide porch in the rear enclosed in lattice work, served in the summer time as a dining room. The immense fireplace in the kitchen, built on as an L, occupied almost the entire eastern end. Here they could seat themselves on benches provided at either end, and enjoy the warmth of the roaring fire of logs, the only way then employed to heat that part of the building. John Hoskins, the owner, came from Cheshire, England, in 1682, and was a member of the General Assembly of 1683. His son John was sheriff of Chester county for fifteen years, taking office in his twenty-third year. He inherited the old mansion, located at the southeast corner of Edgemont avenue and Graham street.

The old Porter house, built in 1721, ended its existence in the most tragic

manner in 1882. During this century and a half it was the home of many distinguished people. The house was a massively built stone structure, one of the best illustrations of the grandeur of colonial mansions that the city possessed. A slab in the western gable bore in engraved letters and figures this inscription: L.L.D. and G. 1721. David Lloyd, the first owner, lived sumptuously in the mansion he had caused to be erected, he being a man of means, one of the eight gentlemen who in the year 1721 are recorded as owning four-wheeled carriages drawn by two horses. He left a widow, Grace (Growden), who was attended faithfully by her friend Jane Fenn, a noted Friends' minister, until the latter married and became mistress of the building. On May 1, 1741, Grace Lloyd, conveyed most of her property to Joseph Hoskins, reserving two acres of ground, and "also the room in the southwest corner of the mansion house, called the dining-room, the room on the northeast corner of said house called the parlor, with a closet and milk house adjoining, the chamber over the said dining room, the chamber over the said parlor, one-half of the garret, the front part of the cellar, the old kitchen and chamber over it, the chaise house, the use of the pump, cider mill and cider press, to make her own cider, and part of the garden with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress into and out of all and every the premises for the term of her natural life without impeachment of waste." Grace Lloyd died in 1760. Dying childless, Joseph Hoskins, one of the most useful of Chester's citizens, willed the mansion to his nephew, John Hoskins, of Burlington, New Jersey, who in turn devised it to his son, Raper Hoskins. His widow Eleanor sold to Thomas Laycock, the estate next passing to Major William Anderson. His daughter, Evalina Anderson, married David Porter, an officer of the United States navy, who in 1843 died at Pera, near Constantinople. They were the parents of the five Porters famous in the annals of the navy and army of the United States. Of these sons, Admiral David D. Porter became the more conspicuous, his Civil War record being one of great efficiency. After the Porters ceased to use the old mansion as a residence, it had a succession of tenants until the gas works were located near it, when it was leased in 1862 to Prof. Jackson, of Philadelphia, who used it as a factory for the manufacture of fireworks. On Friday morning, February 17, 1882, fire attacked the old mansion, a dreadful explosion of the powder and chemicals stored in the building followed, killing in all eighteen persons and wounding fifty-seven others, the destruction of the building being one of the most appalling events in Chester's history.

Other old houses in Chester, worthy of mention are: The Huerline house, on the south side of Third street, built shortly after 1712; the old Lloyd house (Second and Edgemont avenue), built prior to 1703; the Barber house, in which it is said the wounds of Gen. Lafayette were dressed, after the battle of Brandywine; the Morgan (Terrill) house, built by Evan Morgan; the Caldwell mansion; the Ashbridge house; Lamokin Hall, built about 1708, by John Salkeld, Jr., the Thomas Barton house; the Sandelands House, built by Jonas Sandelands, prior to 1732.

Old Hotels of Chester.—The Boar's Head, at which William Penn spent

PENN HOUSE, CHESTER, BUILT IN 1683.

WASHINGTON HOUSE, CHESTER.

the winter of 1682-83; the Black Bear Inn, at the corner of Third and Penn, later known as "The Ship in Distress;" the Blue Ball Inn, one of the buildings struck by cannon balls from the British war vessel in 1777—all were famous. Among others, the City Hotel, later the "Ship George Washington," later "The Eagle."

The Washington House was erected in 1745, by Audrey Bevan, who named it "Pennsylvania Arms." In 1772 the hotel was bought by William Kerlin, who after the British evacuated Philadelphia named it "The Washington House," a title it still retains. Washington, in passing from Mount Vernon, his home, to the seat of government in Philadelphia and New York, often stopped at this hotel, where the best room in the house was always at his disposal. The ancient mahogany chairs which stood in the room are still preserved by descendants of William Kerlin. The house is appropriately marked by a tablet, thus: "Delaware County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, mark this house as the place where Washington wrote at midnight the only report of the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. Here Washington also received the congratulations of the people of Chester upon his election as the First President of the United States, April 20, 1789."

The Columbia House is said to have been the house in which the wounds of General Lafayette were dressed, after the battle of Brandywine, a distinction claimed for two other houses in Chester.

The Blue Anchor Tavern, also known as the "Hope Anchor" and "Swan," "the Steamboat Hotel;" "the Lafayette House," also a claimant for the honor of having sheltered the wounded Lafayette; Schanlan's Tavern; the Goeltz House; the Brown Hotel—these are others.

The present city officials of Chester are: William Ward, Jr., mayor; James L. Kelly, controller; E. B. McClenachan, treasurer; Charles R. Mould, clerk; John Vance, chief of police; B. G. Ladomus, engineer; Robert Watson, commissioner of highways; Lincoln E. Slater, chief engineer of fire department. The city is uniformly Republican in politics, although from 1872 until 1881 and from 1884 until 1887, Dr. J. L. Forwood, a Democrat, served as mayor; also from 1893 until 1896, John B. Hinkson, a Democrat, was mayor; and in 1905-06, William H. Berry was elected on a fusion ticket, he being a leading Democrat.

The official newspapers of the city are the Chester Times, an afternoon daily, and the Morning Republican, a morning daily, both Republican in politics. Other newspapers published in the city are the Delaware County Advocate, Republican, published every Saturday, by John Spencer; The Delaware County Democrat, published every Thursday, by Henry Frysinger; The Herald Ledger, Republican, published every Saturday, by the Ledger Publishing Company.

The city is divided into eleven wards, a representative from each forming a select council, two from each ward comprising a common council. The president of select council, 1913, is E. W. Jefferies, M. D., term expires in December, 1915; president of common council, William H. Powel, term expiring

in December, 1913. The bonded debt of the city, April, 1913, was $1,201,000. amount in several sinking funds, same date, $207,871.31; assessed valuation in 1913, $19,183,402, producing an estimated income for the year, of $239,381.

POPULATION.

The population of Delaware county in 1790 was 9,483; in 1800, 12,809; in 1810, 14,734; in 1820, 14,811; in 1830, 17,361; in 1840, 19,791; in 1850, 26,640; in 1860, 30,597; in 1870, 34,403; in 1880, 56,102; in 1890, 74,683; in 1900, 94,762, and in 1910, the population in detail was as follows, according to the thirteenth United States census report:

Aldan borough,	661	Middletown township,	3806
Aston township,	2135	Millbourne borough,	322
Bethel township,	535	Morton borough,	1071
Birmingham township,	702	Nether Providence township,	1941
Chester City,	38,537	Newtown township,	739
Chester township,	615	Norwood borough,	1668
Clifton Heights borough,	3155	Prospect Park borough,	1655
Collingdale borough,	1361	Ridley township,	2945
Colwyn borough,	1584	Ridley Park borough,	1761
Concord township,	1213	Rutledge borough,	523
Darby borough,	2412	Sharon Hill borough,	1401
Darby township,	1763	Springfield township,	1132
Eddystone borough,	1167	Swarthmore borough,	1899
Edgemont township,	525	Thornbury township,	1944
Glenolden borough,	1157	Tinicum township,	1135
Haverford township,	3989	Upland borough,	2221
Lansdowne borough,	4066	Upper Chichester township,	671
Lower Chichester township,	1250	Upper Darby township,	5385
Marcus Hook borough,	1573	Upper Providence township,	961
Marple township,	895	Yeadon borough,	882
Media borough,	3562		

making a total of 117,906, of whom 105,949 are white, and 35,877 are voters.

AGRICULTURE—MANUFACTURING—TRANSPORTATION.

It is a far cry from the day of the hand sickle to that of the modern reaper and binder, but when it is recalled that in that time we have progressed from a walking communication with neighbors and distant friends to the telephone, from the horse to the automobile, from the sail-boat to the ocean-liner, from the stage-coach to the railroad train, in short, from semi-savage to civilized people, progress in agricultural work has kept pace with our onward march to the perfection of a Christian civilization. It would have been impossible for the farmers of our country to continue in their old methods for the reason that, with our rapidly increasing population, the amount of food products procured from the soil would have been entirely inadequate to our needs. Consequently, it is small wonder that farmers have developed new methods of farming, new implements, new rules of crop rotation, new means of reviving and fertilizing seemingly useless ground—in short, have revolutionized the means by which we live.

In the early days in Delaware county, it was no unusual thing for farmers, after raising crops upon their land year after year, to find it so exhausted and lacking in nutriment, that they would sell it for almost any price that they might emigrate and settle in the "milk and honey" of Lancaster county, not realizing that there they would enact once more the tragedy they had been rehearsing in their native place. Of course, the causes of this were many and varied, but one of the basic reasons was the inefficacy of the primitive plow, which closely resembled those used by the ancient Egyptians, likenesses thereof being preserved on their sarcophagi. It was built entirely of wood, the mould board being a heavy block, a defective and clumsy implement. English historians claim that James Small, of Berwickshire, Scotland, who built a plow with a cast-iron mould-board and a wrought-iron share, was the first to introduce metal on plows, but Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," states that previous to 1785, when Small's innovation made its appearance, "William Ashmead, of Germantown, made for himself a plow with a wrought-iron mould instead of the customary board. This great improvement was much admired by General Lafayette, who purchased four of these plows for his estate,—LaGrange. The improvement was soon adopted by another person, who made the mould-board of cast-iron."

The harrow was used very early, for in 1698, Gabriel Thomas says, "Their ground is harrowed with wooden tyned harrows, twice over in a place is sufficient." The first thrashing in the county was done with the heavy flail, although later the system of horse thrashing about a large circular floor was inaugurated. John Clayton, of Delaware county, in 1770 received the exclusive right of manufacture and sale for a thrashing machine he had invented. The next machine of this nature was that made by Andrew Meikler, of Scotland, seventeen years later. The date of the inception of the fan for the winnowing of cereals is uncertain, but a primitive form thereof was in use in Delaware county, prior to the Revolution.

It is interesting to note the difference between the farms and farmers of the old and present day. Then there was nothing but general farming conducted, each farmer maintaining a truck garden, the products for home consumption; a field of corn, wheat, and oats; a few chickens; a pig or two; perhaps two or three cows; and for fruit trees, several apple or pear trees in the "yard," or space about the farmhouse; while now, throughout the county, are found wide stretching orchards, the farmer devoting all his time and skill to the raising of fruit; broad fields of tossing grain, the only product of another farm; green pastures filled with herds of sleek and well fed cattle, the property of a dairy farmer whose milk, certified by the county authorities, is purchased in the neighboring city, and, finally, long stretches of glass covered green and hot-houses, where floriculture is followed.

The transportation of domestic animals was begun in the Delaware river settlement long before Penn's arrival, there being several in the colony at New Sweden. Among many references in early annals, the journal of Sluyter and Danckers, written in 1679, mentions them as used for riding; and Penn, when he arrived in 1682, had with him "three blooded mares, a fine white horse, not full blooded," and other inferior animals, not for breeding, but for labor, and on his return in 1699, brought with him "Tamerlane," a colt by "Godolphi Barb," the ancestor of the best pedigreed English stock. Many efforts were made to increase the number of the animals in Penn's colony, as well as to improve the stock. In 1683, the Assembly had forbidden the exportation of horses or mares under a fine of £10, and laws of the same year provided no stallion under thirteen and a half hands high should be permitted to roam at large in the woods. Mention is made by Rev. Israel Acrelius, in 1758, of the fleet horses owned by the descendants of the Swedish settlers on the Delaware, the favorite gait being the pace. Probably one of the most interesting stories connected with horses, in Delaware county, is the one of the two dappled-gray Arabian stallions, presented by the Sultan of Turkey to Gen. Grant, which were on exhibition in Chester in June, 1879. The beautiful beasts' pedigree could be traced for more than a thousand years, their high, arched neck, flashing eyes, firm muscles, and restless feet, bearing silent yet eloquent testimony to their noble blood.

It was the custom in the early days to let cattle roam wild in the woods, the abundance of food procurable making them fatter than would otherwise be the case. Captain Heinricks, of the British army, stated in 1778, that "perhaps the reason why the domestic animals are not half so good as ours, is because they are left out winter and summer in the open air." The ordinary method of procuring cattle for the market was for the butcher to go out in the woods with an owner, pick out as many of that man's cattle as were desired, by their brand, and drive them off. Under the Duke of York it was necessary to brand all cattle on the horns, but when Penn came into rule, he compelled all cattle to be branded when six months old, a time later extended to eighteen months, or be common property as strays. The record kept of the brand was similar to this, found in a record of a court, held in Chester, 5th mo. 1, 1684:

"George Maris's cattle mark. A slit on the tip of the near ear, his brand mark G. M." The increase of cattle was neither so rapid nor so satisfactory as that of horses, for an act of 1st mo. 1683, forbids the killing of a cow, calf or ewe-lamb for three years, under a £5 fine, one-half to go to the informer. The price of cows rose from $18 previous to 1835, to $65 in 1862, with fluctuations in the years between, and since the latter year the price has always held high.

Sheep were brought into the province at a very early date, and thrived remarkably well, the absence of the various skin diseases to which they were subject in England being conspicuous. The same Captain Heinricks, mentioned previously, records that they were of excellent quality, but condoned the fact that the wool was practically all lost by their roaming wild, mentioning also that their hides were sold for eight shillings a piece, York money.

The part played by swine was by no means unimportant, for the salted flesh of these animals was a large item on the daily menu of the families of the region. The hogs were turned loose in the woods, and because of the abundance of berries and other fruit did not develop into the "razor back" variety, but became plump and fat, attaining an enormous size. It was no uncommon thing for a one year old swine to weigh two hundred pounds. The grade of swine raised in the colony was quite as good as the finest Holstein, and hogs came to be such desirable property that their theft was common, compelling stringent laws for their protection. Penn, by act of March 10, 1683, ruled that a person convicted of that offense was compelled to pay three times the value of the hog stolen; for the second, a like fine, and six months imprisonment; for the third, twenty-nine lashes, and banishment from the colony, with such punishment as the direction of the county court saw fit if return were attempted. The running at large of swine became objectionable when improvement of meadow land in Chester began, and the Assembly in 1699 forbade unringed and unyoked swine from being at large in that town, all animals being so found reverting to the county of Chester by forfeit, while all damage done by goats or hogs of persons living without the prescribed limits was to be made good by the owner of the animals. The limits of Chester were the Delaware river on the south; Chester creek, west; Kings road, north; and Ridley Creek, east. An act in 1705 ordered that no swine, unringed and unyoked, should be allowed at large within fourteen miles of the navigable parts of the Delaware river, or in the town of Philadelphia, Chester or Bristol, any fine imposed being divided between the informer and the Government. As for the ordinary domestic fowls—chickens, geese, ducks, turkeys, and the like, were abundant, thriving well and increasing rapidly in the new climate.

From the advance report of the thirteenth census, compiled in 1910, for the year 1909, it is found that the entire area of Delaware county, is 118,400 acres, of which 69.7 per cent., or 82,575 acres is used for agricultural purposes. This is divided into 1429, the value of which is $13,281,990, and adding to this the value of the buildings and other farm appurtenances thereon, the total is $22,531,381. Of all the farms in the county, 827 are operated by their owners; 507 are rented; and the other ninety-five under managerial supervision. All

these farms are well stocked with domestic animals, the aggregate value of which is $1,346,421.

The dairy and nursery interests of the county are large, many farms being devoted exclusively to these lines. Flowers are also extensively grown for the city markets in both greenhouses and in the open. The value of dairy products for the county was in 1909, $914,221, a sum realized from 10,515 cows. In the slaughter houses of the county, sheep, hogs and cows were dressed, valued at $118,120. The value of the crops of all kinds raised in the county in 1909, was $1,842,914.

MANUFACTURING

Although now the territory included within the borders of Delaware county, is divided into countless well tilled fields and its many hills covered with grazing cattle of every kind, when first settlement was made, such was not the case. Forests covered the land, watered by swift running creeks and brooks, the only tillable areas being the low lands along some of these streams. Hence manufacturing began, even before the harvesting of the grain, planted by the water courses. The water of the streams was used as power to turn the wheels that drove the saws, that converted the logs into manufactured lumber to be used in the erection of homes, barns and other mills. Stones were set in these mills where the ripened grain was converted into flour and meal. Every available mill site was seized upon as fast as the forest gave way to the fields, and soon not only grist and saw mills were humming, but rude oil mills sprang up; cotton mills were turning out coarse cloths, followed by woolen mills, paper mills and various plants for manufacturing clay into household vessels, bricks, etc. Quarries were opened, shipbuilding began in yards along the Delaware, then iron furnaces were built followed by larger and larger plants until now great mills are devoted to the manufacture of iron and steel according to the most modern discovery. The old-time method of spinning and weaving was carried on at every farm house until the great mills drove the spindle and distaff to the garret, and homespun became a lost word. To carry the history of manufacturing in Delaware county through all its detail would require many volumes, and space can only be given to the more important industries of the past and present. The old-time dams and mills have largely disappeared, these being replaced in many instances by reservoirs from which great pumps force the water through miles of mains to near and distant homes. At others, electricity is generated, that lights these homes, furnishes power to drive the transportation systems of the county and the wheels of many factories. Rated as an agricultural county, yet in the value of its industrial plants and of its manufactured products, Delaware county ranks high. While Chester and suburbs is the central point of manufacture, there is no township in the county without manufacturing of some kind, and in many of the townships very important industries are located. The old-time milling of grain in all forms is yet an important one in the county, as is the manufacture of clay products into household utensils, tile and brick for varied purposes.

Lumber manufacturing is also carried on extensively in saw and planing mills, while at Delaware river points, shipyards yet exist, although the boats now built at these yards are of the smaller variety of pleasure boats, fishing craft, tugs and lighters. The great yards at Chester, where leviathans of the deep were formerly constructed, and where was built the first iron steamship in this country, no longer exist in their former glory, but are given over largely to other purposes. The cotton and woolen mills, ever a feature of Delaware county manufacturing, have, however, grown and expanded until corporations have succeeded firms in ownership, and great factories have succeeded the modest plants of the founders. Immense steel works have also added greatly to the manufacturing glory of the county and contribute an important item in the value of manufactured products. Oil refining is also extensively carried on; in fact, the inventions and advancement of the latter quarter of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries are well represented in the factories and mills of Delaware county. Of the early manufacturing plants, and those of a later period, prior to the present century, many have, of course, served their day and disappeared, some forever, others to be revised and devoted to the manufacture of the very articles that drove the original mill out of existence. New conditions and new inventions brought others into existence, each census report showing an advance in value of the mill property of the county and of manufactured products. Perhaps the latest great addition to Delaware county industrial development, is the establishment at Eddystone of an immense department of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, of which a fuller account will follow. Another industry dating from an early day, was the tanning of leather, tanneries existing in nearly every section of the county, after settlement had been permanently made.

Aston Township Mills.—The first mill in Pennsylvania was built in 1643 or 1644, on Cobb's creek, immediately above the bridge, near the Blue Bell Tavern, in what was later Chester county. The first mill built within the present limits of Delaware county was erected in 1683, on Chester creek, a little above the site of the present village of Upland. This was the foundation of the later famous Chester Mills. Richard Townsend, who came over with William Penn, in a letter written in 1727, says: "After some time I set up a mill on Chester creek, which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding corn and sawing of boards and was of great use to us." Richard Townsend, however, was only one of ten partners interested in this mill.

In Aston township, prior to the Revolution, Robert Hall and Abraham Sharpless owned and operated a grist mill on the west branch of Chester creek. Traces of the old race which fed this mill, and remains of the ancient dam, are yet discernible. In 1798 this property was sold to Thomas Jones, who operated it unsuccessfully until 1800, when he was sold out by the then sheriff, John Odenheimer. Captain Richards, the purchaser, added an oil mill and operated the plant for half a century until his death in 1858, although the flood of 1843 did him much damage. In 1864, John B. and Samuel Rhodes purchased the property and changed the old mill into a cotton and woolen factory,

which in 1868 they greatly enlarged, and again in 1872. This plant, known as the Llewellyn Mills, caused the establishment of the village of Llewellyn (also Llanwellyn), which was made a post office in 1880. The Rhodes Brothers also operated the Knowlton mills and the West Branch mills, manufacturing doeskins, jeans and dress goods.

The old forge at Rockdale, Aston township, is of record as early as 1785, but was in existence in 1750. These iron works were sold in 1802 by Dell Pennell,—who had owned and doubtless operated them since 1780,—to George Chandler, who in 1808 sold to Thomas Odiborne, a merchant of Malden, Massachusetts, who in 1809 erected a nail mill. The property changed to different members of the Odiborne family, and in 1830 the old Sable Mills, under the management of Captain Henry Moore, consisted of a nail slitting and rolling mill, grist and saw mills. The iron ore and coal used at these mills was hauled from Chester and Marcus Hook, to which ports they had been brought in flatboats. Captain Moore, prior to 1826, built on the site of the old forge a four-story cotton mill. In 1833 he failed and the mills lay idle for about a year, then were rented, and in 1845 sold to Barnard McCready, who was an exhibitor at the National Fair at Washington in 1846, receiving special mention for cotton prints made at his mill. He erected a spinning mill adjoining the old factory (later converted into dwelling houses), and continued in business until his death, when the business passed to other hands. The cotton mill, which stood on the site of the old forge, was totally destroyed by fire May 20, 1873, being then operated by Whitaker & Lewis in the manufacture of cotton yarn. The old forge dam stood just above the bridge at Glen Riddle and was removed by Samuel Riddle in 1875.

The Lenni Mills, dating from 1798, were built by a paper manufacturer of Upper Providence, John Lungren, on Chester creek, in Aston, in which township it was assessed in 1799. A new dam was built in 1815 and the mill was operated by Lungren until his death in 1816. His sons rented the plant for several years and sold it to Peter Hill in 1825. He built a three-story cotton mill which he conveyed the same year to his nephews, William Martin and Joseph W. Smith, who gave it the name Lenni Mills. At this time the paper mill (two vats) was operated by John R. Duckett, who manufactured weekly sixty reams of quarto post paper and thirty-three reams of printing paper. There were changes in ownership, new mills erected, old ones destroyed by fire, until 1877, when the mills were rented to Gen. Robert Patterson, and the stone mansion erected by John Lungren, the first owner, was occupied as a residence by Robert L. Martin, Gen. Patterson's agent. In 1882 the mills were closed.

The land on which the Crozerville mills stand was part of a tract of ten acres on Chester creek, on which its owner, John Bottomley, erected a woolen mill in 1811, later admitting his brothers, Isaac and Thomas. This factory made money for its owners during the war of 1812-1814, and was one of the noted plants of its day. But financial troubles came, and in 1826 the property was sold to John B. Duckett, who built a paper mill 30 by 86 feet, three stories

high, operated by power from the West Branch. In 1837 he failed and the property was transferred to the Bank of Delaware County, the estate then consisting of the mill, mansion house, nine tenements and a store building. In 1838 the bank sold the property to John P. Crozer, who in 1839 erected the stone mill, which he operated until his death in 1866, when it passed to sons and sons-in-law. The Crozerville mills is one of the important plants of the township, cotton yarns being the exclusive product.

Between 1790 and 1795, Aaron Matson built a stone mill on the west branch of Chester creek, which he operated as a paper mill until 1824, when he became involved and was sold out by the sheriff. The property was bought by John P. Crozer, who changed it to a cotton mill and in 1826 had 1338 spindles working, spinning 1100 pounds of cotton yarn weekly. In the flood of 1843 the property was damaged and goods lost to the value of several thousands of dollars. The west branch mill remained in the Crozer family until 1882, when it was sold to John B. Rhodes, as stated in the mention of Llewellyn mills. These mills, under both ownerships, have been known as the West Branch Cotton Mills.

The Gladstone Mills, located at Bridgewater, in Aston, were originally built in 1845 by Isaac Morgan, who erected a four-story stone cotton mill to which he gave the name "Pennellton," in honor of his wife, Hannah Pennell. Edward Leigh was the first occupant of Pennellton mills, and carried on cotton, spinning and weaving from 1846 until 1850, when he, was succeeded by Charles and Joseph Kenworthy from 1851 to 1855. Later Patrick Kelly succeeded, who popularized the "Powhattan" line of goods and became wealthy retiring in 1863. He sold his entire interest in the business and plant to Hugh Shaw and David Reese Esrey, who operated the Pennellton mills until 1886, when having built Powhattan No. 1, in North Chester, the old factory on Chester creek was bought by Joseph Wilcox & Company, who changed it to a paper mill and gave it its present name, Bridgewater. In January, 1872, Samuel Haigh & Company, of Philadelphia, purchased the estate, reconverted it into a woolen mill, enlarging by an addition to the western end, and now known as the Gladstone mills. Thatcher's tilt mill was located on Chester creek, above Grubb's bridge, prior to 1811. Joseph Thatcher operated the mill until 1812, when Enos Thatcher was the owner, but in 1815 the firm was Thomas & Enos Thatcher. In 1826 it is recorded that the "tilt and blade mill" owned by Thomas Thatcher had not been "much used in times past." At his death in 1840, the property consisted of a stone tilt mill with four fires, lathes, grindstones and polishing wheels, and nearby a coachmaker's shop. In 1841 Joseph and Isaac Thatcher were there engaged in making "scycloidal self-sharpening plows." In 1843 his tilt mill was swept away in the great flood, nothing being found later but the tilt hammer and grindstone. In 1852 John W. Thatcher carried on coach making and blacksmithing there, continuing several years.

The Peters grist and saw mills date prior to 1799, but prior to 1750 a stone fulling mill had been built, followed by a saw mill. This saw mill is mentioned in old records as a "slitting mill," it being employed in slitting logs to

be used in building ships. In 1826 the fulling mill was in disuse, and a grist and saw mill were in operation and were owned in the Peters family until 1872, when Charles F. Johnson acquired the property, which he has since operated as the Forest Queen mills.

Thomas Dutton built a tan house on his grandfather Richard Dutton's farm in Aston, in 1790. He continued in business there until 1808, when he moved to New York state, but in 1817 returned and resumed his tanning business at the old location. He used a steam engine at his works, purchased of William Parrish, a manufacturer of Philadelphia, the first, it is said, ever set up in Delaware county. He continued in business until 1848, when he retired, aged eighty years. He lived to the great age of one hundred years, seven months, eleven days. He voted for Washington at his second candidacy, and for General Grant in November, 1868.

Upland Borough Mills.—Although incorporated a borough in 1869, Upland was until that time a part of the township of Chester. Upland was the site of the first mills erected in Pennsylvania after the province passed under the dominion of Penn, although the first mill in Pennsylvania was the Swedish water mill, erected by Governor Printz on the east side of Cobb's creek, near the Blue Bell Tavern at Paschalville. The mills, owned by Richard Townsend and his nine partners, consisting of corn, grist and saw mills, passed through several changes of ownerships, Caleb Pusey selling to William Penn in 1706 his interest in "all those three water corn mills and saw mills, commonly called and known by the name of Chester mills." In 1745 the old mill was destroyed by fire. A new stone mill was built by Joseph Pennell, which was destroyed by fire in 1758. The dam breast was built in 1752 by Samuel Shaw, who sold the mills prior to the Revolution. They became the property of Henry Hale Graham, by whom they were sold to Richard Flower, his son-in-law. On October 31, 1777, by order of Gen. Washington, the stones were removed from Chester mills, that no flour might be ground for the British army. In 1793, Richard Flower purchased from Oliver Evans the right to use the latter's patent "for elevating grain and meal from the lower to the upper stories and conveying the same from one part of the mill to another, and for bolting the meal and attending the bolting hoppers." From the same old document recording this sale, it is learned that at that time the motive power consisted of "two water wheels situate on Chester creek," and that the property was known as Chester mills. In 1793, Richard Flower made entry at the court house of the brands exclusively made by him at these mills—"Chester Superfine," "Chester," "Chester Middlings" No. 2-96, No. 4-98. He shipped several cargoes to Europe prior to 1800, but finally he and his partners lost three ships and cargoes to French cruisers, which were condemned by French prize courts, inflicting a loss so great that they never again sought a foreign market.

During the war of 1812 the American troops were instructed to impress all the flour at Chester mills for the army, but the government paid full value for all that was taken. In 1824, Richard was succeeded by his son, William G. Flower, who operated them until 1843. In 1843 the Chester mills were sold

under orphans' court proceedings, and in 1845 became the property of John P. Crozer, who thereon erected a five-story stone cotton mill. In 1852 he built mill No. 2, the two mills having 13,000 spindles, to which many thousands were added later. In 1863, mill No. 3, was added, the three mills consuming ninety bales of cotton and producing eighty-two cases of goods weekly After the death of John P. Crozer, in 1866, the mills were divided among his sons, Samuel A., J. Lewis, George K. and Robert H. Crozer, who continued the business until succeeded by their sons.

Lower Chichester Township Mills.—About the year 1750, a grist mill was erected on Chichester creek, at what is now Trainer's Station, John Price then owning the land. In 1790 his son Samuel owned the mill, which was operated by George Pearson. In 1806 David Trainer purchased the grist mill, and in 1811 John R. Price built a saw mill near by on his father's estate, which he later sold to David Trainer, who with his partner, Gideon Jacques, operated both the grist and saw mills. It was to accommodate the rafting of logs to this saw mill that the Act of Assembly was passed March 24, 1817, which declared Lower Chichester creek "from the mouth thereof up the same to the mill of David Trainer and Gideon Jacques be and the same is declared a public highway for the passage of rafts, boats and other vessels." In 1837 the old grist mill was changed into a cotton factory and enlarged. This was operated by David (2) Trainer and John (2) Hastings until 1842, when the failure of a commission house, largely in their debt, caused a dissolution, Mr. Trainer, however, continuing the business, but under very discouraging circumstances. In 1846 he exhibited at the National Fair in Washington, receiving special notice for the excellence of his goods. In 1849 he became owner of the mills by inheritance from his father, David (1) Trainer, and was engaged in prosperous business until October 13, 1851, when an incendiary fire swept away property to the value of $50,000, on which an insurance of only $18,000 was carried. He at once rebuilt, and by August 1, 1852, the old mill had been replaced by a much larger building, filled with new and improved machinery. In 1865 he enlarged his mill, and in 1869 erected mill No. 2, followed in 1873 by the erection of mill No. 3, and the firm, enlarged by the admission of his sons, became David Trainer & Sons. In 1878, at the Paris Exposition, they were awarded a bronze medal for the superiority of the tickings made at their mills. This has ever been one of the well known successful manufacturing plants of Lower Chichester.

On the west branch of Naaman's creek, near the northwest boundary of the township, is one of the old mill seats and land marks of the county. Prior to 1800 it was the property of Nathan Pennell, but in 1802 Nehemiah Broomall was its owner. In 1826 the grist mill was recorded as grinding between 3000 and 5000 bushels of grain yearly, while the saw mill was run only at intervals. On October 19, 1829, Nehemiah Broomall sold the mills to Benjamin Hickman, for $3000. After Hickman's death his widow Ann conducted the business, which later became the property of Samuel Hickman, who erected a new merchant mill on the old site and popularized the brand of "Diamond Mills" flour.

In 1870, John H. Barton and Jarius Baker erected a large sugar refinery east of the upper pier at Marcus Hook, and in April, 1871, sugar was being refined. On February 25, 1872, fire in two hours left nothing but the walls, having consumed $125,000 worth of property, not fully insured. Later James Baker using the standing walls, erected a large flour mill on the site, but four years after the first fire it too was totally consumed by fire. In 1878, John (2) Larkin purchased the site, and using part of the old walls, erected a machine shop and foundry, which was used for a few months only. In 1880 the Pioneer Iron Works, Limited, became the lessee and built seven iron vessels there. They then failed, and the building was later leased to different parties for varied purposes.

In 1871, Mr. Larkin erected a large three-story brick building intended for a shoe factory, and it was so occupied for a few months by Morton Bowker. Later it was changed to the Riverside Hosiery Mill, and on September 1, 1877, Clarence Larkin and John G. Campbell began making hosiery there. In October, Mr. Campbell withdrew, the business having since been conducted by Mr. Larkin.

Birmingham Township Mills.—Brandywine creek, famous in history as the scene of one of the Revolutionary conflicts, has quite as interesting position in the annals of peace, inasmuch as along its banks were erected many of the manufacturing plants that gave Pennsylvania its place among the industrial states of our nation. At the intersection of Beaver and Brandywine creeks were the Beaver Valley Mills, owned by Thomas Gibson, a practical millwright, who in 1808 sold them to John Farra, who repaired and rebuilt the mills. At the death of the latter the estate was sold to Lewis Smith, and he subsequently conveyed it to Marshall Brinton, who enlarged the building by adding an upper story and installed new machinery. These mills later came into the possession of Joseph Brinton. Following Beaver creek, near the road leading to Smith bridge, was a woolen factory built in 1817 by John Farra, who leased to the La Forrest Brothers, but in 1824 it was burned, and remained as the flames had left it until 1830, when it was rebuilt on part of the old foundation, as a paper mill. As such, it was occupied by William and James Gilmore for a year, when John Farra took possession and manufactured paper therein until his death in June, 1832. He was succeeded by his son Daniel. Misfortune seemed to follow any building erected on the property, for on May 15, 1851, the paper mill was in turn destroyed by fire. The land then passed into the hands of Frank Tempest, who rebuilt the mill and added an engine to the machinery equipment, so that either steam or water power could be used. Further up the east branch of Beaver creek, on the same high way, near Tempest's mill, Peter Hatton built a fulling mill in 1809, and in 1817 he erected a woolen factory wherein were manufactured flannels, satinets and cloth. The fulling mill has gone into decay, but the factory stands now idle, as to the purpose for which it was built, the waters which formerly furnished it power being used to assist in driving the machinery in Tempest's paper mill, both mills now being owned by the Tempest family. In 1826 both mills were

supplied with water by the same race, and the business was conducted by Peter Hatton's sons Samuel and Gideon. In 1843 the Hatton mill was owned by Philip Hizer, and the dam there was washed away in the flood of that year.

Just beyond the bend in Beaver creek, in the state of Delaware, was the woolen factory built in 1825 by Charles Dupont and operated by Lewis Sacriste, but the structure was entirely demolished by the flood of August 5, 1843. Further along, near the line of Concord township, was the old Green saw mill, built early in the nineteenth century and owned by Reese Perkins, in the flood year, 1843. On the west branch of Beaver creek was an edge tool mill owned by William Morrison. Prior to 1777, William Twaddell owned an estate on Brandywine creek, where he erected iron works in connection with the saw mill. In 1780 he was in Aston, calling himself a "forge-master" and registering three slaves as his property. Difficulty in casking the ore and iron before and after smelting, caused him to change the works into powder mills in 1807, which were known as the Cannon Powder Mills. In this business William Twaddell continued until 1831, when there were two powder mills and four drying houses, at which time they were again changed into paper mills. Just above Twaddell's dam, which crossed the Brandywine obliquely, Thomas Gibson owned a saw mill on the west side of the creek, the dam of the latter being at right angles to the stream. Many years ago the building was struck by lightning, the building destroyed and the sawyer killed. The bridge of the Baltimore Central railroad, below Chadd's Ford, was built in 1859. At the east of the bridge stood Chadd's mill, on the site of which Caleb Brinton in 1860 built his present merchant mill. Previous to that year, Mr. Brinton had built a large frame building for a merchant flour and saw mill on Dix's Run above the Delaware county line. There he remained for some time, but the water power being insufficient, he moved the machinery to the larger building erected on the site of Chadd's old mill. A short distance below the county bridge at Chadd's Ford, is the mouth of Harvey's Run, the first mills on this stream being those erected by Benjamin Ring, some years previous to the Revolution, comprising grist, fulling and saw mills. The mills subsequently became the property of Eli Harvey, and in time that of his son, Joseph P., now being part of the estate owned by Joseph Turner. The old mills are no longer standing, having been torn down by Turner to raise, in their place, a large grist and merchant mill. Following the east branch of Harvey's Run, about a mile east of Chadd's Ford, was a saw mill, said to have been erected by one of the Butcher family about the beginning of the nineteenth century. This mill fell into absolute decay, but the property was purchased in 1842 by Job Pyle, who there erected a saw mill to cut up the timber felled on the farm. Pyle sold the estate to Thomas Brinton, who repaired the mill, putting in buhrs to grind feed. On the west branch of Harvey's Run, directly opposite Chalkeley Harvey's house, was in olden times a corn mill, while some distance further up the road was an oil mill for grinding linseed.

Upper Chichester Township Mills.—John Talbot built a stone grist mill on the east branch of Naaman's creek in 1767, which for many years did a large

and remunerative business among the farmers of that section. Shortly after 1820 it became the property of Nathan Pennell. In 1826 it was owned by his heirs, and later rented to Mordecai Brown and others. It was finally purchased by William McCay, subsequently becoming the property of his son John B., and in 1884 was entirely consumed by fire. In 1862, on the tract of land surveyed to John Kinsman on a branch of Green creek, a saw mill was built shortly after 1750 by Kingsman Dutton. He died with his estate much involved, and the property was sold by the sheriff in 1768. Joseph Talbot became the owner of the mill and plantation and the estate descended to his grandson, Benjamin Elliott, who removed the old mill in 1860, as it had been long discarded and had fallen into a state of dilapidation and unsightly decay.

Concord Township Mills.—The first mention of Concord mills, later Leedom's mills, was at the court held October 2, 1695, when Concord mills was assessed £10. According to Smith's map of early grants and patents, in 1695, the mills were located on the west branch of Chester creek, and on the tract of 500 acres which was entered by William Hitchcock, September 8, 1681, secured to him February 18, 1682, and a patent issued therefor, June 27, 1684. Concord mills was on the extreme eastern and lower end of the Pyle tract. The mill was built by a company of which William Brinton, Jr., of Birmingham, was one of the promoters. The assessment in 1695, giving its appraised value as £10, indicates clearly that it was a frame structure, which was later replaced by a stone building. In 1715, Nicholas Pyle had charge of the mill, for he appears in the assessment roll of that year "for ye mill."

When Concord meeting house was burned in 1788, the mill was used as a temporary place for Friends to gather until the meeting house was rebuilt. At that time it was owned by Thomas Newline, who had acquired title thereto previous to 1780. From 1790 to 1810 John Newlin rented and operated it, becoming owner in 1817. A short distance below this mill, in 1696, Nicholas Newlin built a saw mill which in 1790 was owned by Nathaniel Newlin, in 1802 by Thomas Newlin, and in 1817 by Benjamin Newlin. From 1810 to 1820 the grist mill was rented and operated by Mendenhall & Pennell, and after the latter year by John Newlin. The grist and saw mill subsequently became the property of Casper W. Sharpless, and finally that of George Drayton, the latter in 1859 selling thirty-eight acres and the upper mill to Samuel Leedom, by whose son, Emmor S., both mills were held as trust estate.

On September 24, 1683, 500 acres of land was surveyed to Nicholas Newlin, and April 2, 1703, the tract was surveyed to Nathaniel, son of Nicholas. Within this estate a part of the headwaters of the west branch of Chester creek were embraced, and through the lower part, running east and west, Providence and Concord road was laid out August 15, 1715. In 1704, Nathaniel Newlin built a stone grist mill on the west branch of Chester creek, later owned by Samuel Hill. In the walls of this old mill is a date stone marked "Nathan and Ann Newlin, 1704." The mill passed from Nathaniel or Nathan Newlin to his son Thomas, and in 1817 was sold to William Trimble as twenty-seven acres and the "Lower mill." Thomas Newlin for many years prev-

ious to that date had been the owner of the "Upper" or "Society" mill, later known as "Leedom's." The lower mill came into the possession of Abraham Sharpless, who operated it several years, and after his death it was sold by Casper W. Sharpless, executor of his father, Abraham, to John Hill & Son, in April, 1861. Upon the death of the senior member of the firm, the junior member, Samuel Hill, became sole owner and operator.

William Trimble, Jr., erected in 1782, on an estate adjoining that of Nicholas Newlin, a saw mill, and prior to 1799 a paper mill, which was operated as such by him until 1813, when it was changed to a cotton factory on the advice of John D. Carter, an Englishman. The factory was four stories in height, and was conducted by Carter until 1826. The Trimble cotton factory at that time contained four carding engines, 1068 spindles, and spun 750 pounds of cotton yarn weekly. The mills after Carter's departure were leased by Jacob Taylor, and later by Joseph Trimble, Charles Cheelham, Callaghan Brothers and others.

In March, 1873, the mills were destroyed by fire, and the property was sold to General Robert Patterson. On July 1, 1884, the executor of the Patterson estate sold the site to George Rush, Jr., who rebuilt the burnt mills and therein manufactured the Rush roller skates, of which he was the patentee. Early in the nineteenth century Samuel Trimble conducted the saw mill in the immediate neighborhood of the Trimble paper mill.

On the west bank of Chester creek, in 1785, Thomas Marshall had a tannery and stone bark mill, which was owned and operated by him in 1826, but which later fell into disuse. In 1770 Robert Mendenhall was operating a saw mill on the Mendenhall tract, which he conducted until 1788, when it became the property of Stephen Mendenhall.

In 1788, Thomas Hatton owned and operated a saw mill until 1799, when John Hatton succeeded him in the same line, also conducting a currying-shop and tanyard. In 1802, Joseph Hatton controlled the business and did so until 1830. In 1770, John Newlin was operating a grist mill, and in 1774 Cyrus Newlin and Daniel Trimble were following the same business. Abraham Sharpless and Hugh Judge were each running grist mills in 1782, while about 1800, William Walter likewise built one, which he operated for many years, the site later being occupied by both a grist and saw mill. In 1788 William Hannum was operating a saw mill on Green creek, where in 1811 his son conducted the business, maintaining a tan yard in connection therewith. Aaron Hannum built a grist mill in 1818, which prior to 1826 had been changed by John Hannum to a fulling mill and woolen factory, operated by John Jones. After 1848 the business was abandoned and the building's life as a factory ended.

In 1811, Matthias Corliss had a carding and spinning machine in Concord, which he operated for a short time. In 1779, Henry Myers owned a saw-mill on Concord creek, which in 1811 was owned and operated by John Myers, and in 1848 by Jesse Myers. At a very early date, William Vernon owned a saw mill on Green creek, near the Bethel line.

Darby Township Mills.—Glen Olden mills, on Muckinipattus creek, are

erected on the site of an old mill that tradition asserts was erected by Thomas Shipley, a miller, about 1755. In 1797 the mill seat was sold by the sheriff as the property of Charles Davis to John Jones, who conveyed it the same day to Caleb Phipps. In 1799, Hiram Walton was operating the mill, and in 1808 Elisha Phipps, a brother of Caleb, was the lessee. Elisha Phipps was an erratic character on whom little reliance could be placed, impulse governing his movements and causing no little annoyance to those who were depending on him. He owned a little sloop, the "Dusty Miller," which he would load with flour at his mill and thus convey his product to a market. On one occasion he loaded with flour and left the little creek bound for New York. Nothing was heard of him for so long that his wife visited New York, but could get no clue of him, the firms with which he dealt not having seen him. She returned home, finally giving him up as lost. One evening at nearly dusk she saw the "Dusty Miller" sailing up the Muckinipattus with the flood tide. As soon as moored, Phipps came to the house, entered, and as was his usual habit, threw his old hat on the floor, as though he had not been away for weeks and was mourned as dead. It seems that on leaving the capes of the Delaware he was struck with an idea that the West Indies was a better flour market than New York, and changed his destination with the impulse of that moment. He made a luck trip, sold his flour at a large profit, then, loading with rum and molasses, sailed for New York, sold out, loaded again with grain, and finally arrived home in safety. On March 21, 1812, Phipps sold to Halliday Jackson, who on February 27, 1828, conveyed the mill to Ephraim Inskeep. At the latter's death in 1876, the Glen Olden mills passed by inheritance to Ephraim J. Ridgway.

In 1867, Richard Thatcher erected a cotton spinning mill on Church run, the mill and machinery costing $65,000. On March 24, 1877, an incendiary fire destroyed the building and contents, entailing heavy loss. These mills, known as Warpington mills, were never rebuilt.

About 1849, General John Sidney Jones established a factory for the manufacture of carpets on the southern post road about a mile west of Darby borough, on land which had descended to him from his ancestors, who owned it during the Revolution. Eight tenements were part of the estate, and in these coal fires were prohibited by the owner, who, however, generously supplied his mill operatives, who occupied the houses, with wood for fuel. While operating the mills he and his wife, Fanny Lee Townsend Jones, set the type, edited and printed a periodical, called the "Monthly Jubilee." This, as well as the carpet mills, were later discontinued, the building being later used by John Shepherd & Company as a brush factory. On Friday, December 2, 1876, the mills, together with the mansion house, were destroyed by fire. The carpet making industry has been continued in Darby township by Wolfenden Brothers & Chism, who in 1882 erected and placed in operation, a factory manufacturing body brussels. From 1790 until 1812, John Horn owned and operated a tannery at Horntown, that was discontinued in the latter year.

Darby Borough Mills.—Prior to 1747, the territory now known as Upper

and Lower Darby, and the borough of Darby was included in one division, known as Darby township. In Thomas' "History of Pennsylvania," printed in 1698, he mentions "the famous Darby river which comes down from the country by Darbytown, wherein are several mills, viz: fulling mills, corn mills, etc." On a draft of the Queen's road from Darby to Chester, made in 1705, these mills are distinctly marked. John Bethel remained at these mills until his death prior to 1708, when they passed to his son John (2), the fulling mill, however, having previously been sold by John (1) Bethel to his son-in-law, Job Harvey, who about 1725 purchased the fulling mill on Ridley creek, later the site of the Media water works. These mills, commonly known as the Darby mills, were owned in 1747 by Joseph Bonsall, who November 3 that year, sold to Richard Lloyd three full parts of five and half acres of land and of the "water, corn or grist mills, commonly known as Darby mills" with the bolting house, bolting mills and other appurtenances. In 1764, Richard Lloyd having died and his widow married to Lewis Davis, the property was vested in Lewis Davis, Isaac Lloyd and Hugh Lloyd, the latter two, sons of Richard Lloyd. From 1764 to 1802 the mills were assessed to Isaac Lloyd, who in 1802 built a saw mill. From 1802 to 1817 they were assessed to Richard Lloyd, and in the latter year passed to Thomas Steel, who held title until 1861, although during his period of ownership he sold them several times, but always was obliged to take them back. In 1826 the mills had a capacity of about 40,000 bushels of grain and from about 300,000 feet of lumber annually. In 1861, Steel sold the mills to Simon Lord, and July 2, 1862, they were destroyed by fire. The same year Simon Lord rebuilt mill No. 1, which on May 15, 1867, was partially destroyed by fire. Again he rebuilt the mill, which was operated as a worsted mill until sold by the sheriff to John Cattell, who enlarged and sold to William A. Griswold. In 1880, the latter erected mill No. 2, a four-story brick building, which was devoted to the manufacture of silk yarn. In 1882, the Griswold Worsted Company (Limited) was organized, and both mills are controlled by that company.

The Oakford fulling mill was part of the Darby mills property, previously mentioned, from 1695, the date of its erection, until its destruction by fire, March 5, 1859. It passed to the Lloyds and their connections until in 1770, when it was owned by Isaac Oakford, who in 1790 was operating in connection with the fulling mill a print works. In 1826, Isaac Oakford still owned the mill, but it was operated by Aaron Oakford. It later passed to Thomas Steel with the other mills, and in 1854 was leased to John Verlenden, who changed it to a cotton mill and so operated it until its destruction by fire, March 5, 1859. In 1861 the fulling mill, with the other mills, passed to Simon Lord.

A tannery was operated in Darby by Benjamin Oakford, from 1788 until 1810, when he was succeeded by John Oakford until 1848.

In 1846, John Verlenden (mentioned above), in partnership with Morton Farraday, established a small mill on Whiskey run, in Springfield township, for spinning carpet yarn. In 1854, as stated, he leased the old fulling mill (Darby mills) which he changed to a cotton and operated until burned out,

March 5, 1859. In that year he built a factory on the site of the present Imperial mills, which he operated until his death in December, 1865. The family continued the business until 1867, when Smith & Verlenden leased and operated the mill three years. In 1870, W. Lane Verlenden and Enos Verlenden formed a partnership, and as Verlenden Brothers began manufacturing in these mills. In 1880, their main mill was destroyed by fire and was replaced by the present Imperial mill, devoted to the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods.

The Arrott mills date from 1848, and were erected by Judge James Andrews prior to that year. They are located at the head of tide water on Darby creek nearly opposite the old Thomas Steel grist mill. Judge Andrews operated them until his death, then his son, J. Charles Andrews, with Isaac Hibberd operated the plant as the Cedar Hills mills until 1873, when they leased to others. In April, 1878, the property was sold to William Arrott, of Philadelphia, who at once began there the spinning of yarn and again converted the plant into an active hive of industry.

In 1875 John L. Knowlton erected a two-story factory, along the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, on land bought from the Sharon Land Association. Here he manufactured machinery specialties until his death, since when it has been used for other purposes. In 1884, Scully & Smith, of Philadelphia, purchased the property and manufactured their wood turning machinery.

In 1766, John Pearson, later an officer in the Revolutionary army, was operating a tannery at Darby, continuing until 1810, when Charles Pearson succeeded him. In 1842, James Bunting was operating a bark mill at the same place.

Marple Township Mills.—Isaac Morris, in 1779, owned a saw mill on Darby creek, at the mouth of Whetstone run, near which in 1810 a plaster mill was located and conducted in connection therewith. In 1826 it was under the management of George Maris, in 1829 operated by Edward Parker, and later H. Maris. In 1766, Joseph Heacock was half owner of a saw mill in Marple, after which time the name disappears from the records until 1811, when Enoch Heacock was a saw-mill operator. In 1820, John Hunter erected a saw mill on Darby creek, which was operated by John Wright, who purchased it prior to 1848. Another saw mill was owned in 1779 by Joseph Burns, but its exact location is unknown. On Front Run, in 1820, on the grounds of Dr. Bernhardus Van Lear, was a mill seat and whetstone quarry, although the water power was used at a later date by Willett Papson, who erected thereon a grist mill and lower down the water course, a cotton factory, operated by a Mr. Blimder. On August 22, 1848, both mills were destroyed by fire.

Abraham Jones, in 1800, erected a saw mill in Marple, on Crum creek, and in 1826 was operating a grist-mill in connection therewith. The saw mill was in Marple, the grist mill in Upper Providence, and in 1848 both were owned by his widow, Ruth Jones, later by Lewis Palmer. In 1810 a tanyard

was operated by Lewis and Abraham Morris on the farm later owned by James Williamson. Until 1865 it was owned and operated by Rebecca Fawkes and James Lewis, who became possessors thereof in 1829. In 1809-1810, Thomas Pratt established a tanyard, but after a few years abandoned his project. From 1805 until 1850 Joseph Rhoads conducted a tanyard on the Rhoads farm, in 1810 admitting George Rhoads to a partnership in the business.

A pottery was established in 1841 by Benjamin Jones, at the ninth mile stone on the West Chester road, near Buck Tavern, but the entire enterprise proved a failure and was discontinued.

Upper Darby Township Mills.—The mills and factories of Upper Darby were located along Darby and Cobb's creeks, streams that have and are furnishing power to many of the busy plants along their banks. Just above the line dividing Upper and Lower Darby townships, on the west side of Darby creek, the Upper Darby paper mills are located. In 1747 Joseph Bonsall sold the Darby mills, previously mentioned, to Richard Lloyd. Bonsall and his descendants owned and operated saw and grist mills in this neighborhood, the last piece of property passing from them November 24, 1852, to Joseph Palmer. On March 31, Christopher Palmer bought the mills, and by will dated May 25, 1868, devised them to his son, Robert Palmer. The latter in 1872 sold the property to Edwin T. Garrett, who changed the grist mill to a paper mill.

On Darby creek, south of Kellyville, are located the Matthews paper mills, later known as the Bee Hive mills. On March 31, 1777, Morris Trueman and Joseph Cruikshank purchased six acres of Joseph Bonsall, their deed giving the right to build a dam and erect a mill. The next year a two-story stone paper mill was erected, which the partners operated until May 16, 1785, when Trueman bought his partner's interest and operated the mill until 1788, when he admitted Evan Trueman as a partner. April 6, 1799, John Matthews bought the property and conducted the paper making business until his death, when he was succeeded by his two sons. In 1859 Thomas Matthews sold the mills to J. Howard Lewis, who sold it the next year to his brother Samuel, who changed it into a cotton factory. In 1868 a new factory was erected on the site of the old paper mill. In April, 1876, this was destroyed by fire. Although the mill was not then in use, stock had been taken out and in another week the machinery would also have been removed. The mills were rebuilt and cotton manufacturing continued until March, 1884, when the buildings were again burned. They were again rebuilt, using the old walls as far as practicable, and the manufacture of asbestos goods established.

The land on which Kellyville is located and extending up the creek to include the Union mills, was the tract of 655 acres surveyed to George Wood, November 6, 1682. A century later Isaac Lobb owned 380 acres in the same locality, and in 1812 sold to Asher Lobb the right to build a dam across Darby creek, which the latter did and erected a saw mill. Between 1822 and 1826, Lobb erected a stone cotton factory, four stories high, which in the latter year was operated by Bernard McCready, and spinning 3300 pounds of cotton yarn weekly. He held the mills until November 28, 1836, when Lobb leased the fac-

tory to Dennis and Charles Kelly for a period of ten years. The following year Lobb died and by will directed the sale of the mill at the expiration of Kelly's lease. Under this clause Charles Kelly purchased the property, March 5, 1845. In 1847 the main building of the Kellyville mills, was 160 by 52 feet, five stories high, employed two hundred operatives and produced weekly 35,000 yards of ticking, cotton flannel, and plantation used goods, using 40,000 pounds of raw cotton monthly. The mills were operated by Dennis and Charles Kelly and their heirs until 1877, when on September 21, they were sold to George Campbell. On March 2, 1875, he sold the estate to Sellers Hoffman. The Modoc mills were erected a short distance above the Kellyville mills, in 1873, by Daniel Sharkey and William Weidbey, and devoted to the manufacture of cotton yarn.

The Garrett mills date from 1744, when William Garrett was assessed on a "fulling mill" and a "blade mill;" in 1766, on a "leather mill" and a "blade mill." In 1782, Aborn Garrett was assessed on a fulling mill, and in 1788 on a "skin mill out of repair," and also on a "plaster mill." No further mention of a Garrett in connection with manufacturing assessments appears until 1798, when Thomas Garrett owned a tilting mill at the site of the later Union mills, owned by Thomas Kent. There Thomas and Samuel Garrett conducted a tilt mill, oil mill and cotton factory. At the site of the Union mills, Thomas Garrett built his tilt mill in 1805, and on July 27, 1808, he purchased of Samuel Levis the right to place the abutment of a dam across Darby creek, for any purpose excepting for a grist or paper mill. He built the dam, enlarged the works, and there he and his brother Samuel conducted the Garrett mills, of previous mention. The latter also conducted, as an individual enterprise an oil mill at the same locality, until about 1830. In 1822 Thomas Garrett built a three-story stone cotton mill, which in 1826 was rented to John Mitchell. It was known as the Union mill, and was devoted to the making of cotton yarn. In 1830, James Robinson succeeded Mitchell and manufactured there for several years. Charles Kelly leased the mill in 1839 and operated it until April 1, 1845, when it was sold to James Wilde. The locality then became known as Wildeville, and November 16, 1846, Wilde sold the mills to Thomas Kent, who operated the mills until his death in 1887. In 1850, Mr. Kent built a large addition on both the north and south ends of the original mill, also built a dye house and a fire proof picker house, and greatly increased the output.

Before purchasing the Union mills, Thomas Kent, an Englishman, born in Lancashire, March 27, 1813, had in 1844 rented the Rockbourne mills. This mill, located on west side of Darby creek, was the property of Samuel Garrett until 1837, when he assigned it to Oborn Levis and William Garrett, who conveyed it April 1, 1838, to Edwin Garrett. This mill, located near the oil mill of Samuel Garrett, which was washed away in the flood of 1843, was first rented to Jonas Cowan, who made cotton laps until 1842, when James and John Wilde succeeded him, remaining until the fall of 1843, when they moved to Oborn Levis' mill, further up the creek. On January 1, 1844, Thomas

and John Kent, rented the factory and began the manufacture of woolen goods. On April 1, 1845, Thomas Kent purchased the mill and in 1850 built an addition. In 1868 the old part of the building was taken down and a large stone four-story factory erected, devoted to the manufacture of woolen cloths. The partnership that existed between Thomas Kent and his brother John was terminated in 1852, after an existence of nine years. They were greatly embarrassed by the disastrous flood of 1843, and by a fire which occurred the same year, but rebuilt, and as narrated, Thomas Kent bought the Union mills in 1846, and in 1852 bought his brother's entire interest. In 1852 he began the manufacture of Kentucky jeans at the Rockbourne mills, and continued to supply the market with that then much used cloth until 1861, when the mills were entirely given over to the manufacture of cloth for the United States government to be used for soldiers' and sailors' uniforms. In 1867 the old mill was torn down and an immense plant substituted, which has still further been enlarged. In 1877 the production of cloth gave way to the manufacture of flannels, still the specialty of this mill. After the death of Mr. Kent, his mill interests were incorporated by his heirs under the name of The Thomas Kent Manufacturing Company, the immense plants of this company being within the limits of the borough of Clifton Heights. At the head of the company is Henry Thomas Kent, eldest son of the founder, Thomas Kent.

On the site of the Clifton mills, a paper mill was in operation in 1782, then owned by Samuel Levis, but conducted by William Levis, to whom it was devised by his father's will, August 22, 1793. In 1795, William Levis, also bought of John Lungren, a paper mill on Ridley creek, which in 1822 was changed to a cotton factory. After the death of William Levis, the mill on Darby creek was sold by Oborn and William Levis, on February 24, 1825, to Samuel Eckstein, together with eighteen acres of land and the use of water in the creek from the dam and race of the Upper mills, now Glenwood mills. William Ames & Co. rented from the new owner, and in October, 1842, the property came into the possession of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and shortly after was sold to Oborn Levis. At that time it was a two vat paper mill, 92 by 32 feet, three stories high, and known as the Lamb mill. Oborn Levis operated this mill until his death, when he willed it to his son Oborn, who in 1867 changed it to a cotton factory, and so operated until his death. In 1881 his administrators sold it to William Longstreth, whose estate owned and operated the mills, known as the Clifton mills.

The Glenwood mills stand on ground purchased of William Penn before leaving England, by Samuel Levis, a maltster of Leicester, England. At the death of Samuel Levis, the land at the bend of the Darby creek, just south of the Garrettford road, descended to his son Samuel who is said to have erected at this location the first mill erected by the Levis family. It was a scythe or tilt mill, and must have been built later than 1750. In 1799, Samuel (2) Levis had a grist mill and an oil mill at this site, therefore a tilt mill could not have been a success, as prior to the Revolution the building had been used as a paper mill. Samuel (2) Levis, had several sons, among them Samuel (3),

William and Isaac Levis, all manufacturers. Isaac in 1775 moved to Ridley creek, where now the Media water works are erected. William had mills near the Glenwood mill site; Samuel (3) died in 1793, and the Glenwood mill site descended to Samuel (4) Levis, who died in 1813, the estate passing to his sons, William, Samuel (5) and Oborn. To William came the mills which later became the Eckstein mills, to Samuel (5), the present Glenwood mills, and to Oborn the Oborn Garrett mills. Samuel (5) and Oborn later exchanged properties and Oborn Levis came into possession of the Glenwood mills. They were operated by Thomas Amies & Son from 1828 to 1838, later by Israel Amies and Benjamin Gaskill until 1840. From that time Oborn and Samuel G. Levis conducted the mills until the death of Oborn, when they passed to the sole control of Samuel G. Levis. In 1862 the paper mill was torn down, and a cotton and woolen mill erected of large proportions, turning out many thousands of yards of goods daily.

The Tuscarora mills are located at the bend of Darby creek, where the line of Springfield township unites with the creek. Prior to the Revolution a grist mill was here located, where a paper mill was later erected by Samuel Levis. This paper mill was owned and conducted by Samuel Levis until his death in 1793, when it passed to his son William, who dying in 1818, the mills were sold to William Palmer and Jonathan Marker. They continued paper making until 1830, when Frederick Server, a son-in-law of William Palmer, succeeded. The paper made was a coarse card board, and business was continued successfully until the flood of 1843 washed away a part of the building. In 1844 George Burnley purchased the property, and the same year erected the two and a half story stone cotton mill known as the Tuscarora mills, the noted packet-ship of that name having brought Burnley from England to America. In 1860, Charles and John, sons of George Burnley, succeeded to the business until about 1865, when the mills were leased to Samuel Levis, who operated them until 1870, since when they have passed through various hands. Other mills of small proportions and long ago gone from even recollection, have existed on Darby creek, but the above include all of importance, that have a history of interest.

The first mill seat on Cobb creek, within the limits of Upper Darby, was on the present grounds of Fernwood cemetery. This site was occupied by Benjamin Bonsall, who erected a saw mill there soon after 1822. This mill is mentioned on assessment rolls from 1825 until 1848, when it disappears. The same dam that furnished water for Bonsall's saw mill also furnished power for a snuff mill located on the east side of the creek, in Philadelphia county. In 1807 this snuff mill was owned by Gavin Hamilton, and was continued in operation until 1826.

About 1831 a foundry and machine shop was erected on Cobb's creek above Naylor's Run by Coleman Sellers, the water power coming from Naylor's Run and from the old Sellers' mill dam. Coleman Sellers was an inventive genius, who had received a medal with $20 from the corporation of Philadelphia "for a simple and effective cupping instrument" which he had

invented. At this machine shop, locomotives were built, one of which was used on the Columbia & Philadelphia railroad. In February, 1842, the shop was sold to John Wiltbanks, who sold the machinery and material on hand to Nathan H. Baker and changed the building into a cotton factory, which was operated for a time by Benjamin Gartside. In 1856 the building was bought by Whiteley Brothers & Company, who enlarged it and carried on woolen and cotton manufacturing until 1881, when it was bought by Wolfenden Shore & Company, who continued to operate it in connection with their other factory, adjoining the old Sellers Locomotive Works.

On Naylor's run, which empties into Cobb's creek, there stood in 1799 a saw mill owned by Nathan Sellers, who that year was taxed on the assessment roll with David Sellers, on grist, cotton and saw mills. The latter, at the location named, was operated by Jesse Hayes for many years, then abandoned. Farther up Naylor's run is the Millbank grist mill, which was erected and first assessed in 1799, as owned by John Sellers, who devised it in 1804 to his sons, Nathan and David Sellers. Nathan later acquires sole title and at his death it passed to his son, Nathan (2) Sellers. The old mill was rebuilt in 1833 and conducted by Lewis Watkins, who December 31, 1853, purchased the mill, which later passed to his son, William Watkins. Above the Millbank grist mill, on the same stream, Samuel Levis was operating a blade mill in 1807, which until after 1812 was conducted by William Rowland, and by Samuel Levis until about 1848. This property afterward passed to David Sellers, then to Edward McGrath. Above this Samuel Levis blade mill and above the Garrettford road, there stood in 1840, on Naylor's run, a saw mill owned by Abraham Powell, and later than 1848 a grist mill was also erected there. After Powell's death the property was sold to Levis Watkins, who operated the mills until 1854, when he sold to Edward Thornley. The mills were rented to William Pyle until 1858, when they were discontinued.

The Cardington mills stand on an ancient mill site occupied in 1798 by a cotton mill owned by Nathan and David Sellers, the first cotton mill of record in Delaware county. Prior to 1810 it was changed to a paper mill, which was destroyed by fire in 1815. On the ruins was built a tilt mill, owned by David Sellers and operated by a man named Sontag. In 1826, David Snyder was the lessee, and that year the plant turned out 1200 dozen spades and shovels. The plant was operated by different parties until 1845, when James Cadwalader rebuilt and ran the mill until 1857, when it was leased to Wolfenden Shore & Company. The old tilt mill was standing when the latter firm leased the premises, and they at once converted it into a woolen yarn manufacturing plant. In 1863 they erected a stone mill one story in height, known as mill No. 1. In 1863, they bought the property, added a second story to mill No. 1, and built mill No. 2, enclosing within its limits the old tilt mill. In 1870 they built a stone picker house and a doubling and twisting house, also of stone. In 1871 a fire in the picker room caused serious loss, but a greater one to the mills of Whiteley Brothers & Company adjoining. In December, 1880, a fire again occurred in the picker room, causing a severe loss. In 1881, Wolfenden Shore

& Company purchased the adjoining woolen and cotton factory of Whiteley Brothers & Company, and have since operated both as the Cardington mills manufacturing yarn and cloth.

Prior to 1750 and in 1766, the Marshalls—John, Thomas and again a John Marshall—operated and owned saw, fulling and grist mills on Cobb's creek, above Naylor's run, drawing water through a race way from higher up Cobb's creek, that later formed part of the Cardington mills race way.

The Milbourne mills, yet owned in the Sellers family, stand on land purchased and located on by Samuel Sellers in 1682, although not surveyed to him until 1690-1691. He came from Derbyshire, England, in 1682, and later made additional purchases in the neighborhood, as did his sons and grandsons. He was a weaver by trade and is credited with having erected the first twisting mill in this country. His grandson John, born 1728, died 1804, invented the process of weaving wire cloth, and also manufactured Dutch fans. He was much interested in utilizing the water power of Cobb's creek and developed six of the sites along that stream and Naylor's run, which were afterwards used by his descendants. He owned grist and saw mills built prior to 1749 and operated in 1766 by James Steel, who continued their operation until 1805, when he was succeeded by his son, Thomas (2) Steel, who in 1814 purchased the Darby mills and moved there. In 1814 John (2) Sellers, who had inherited the mills, built the old part of the present mill and his son, John (3) Sellers, who had learned the trade of miller with Thomas Steel, took charge of the new mill, which was fitted with all the improved machinery of the time. John (2) Sellers in 1782 also owned a tannery on the Wayside farm. An oil mill also stood on the banks of a little stream which empties into the Milbourne mills race way, that was in operation from before 1800 until after 1848. The old grist mill stood above the present mill, and in 1820 was used for grinding gypsum. As late as 1830 Augustus C. Jones was operating the old mill, grinding logwood and spices. The new mill, under John (3) Sellers, in 1820 ground 8572 bushels of merchant wheat; 3366 bushels of grist wheat; 4367 bushels of rye; 3784 bushels of corn; 1168 bushels of buckwheat; and 843 of oats, making a total of 22,100 bushels of grain. In 1825, 12,000 bushels of merchant wheat were ground. In 1868 a large addition was made to the mill, and in 1876 auxiliary steam power was added to the turbine wheel. In 1878, John (3) Sellers died, his sons having been in charge of the mill some time prior to his death. In 1879 "roller process" was installed, and the output greatly increased. The year's output of 22,100 bushels in 1820 became in 1883 the great amount of 256,663 bushels of wheat purchased, and 53,125 barrels of flour made. The mills yet continue in the family, owned by grandsons and great-grandsons of the John Sellers who built the mill in 1814.

The Keystone paper mill stands on a tract taken up by John Blunston, November 18, 1683. No record exists of a mill on the property until 1807, when George Sellers, owned a saw mill there, which had been built before 1803 and was conducted by him until 1830. The mill was located on Cobb's creek, above Indian creek, with a mill race one and a half miles long. From 1830

to April 1, 1854, it was used as an oil mill by Samuel Hantraft, who sold his lease to C. S. Garrett, who removed the oil making machinery and installed a paper making plant. He continued in the paper business there until 1866, when, having purchased the water privilege, he erected the Keystone paper mills, on land owned by him about half a mile above the old mill. The several buildings are of stone, the machinery of the best modern type, the product, card paper of various kinds.

Other mills in the township of Upper Darby, variously located, were the Abraham Johnson grist and saw mills; John Evans, John Tyson, Jacob Lobb and the Thomas Pilkinton grist mills, which flourished from 1766 to 1804. In 1779, William Davis and Benjamin Brannon owned and operated distilleries. In 1870, William Hall & Company erected at Fernwood a shoddy and waste wood mill, removing their business there from Darby borough.

Edgemont Township Mills.—The first mention of a mill in Edgemont is on the assessment list of 1799, when Thomas Johnson appears as owner of a saw mill. In 1802 George Antricum is also assessed on a saw mill, probably the same mill, as Johnson's mill is not named on the lists of that year. In 1807 there was still a mill at the same point, and two distilleries are named in 1812, all owned and operated by Antricum until 1825. In that year they were sold to Jonathan N. Hatch, who enlarged and began the manufacture of cotton yarn. He operated successfully until 1838, when the mill was destroyed by fire. The building remained in ruins until about 1855, when Joseph Shimer fitted up a portion of it and began the manufacture of cotton laps, remaining several years, then built a mill lower down on the opposite side of the creek in Newtown, where he continued in the same business. In 1870, the old Hatch mill was used by Alfred Hatch, as a factory for the manufacture of cotton laps.

In 1799, Joseph, a grandson of Robert Pennell, who came in 1691, owned a tannery near Howellville, which later passed to Thomas Evans and about 1830 became the property of Israel Howell, a leather merchant of Philadelphia, for whom Howellville was named. The tannery was discontinued many years ago. On Green's run may yet be found the ruins of a saw mill built by George Green in 1807 and operated until 1820, and later by Isaac Green. In 1817, Robert Green had a fulling mill on Rocky run, which in 1826 was operated by William Owens & Company. This mill continued in use until about 1864, when it was burned, having been used for a few years by James Campbell for carding and carpet weaving. In 1870 a cotton lap factory was owned at the same locality by James Gamble. About 1815, James Yarnall built a grist and saw mill on a branch of Ridley creek, which in 1829 was owned by Reuben Yarnall.

Middletown Township Mills.—Caleb Pusey, manager of the Chester Mills, partner with William Penn and others, at the court held at Chester, 5th day, first week, 10th month, 1686, "Petitioned against Cobourn for setting a water mill above him on Upland creek." The court, however, "considering the premise, and finding it to be for the common good, dispenseth therewith." There was much litigation about the matter, it being carried to the Provincial Council

by the friends of Cobourn in a petition which the council sustained, and the mill was erected, in spite of Pusey's efforts to the contrary. The mill thus built was at the site later occupied by the Forest Dale or Dutton's mills, and until 1829 was within the limits of Chester, when by a change of the township line it was placed within Middletown. On November 28, 1682, 300 acres of land abutting on Chester creek were surveyed to Thomas Cobourn, where in the summer of 1687 he was erecting his gristmill, and after the council justified his right of so doing he speedily completed it. The mill was a log structure, and old Thomas Cobourn, a carpenter, assisted by his sons William and Joseph, did the greater part of the work of erection. In 1695 the mill was appraised at £50, when the assessment for the county levy was made by the grand jury and justices. In 1750 a new stone mill was built, and the log structure abandoned. At a subsequent date the mill and land title passed to a Lewis, whose heirs, Mary Cox and John Lewis, conveyed the premises to Nicholas Fairlamb, February 14, 1775, the deed designating that there was then on the tract "a water corn-mill or grist mill, bolting mill, and saw mill. On November 12, 1792, Jonathan Dutton, became owner of the mills by sale, and his son John was placed in management when he became of age. At the death of his father in 1820, John became owner. In the great flood of 1843 the mills were completely destroyed, and Jonathan (2) Dutton narrowly escaped drowning. The mills were rebuilt in 1844. Upon the death of Jonathan (2) Dutton in 1880, George G. Dutton fell heir to the property, thus being the fourth generation in a direct line to own the mills. He operated a grist, saw, and turning mill.

On May 25, 1807, Elijah Tyson bought of his father, Jonathan, 250 acres of land in Middletown, embracing the mill site, dams, and water rights, and July 25 same year the fourteen acres in Aston, with right to abut against the shore of the creek. In 1807 the name of Tyson appeared on the assessment roll for mills, when Elijah Tyson was assessed a saw mill. He continued in control until July 27, 1813, when he sold eight acres in Middletown, including the mill, mill-dam rights and other privileges, and fourteen and a half acres in Aston township, opposite, with water rights, to Judah Dobson, of Philadelphia, who changed the saw mill to a rolling mill. Little is known about this mill, but tradition has it that it was a copper mill, and the road leading from the place to Village Green is still called the Copper Mill road. The mill does not appear on the assessment rolls from 1817 to 1821.

John Vaughan and John Hart, assignees of Thomas and Judah Dobson, on November 6, 1822, conveyed to Samuel Love "all that rolling mill and four tracts of land," one of which is described as in Middletown, on Chester creek, containing eight acres, adjoining lands of Elijah Tyson, Abram Trimble, and others. Another tract was in Aston, partly covered by the mill pond, and adjoining and below the land of Jesse Grissell (Griswold). Samuel Love, February 9, 1825, relinquished title to the estate, conveying it to John D. Carter, who had been operating the Trimble cotton mill in Concord since 1813. In Carter's deed it is stated that the rolling mill has been changed into a cotton factory, and that the cotton factory, mill dams, ponds, races, and four pieces of land

"were the properties embraced in the conveyance." The "Report of the Manufactories of Delaware county," made in 1826, describes the place as being above the Dutton mill—"on Chester creek, in Middletown township, a cotton factory, 40 by 90 feet, head and fall thirteen feet, owned and occupied by John D. Carter; has seven carding engines of twenty-eight, and two of thirty-one inches, workers and strippers, two drawing frames of four double heads each, two double speeders of ten bobbins each, one stretcher of forty-two spindles, 808 throstle spindles, 616 mule spindles; spins 1278 pounds of cotton yarn per week. No. 20, with power to drive 4000 spindles, with all the necessary preparation, employs about forty-six hands, tenements for thirteen families." In April, 1829, John D. Carter sold the property to Edward Darlington and Thomas Clyde, and moved to the South. The new owners rented them to Kershaw, Dean and Hill, who operated them until they were sold, March 4, 1832, to Robert Beatty and John O'Neill, at which time there was a cotton factory and tilt mill upon the estate. At this place Beatty & O'Neill began the manufacture of edge tools, but O'Neill soon withdrew from the firm and rented from Beatty, who had bought the cotton mill at Knowlton. The factory was entirely consumed by fire, January 7, 1834, and on October 26 of the following year John P. Crozer, bought the property, containing the four tracts of land conveyed in 1822 to Samuel Love, a tilt mill, saw mill, new building for factory, 25 by 35 feet, one brick and seven stone houses. After the sale, Mr. Beatty continued the business at the place for about a year, when Mr. Crozer erected a stone cotton mill, 32 by 76 feet, three stories high. This building was washed away in 1843, and the next year a stone building 33 by 85 feet, three stories in height, was raised. Phineas Lownes and Abraham Blakeley commenced manufacturing at that place in 1846, continuing until 1853, when Mr. Crozer again took charge until 1869, when the mill was leased by John B. Rhodes.

On a little stream, known in early days as Clark's run, later as Chrome run, a tributary of Chester creek, emptying into the latter a short distance above Presbyterian ford, in about 1810, a small stone woolen factory 15 by 30 feet, was erected by Jesse Grissell for James and John Bottomley. The latter were Englishmen who had immigrated to this country with their mother, a brother and sister. The men of the family worked in the factory, continuing until 1832, when James Miller and Robert Boyd rented the property. Miller made edge tools; Boyd turned axe handles, bobbins, and manufactured paper on a small scale. The mill was destroyed by fire in 1848. Morris Trueman erected a saw mill above the Bottomley mill, on Chrome run, prior to 1777, when he moved to Darby creek and built a paper mill, afterwards generally known as the Matthews paper mill. It was owned by Samuel Levis and was used until 1812.

In 1809, Captain Henry Moore, then in charge of the forge and rolling mills owned by his brother-in-law, Thomas Odiorne, erected on the island in Chester creek, at Rockdale, a nail factory, and installed nine nail machines. In 1810, one hundred tons of iron were manufactured into nails at this factory.

selling, on an average for ten cents a pound, the capacity being gradually increased until 150 tons of nails were manufactured in 1826, and six years later the annual production had reached 400 tons. In 1832, Richard Smith, a wholesale hardware dealer of Philadelphia, was compelled to accept the works in payment of a loan made to Captain Moore, and he leased the establishment to Howard and Massey for several years, they using the building for a machine shop. It later passed to Bernard McCready, used as a cotton factory by James Roe, later by Robert Boyd during whose occupancy it was destroyed by fire. Alexander Balfour then purchased the property, and erected a new building and rented it to Joseph Richardson, Nicholas Walter, and H. P. Griffiths, who manufactured cotton and woolen goods for about two years. It was later purchased by Samuel Riddle, who operated it for a few years and removed the machinery to his other mills.

Three hundred and seventy acres of land were surveyed to Richard Crosby on November 9, 1863, the tract being part of the 5000 acres bought by John ap (Bevan) and Thomas Wynne, in England, from William Penn, to be located wherever the purchasers desired, on unseated lands. Crosby sold 100 acres to Robert Pennell, April 6, 1685, the latter deeding it December 12, 1717, to his son William. The latter, prior to 1717, had purchased sixty acres from John Taylor, and a few years later erected a mill at the place now called Glen Riddle. In 1766, William Pennell is assessed for a saw and grist mill, which he owned until his death in 1783, although part of the time he did not have charge of the mills, for during the Revolution they were operated by Abraham Pennell. When William Pennell died, he was the owner of 735 acres of land in Middletown, 258 acres being in the upper part of the township, known as Grubbs, a tract of 417 acres, and sixty acres on which was the grist-mill and saw mill. A tract of 100 acres was across the creek in Aston township, on which the "Old Sable Forge" was located, and 200 acres of the estate was in Fallowfield township, Chester county. Abraham Pennell, November 16, 1785, conveyed to Nathan Sharpless and Rachel (Pennell), his wife, and Esther Pennell, the sixty acres of land on which the grist mill and saw mill had been built many years before. Nathan Sharpless operated the mills, and in 1790 the owners of the mill tract erected a stone house, the date stone being marked "S.G. 1790." On November 7, 1798, David Garrett and Esther (Pennell) his wife, conveyed to Nathan Sharpless the "water corn or grist mill" and part of the sixty acres of land. On May 21, 1802, Dell Pennell sold to Nathan Sharpless the water right of Chester creek, for use of the "Sharpless Grist Mill Dam where it now stands and has long stood across the creek above our Forge Dam * * * and water sufficient to turn two overshot wheels of fifteen diameter driving each one pair of mill stones of four feet six inches diameter."

In 1815, Nathan Sharpless erected a woolen factory and fulling-mill which he operated until February, 1817, when he assigned the property to Abraham Sharpless, Francis Wisely, and John Pierce. The fifteen acres of land on which the mills were erected was offered at public sale May 3, 1818, and were purchased by Isaac Sharpless and Gideon Hatton, who changed the woolen

mill to a cotton factory. John Hastings was the first lessee of the new building, fitting it with the best machinery obtainable, continuing its operation until October 23, 1823, when he was compelled to sell the machinery and leasehold. The completeness of the factory's equipment is shown by the following list of all the machinery requisite for carrying on a large and extensive cotton manufactory, consisting of four throstles of 492 spindles, two mules of 408 spindles, ten carding engines, 12 roving heads, 12 drawing heads, one stretcher of 96 spindles, four reels, one grinding machine, one willowing machine, one picker and blower, three winding blocks, one banding machine, and one yarn press, together with all the rest of the machinery. During the time that Hastings had the cotton factory, Joseph Mancill was lessee of the grist mill. In 1825 the woolen factory and fulling mill were purchased by Dennis Kelly, who placed Charles Kelly in charge. John Hastings sold the unexpired lease to John Turner & Company, who operated the cotton mill until the time of its purchase, together with the land and all the mills thereon, by Peter and George W. Hill, on October 27, 1827. John Garsed located at Pennsgrove in 1831, and in partnership with William France and James Roe conducted the business for a short time, when Garsed withdrew from the firm, France and Roe continuing, finally failing. John Garsed leased the mill after James Houghton moved from Pennsgrove, and in 1840 John D. Pierce, whose father owned the mill, entered into partnership with Garsed. In April, 1843, the firm dissolved, Samuel Riddle coming into possession. On August 25, 1840, Peter and George W. Hill deeded the estate to Eli D. Pierce, and on April 1, 1843, the latter sold it to Samuel Riddle. When the property came into Riddle's hands there was on the land a cotton factory 96 by 42 feet and three stories in height; a machine shop, which had formerly been the woolen mill, 60 by 30 feet, a stone drying house, 28 by 18 feet; a stone cotton factory, 50 by 45 feet, two stories in height; six stone tenement houses, and a large mansion house built by George W. Hill in 1829. Samuel Riddle took possession in 1843, and by great good fortune the flood of that year inflicted but little damage upon his property. In 1845 he made extensive improvements and additions to the mill, and in 1872 erected a stone woolen mill 112 by 65 feet, three stories and a basement. In 1881 he built a brick mill 135 by 62 feet, and three years later the Glen Riddle mills contained 14,000 cotton spindles, 2400 woolen spindles, and 360 looms; and employed 380 operatives, producing tickings, cheviots and doeskins.

Samuel Riddle in 1829 moved from Riddle to Chester creek, where Peter Hill had contracted with him for the erection of a cotton mill above the forks of Chester creek. This factory, called the Parkmount mills, he operated until 1841, afterwards leased it to John Dixon and others; finally to the Callaghan Brothers, and was burned during their occupancy in 1863. Three years later Burnley, Gledhill & Company, erected a mill on the same site, 50 by 150 feet, devoting it to the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods. In 1870 the Parkmount Mills Cotton & Woolen Company was organized, with George Mollison, president, John Burnley, secretary and treasurer, and Francis Butter-

worth, superintendent, the mills containing ninety-six looms, five sets of cars, and 1800 spindles.

Subsequent to 1830, Joseph Pennell built a saw mill on Rocky Run, about three-quarters of a mile above the junction of that stream with Chester creek. James Pennell became the owner after 1848, and August 11, 1870, it was carried away in a freshet, never being rebuilt.

On Rocky Run, on land granted December 7, 1741, to Joseph Talbot by his brother Benjamin, a stone mill was erected in 1792. The grant comprised 134 acres, and was part of the estate of the father of Joseph and Benjamin Talbot. Joseph Talbot built a frame grist mill and for many years there followed the miller's trade. On April 21, 1773, Joseph Talbot conveyed 105 acres of land and the grist mill to his son, Joseph Talbot, Jr., who conducted the business until March 12, 1784, when James Emlin purchased 115 acres and the mill. Emlin removed the old mill and erected a new structure on its site in 1792. He died in 1797, and the mill, devised to his heirs, remained in their possession until 1823, although it is not probable that any of the family carried on the business, for in 1799 John Pierce was operator of the mill. Nathan Yearsley purchased the mill May 1, 1823, but since he died before 1826, the mill was rented to Ralph E. Marsh until Humphrey Yearsley, Nathan Yearsley's only son, attained his majority in 1836, when he conducted the business On the same run, and adjoining this mill seat, was an old saw mill built by John Worrell prior to 1782, and still in his possession in 1826. In 1875 the property was owned by J. C. Evans, but all traces of the race and dam have disappeared.

One of the first mills erected on Ridley creek was a saw mill built in 1800 by John Evans, who was granted the right to boat logs up the Stimmel dam to the Evans mill. The property in 1819 belonged to the Bank of Delaware County, and was sold by it to James Ronaldson, November 4, 1819. A cotton factory was soon after erected, under the charge of Patrick Mulvany, 33 by 56 feet, three stories high, and in 1826 had three carding engines, 662 throstle spindles, and 480 mule spindles, with a weekly output of 700 pounds of cotton yarn. At that time there were nine houses and the mansion house upon the estate. It subsequently was in charge of George Cummins, Jonathan and Jabez Jenkins, respectively. James Ronaldson sold the mills to Hugh Groves, an Irishman, June 26, 1835. In 1841 the mill was 80 by 46 feet, and contained four double cotton cards, two large speeders, two ellipse speeders, one drawing frame with three heads, one with two heads, two mules of 300 spindles each, one of 240 spindles, thirty-six power looms, and seven throstles of 660 spindles, etc. The mills were purchased by Samuel Bancroft in 1842, and run by him until 1866, when he sold them to John Fox, during whose ownership they were burned to the ground.

A long and narrow track extending southwestward from Ridley creek and nearly halfway across the township and to Richard Crosby's property, was surveyed to Joseph Jarvis, March 13, 1701. Here on Ridley creek, Jarvis erected a grist mill which was operated by him in 1704, since at Providence

Friends Meeting, 2nd mo. 24, 1704, complaint was made that "Thomas Jones had unlawfully taken some corn from Jarvis's mill." Jasper Yeates seems to have had an interest in this tract and mill, for on February 27, 1704, Jasper Yeates and Joseph Jarvis conveyed to Richard and John Crosby "a mill and sixty-three acres of land." On March 25, 1705, Richard and John Crosby, in open court, acknowledged a lease to James Cooper for twenty-one years. This may have been James Cooper of Darby, for in 1715 a fulling mill was being operated upon the property. Some legal difficulty must have interrupted the negotiations for the lease was rescinded.

Richard and John Crosby sold, August 26, 1715, "all those water-mill or grist and fullings mills" to Job Harvey, cloth worker, of Darby, or "Stoffer." He was a son-in-law of John Bethel, owner of the Darby mills, one of which, a fulling mill, Job Harvey had operated for some years prior to 1705, as that year he purchased a part interest, remaining at Darby until the purchase of this property. On April 10, 1729, Job Harvey sold the Middletown mills to his son, likewise a cloth worker, the deed describing the land as three tracts, one of fifty-two acres, one of eight and a half acres, and one of three acres—sixty-three and a half acres in all. Josiah Harvey sold the grist mill, fulling mill and the three tracts of land, November 10, 1731, to William Pennell and Frederick Engle. Thomas Pennell, William's son, eventually became owner, as on December 30, 1734, Engle released his share of the property to William, who sold it to Thomas, April 2, 1740. From 1766 to 1774, Caleb Jones was assessed for a grist mill, and on April 25, 1775, he sold property described exactly as that Joseph Harvey sold to Pennell and Engle in 1731, and two more tracts to Isaac Levis, of Upper Darby, part of the land being in Upper Providence. Soon after acquiring the land, Isaac Levis erected upon the estate a saw mill, for which he was assessed until 1790. Between the latter year and his death in 1794, he also erected a paper-mill. In 1798 the mill property passed to Seth Levis, Isaac's oldest son, who sold a one half interest to his brother-in-law, Edward Lewis. These mills were conducted by Levis & Levis until the death of Seth Levis, his interest passing to Edward Lewis about 1825. In 1826 the mill is mentioned as a two vat paper mill. The grist and saw mills were also in operation. In 1843 the paper mill was carried away by the flood and was not again rebuilt. In 1845 Edward Lewis erected at this site a tilt mill, which was rented to William and Thomas Beatty, who there engaged in the manufacture of edge tools until 1850, when they moved to Springfield township, on Crum creek. On April 1, 1861, the mill property was conveyed by William Levis Lewis and Edward Lewis to Lewis Palmer, who sold to Edward A. Price, by whom the property was conveyed December 26, 1871, to the borough of Media. That borough fitted up the property for use as a water works, retaining the grist mill for milling purposes.

Painter's Clover & saw mills, which were destroyed by fire about 1860, were built on Dismal run by Enos Painter, and in 1826 were reported as "old mills." They were in charge of Thomas Chalfant from 1825 to 1831, and after that date Benjamin Robinson ran the Clover mill, which long ago

passed out of existence. The saw mill was run by John Heacock, who made pails, and by Hugh Jones, who made chair backs.

Newtown Township Mills.—One of the oldest records of a mill of any kind in Newtown township is of the saw mill and chairmaker's shop owned by John Foulkes in 1799. In the same year Abraham Calvert and Joseph Foulkes each owned a weave shop; saw mills were conducted by Robert Mendenhall and William Vandever, while Ezra Thomas was the owner and manager of a wheelwright shop.

William Crosly erected a woolen factory on 187 acres of land on Darby creek, purchased February 2, 1828, and there for many years conducted a large and profitable establishment. The property was purchased by Dr. Henry Pleasants, February 24, 1861, the mill having been destroyed by fire, who later sold it to Casper C. Garrett, who erected a paper mill, an enterprise in which he was so successful that he later enlarged his field of operations.

Samuel, James and Alexander Moore in 1835, purchased of Adam Liters, eighty acres of land on Darby creek, a little below the Crosley mill, and thereon raised a stone paper mill, 40 by 60 feet, three stories in height, and a one-story stone picker house. For the accommodation of employees, fourteen tenement houses were built, and an extensive and profitable business conducted until 1855, when the larger building was consumed by fire, the same ill fortune overtaking the smaller a few years later. The property was purchased by Dr. Henry Pleasants. A tannery was owned by David Lewis in 1799, in connection with which he kept a general store. In 1815 the tannery was managed by John Pratt, and was situated near Old Newtown Square. It continued in operation until 1832.

One of the best known agricultural implements of the day was the "Pierce Plow," which William Cobourn manufactured in 1843, his foundry being located near Fox Chase Tavern. The plows were fashioned from cast iron, wrought iron, and steel. For this implement, so indispensable to farmers, William Cobourn had the exclusive right of sale, which he exercised to the full, supplying the county for miles around with his product.

Another of the township saw mills, was that which Enos Williamson owned on Crum Creek, but which was unused after 1848. In 1845, Jonathan H. Thomas owned and operated a shingle mill, the only establishment of the kind in the township. On March 22, 1861, it was set on fire and destroyed. The trail of the incendiary was followed through the deep snow, which had recently fallen, to Howellville, Edgemont, where he was arrested and confined.

Nether Providence Township Mills.—William Beatty, an edge tool maker, in 1813 contracted with Daniel Sharpless to accept the ground on Providence road, above the bridge, where William and Richard T. Turner later erected their cotton factory, free of rent for seventeen years, in return for building a house, shop, dam, and race there. Here William Beatty built a tilt or blade-mill, a venture in which he was very successful. His report for 1825 was as follows: 1600 cast steel picking axes made, 500 broad axes, 500 drawing

knives, 200 cleavers and choppers; 500 axes steeled, besides the manufacture of many chisels, knives, gauges and other small tools.

William Beatty moved to Springfield, on Crum creek, in 1828, his site being just above J. Howard Lewis' paper mill. The title to his Ridley creek property had passed to Henry Sharpless, who in 1828 changed the tilt mill to a cotton lap factory, renting it to Charles and Ambrose Williams. William and Richard T. Turner purchased the mill and eight acres of adjoining land May 10, 1867, there continuing the manufacture of cotton laps.

Daniel Sharpless in 1764 was assessed for a saw mill on Ridley creek, a site later occupied by the Waterville mills. This was in operation prior to 1755, for the "Recollections of William Worrall," published in 1820, state that in 1755 there was so great a drought throughout the county and the streams were so low that the race at Daniel Sharpless' saw mill was dry, a condition unprecedented at that time of the year. Daniel Sharpless in 1790 built a fulling mill at Waterville, and until 1805 conducted it, in which year it was taken over by Isaac Sharpless. In 1810 the business had again returned to Daniel Sharpless, and five years later, when Daniel Sharpless was operating the fulling and woolen factory, Enos Sharpless erected a grist and saw mill. In 1826 James Schofield held a lease to the Isaac Sharpless factory, manufacturing fine cloths and cassimeres, being succeeded by Daniel Sharpless, who gave place to Antrim Osborne. Osborne moving to the Rose Valley mills in 1863; Robert Hall followed him in the management of the Waterville factory, remaining there until 1871, when he moved to Chester, where he had purchased the Mohawk mills. Joseph Bowers rented the Sharpless factory in 1873, operating it as a shoddy mill until 1877, when he went to Chester. Five years later the building was totally destroyed by fire. Enos Sharpless had erected as early as 1815, a grist mill on Ridley creek, attached to the same race as Isaac Sharpless' mill. In 1826 he owned a grist mill, saw mill and a cotton factory at Waterville, the latter being managed by George Richardson. Richardson engaged in the manufacture of cotton yarn, his machinery consisting of five carding engines, throstles, spindles, and one mule of 180 spindles. Richard Wetherill succeeded George Richardson in 1828, later moving to Manayunk. John M. Sharpless, Laurence Hartshorne and Gideon Smith, on November 15, 1835, formed a partnership for the manufacture of dye stuff, and the grinding of dye woods, a part of the grist mill being equipped with machinery for that purpose. Hartshorne and Smith withdrew from the firm, Hartshorne entirely Smith nominally, but retaining his interest. John Sharpless continued, and November 15, 1845, the mill and die works were partly destroyed by fire. The mills were rebuilt, but April 24, 1846, were once more made the prey of the flames. Once more they were rebuilt, and the business conducted by John Sharpless until his death in 1875, and by his heirs until 1878. In the latter year a company formed under the name of John M. Sharpless & Company purchased a tract in Chester, erected mills, and moved the business to the new site.

In the roll of assessments of 1811-13, Joshua Harlan & Company are

assessed on a slitting and rolling mill on Ridley creek, operated by them until 1821, when Thomas Chandler, a two-third owner, sold his interest to James Cloud, who took possession and personal charge October 20, 1825, also purchasing the third interest held by Samuel Sinclair, of Kennett, Chester county. Here he remained one year, selling to Robert S. Johnson, an iron merchant of Philadelphia, "rolling, slitting and saw mill, and all lands mentioned." Robert's brother, Frederick Johnson, was in charge of the mills for about two years, was succeeded by Nathan Roland, and two years later John Gifford Johnson, a son of Robert, assumed the managership, remaining until 1850. In 1827 the mills were running with two shifts of men, night and day, the entire output being sent to Mr. Johnson's store in Philadelphia. The factory report for 1826 gives the annual output of rolled iron and steel as between two hundred and three hundred tons, and that for every ton of output, a ton of Lehigh coal was consumed. Although the mills stood at quite some distance from the stream, they did not escape the great flood of 1843. The main furnace exploded, wrecking the building, two large frame store houses were washed away, and a great deal of general damage was done to machinery and buildings. Robert Johnson continued in the management of the slitting mill until 1850, when Robert Beatty rented the mill, which had been changed into an edge tool factory by Robert's son, John Gifford Johnson. In 1853, J. G. Johnson built a stone grist mill, and the same year John Beatty, brother of Robert, rented the edge tool factory, operating it from 1855 to 1862. In the latter year William E. Johnson purchased the property, conducting both mills until 1870, when he sold it to John Dutton and John Booth.

The property on which was what were later known as the "Todmorden Mills," was leased December 7, 1791, by Jacob Benninghove, a tobacconist of Philadelphia, of Caleb Harrison, and soon after the lease was taken a snuff mill was erected. He owned and operated it until his death, when for a few years James Crowley managed it. From 1816 until her death, Elizabeth, widow of Jacob Benninghove, was in charge. On April 5, 1831, Samuel Bancroft purchased 162 acres of land and the snuff and saw mill then on the property, the land situated in Chester, Middletown and Nether Providence. The following year he erected a stone woolen mill 86 by 46 feet, three stories in height, in which he placed 2400 spindles and thirty looms. Ten years later, William T. Crook became the possessor of the property, who held it twelve years, during which period he built a stone mill 100 by 50 feet, four stories high, installing ten sets of cards for the manufacture of blankets. In 1854 the mills and property were again purchased by Samuel Bancroft, who equipped them with 3000 spindles, thirty-five looms, and seven sets of cards.

In 1789 Nicholas Stimmel erected a snuff mill on property on Ridley creek, purchased from Joseph Dicks, later the site of the "Rose Valley Mills." Nicholas Stimmel's son, a tobacconist of Philadelphia, became proprietor in 1794, and operated it until April 12, 1814, when he conveyed the mill property and fifty-three acres to William Smith, who sold it to John White in 1818. The place was named Rose Valley under his ownership, a title which has al-

ways clung to it. He conducted the snuff mill until 1821, when it was conveyed to William Yardley, a son-in-law, to be held in trust for two of his children, Catherine Fields and John White. Charles Fields was operating the mill at the time, grinding bark to be used in the preparation of fever medicines. The introduction of quinine destroyed the market entirely, and the property was sold to Park Shee, April 4, 1826. The new owner changed the output from ground bark to paper, and erected other buildings, part stone and part frame. Three engines, a drying machine, and other necessary equipment was added for the manufacture of the new product, and the business was continued until 1850. For eleven years the mills were tenantless, and August 27, 1861, Antrim Osborne purchased what were nearly ruins, repaired the dam and race, erected a three-story stone building, 75 by 55 feet, and made all other necessary improvements. Two years later he built a stone building with a picker house adjoining, and in 1864, another stone building, forty feet square, was raised. In 1873, an addition of 75 by 55 feet was made to the main mill, increasing that building to a size of 150 by 55 feet; also a dry house 61 by 40 feet, and picker house 60 by 40 feet were built. The entire equipment at the time was 2300 spindles, 100 looms, and fifteen sets of cards.

Antrim Osborne likewise owned an old unoccupied mill a short distance above the Rose Valley mills, which he used as a store house. Thomas Y. Hutton erected a stone grist mill there in 1840, operating it for five years and selling it September 1, 1845, to Richard Wetherill, who retained it until April 1, 1847, when he sold it to Robert Boyd, who converted it into a turning mill and sand paper factory. Upon the death of Boyd in 1859, James Greer, the administrator of his estate, sold it July 1, 1862, to Edward Borden, from whom Joseph Jackson, a bobbin turner, rented it. The latter purchased it on August 1, 1869, selling it March 1, 1873, to William Pilling, although continuing its management until 1878. Before it became the property of Antrim Osborne, November 25, 1879, it passed through the ownership of Solomon Chorley, John Wildey and Andrew Rankin.

Nathaniel Vernon, in 1764, operated a saw mill on Vernon's run, but discontinued business about 1770. John Fields erected near the site of the old mill a cotton factory, dye-house, and other buildings, both of which were destroyed by fire in April, 1852, the conflagration starting in the dye-house and spreading to the main building. They were rebuilt by Fields, and the business continued under his management until May 25, 1858, when Samuel Bancroft purchased the property, retaining it until October 28, 1865, when he sold the cotton factory and sixteen acres of land to James Jerome. The property later came into the possession of Mrs. Frances M. Jerome, later to Andrew P. Walker, who was the owner at the time of its destruction by fire, March 29, 1884.

Thomas Leiper appears on the assessment roll of Nether Providence in 1779, when he was assessed for a snuff mill on Crum creek, in Nether Providence. In 1790 he is recorded as the owner of two snuff mills and 296 acres of land. In 1800 a dry house was added to his plant, and eleven years later at Avondale he possessed besides the snuff mills a tobacco spinning house known

as the tobacco factory. At the time of his death he was actively engaged in their management, and by his will, dated April 21, 1824, he devised his real estate to his sons, George G., William J. and Samuel M. Leiper. Until 1843 no division of the estate was made, in which year George G. and Samuel M. Leiper gave over their shares to William G. Leiper. A two vat paper mill was erected soon after Thomas Leiper's death, its water power being diverted from Ridley creek by the same race which furnished the snuff mills with their power. In 1826 the paper mill was managed by John Holmes, and in 1829 George G. Leiper was in charge. The mill was destroyed by fire in 1836. The two snuff mills on the land, with eight mulls and two cutting machines, were operated until 1845, when business was abandoned and they were made into tenant houses for the accommodation of the employees of the cotton mills. After the paper mills had been destroyed, James Riddle rented the estate and on the east side of the creek, in Springfield township, built a cotton mill, using the walls of the ruins of the paper mill for his tenement houses. On June 8, 1844, fire attacked two of the tenement houses and they were burned to the ground, a total loss. James Riddle afterward rented mills at Strath Haven, and conducted these, as well as his mills at Avondale, until 1846, when Simeon Lord rented them, and in 1851 is recorded as manufacturing fine cassimeres. In 1861 Simeon Lord purchased Thomas Steel's Darby mills and moved thither. In the sheriff's sale of August 24, 1858, William Leiper's property was purchased by Mrs. Helen H. Patterson, the mill property at that time comprising nine acres, a cotton mill, and twenty-two stone tenements. Fire destroyed the large stone factory May 1, 1865, the loss of the machinery falling upon Charles M. Gibberson, the lessee. After the rebuilding of the factory, the property was purchased from Mrs. Helen H. Patterson by Callender J. Leiper, November 1, 1870, who sold it to William J. Leiper in 1872. Leiper leased the property to Callahan & Sharkey, and during their tenancy the mill was destroyed by fire, with a loss of $13,000 to the lessees, and likewise a heavy loss to Mr. Leiper. The factory was once more rebuilt, and until 1878 was operated by John Greer & Company, and until May 1, 1881, by David Brown, of Haddington, at which date the machinery was removed. From 1882 to 1884 the building was used by the Franklin Artificial Stone Company.

In the summer of 1776, the Committee of Safety had contracted with Dr. Robert Harris for the delivery of one ton of powder to the state government every week, his mill being on Crum creek. No traces of the old mill are discernable now. In 1824 Thomas Leiper erected upon its site a tilt- or blade-mill, with Nahum Keys as operator, and in 1826 his yearly output was 200 dozens of scythes and straw knives. Until 1830, George G. Leiper operated the mill, and on the latter date it was changed to a paper mill and leased to Park Shee. When the Leiper estate was divided in 1843, William J. Leiper received this property, almost immediately renting it to James Riddle, and erecting a cotton factory thereon. Simeon Lord leased the estate, remaining from 1845 to 1861. On March 5, 1859, Mrs. Helen H. Patterson, daughter of Thomas Leiper, purchased the property, consisting of four acres of land, a

stone cotton factory, and five tenement houses. On November 13, 1865, during the tenancy of Mr. Tomlinson, the factory was destroyed, with a loss of $50,000.

On Crum creek, John Pancoast erected a two vat stone paper mill in 1826, a year after the purchase of the land, June 16, 1825. He operated as well as owned it until April 1, 1833, when he sold it to Elizabeth Lewis, wife of John Lewis, who operated the mill until July 30, 1868, when it was purchased by John Howard Lewis. The mill was destroyed by fire April 9, 1882, and again August 21, 1883. The second conflagration was accompanied by a severe boiler explosion, one man being killed and several others badly lacerated and bruised by flying brick and iron. On March 10, 1884, work was resumed in the new buildings, which were as follows: main mill, two stories, 35 by 125 feet; engine room, 57 by 97 feet, two stories; rotary room, 31 by 54 feet; rag room, 46 by 60 feet, three stories; five engines, and an output of twenty tons of paper per week. The only spool cotton mill in the township was that of J. and J. Hillditch, south of Idlewild.

Mills of an earlier date and of inconsiderable importance later were as follows: John Hinkson owned a saw mill in that township in 1766, which was operated by David Bloomer in 1774, but is absent from the assessment roll after 1780. From 1774 until after 1790, Job Dicks owned a grist and saw mill on Ridley creek, a short distance below Rose Valley mills. William Pennell was on the assessment roll in 1764 for a grist and saw mill in Nether Providence, when he was likewise owner of a grist and saw mill in Middletown.

Upper Providence Township Mills.—James Wilcox in 1766 was assessed for a paper mill in Upper Providence township, on Ridley creek. At his death the mill became the property of his son, Mark Wilcox, who April 20, 1785, sold it to John Lungren. The latter operated the mill until December 30, 1795, when he conveyed it to William Levis, of Philadelphia, the deed being for the mill and 170 acres of land. From 1799 to 1818, John, a son of William Levis, was manager of the mill. In the latter year the paper mill was changed into a cotton factory, being rented by Wagstaff & Englehorn, who conducted it with remarkable success, for in 1821 John P. Crozer states "Only one cotton factory in Delaware county, that of Wagstaff and Englehorn, continued running, and now appeared to be making money." But Wagstaff was a practical cotton spinner from England, and had a consequent advantage. In 1823 the firm had dissolved, but it is evident from items in the "Post-Boy" that Hugh Wagstaff was operating the factory independently. James Ronaldson, January 28, 1825, purchased the factory and twenty-six acres of land, giving the mill over to the management of James Siddall. The equipment of the building at that time was ten carding engines of thirty inches, two drawing frames of three heads each, two roving frames, one speeder of twenty and one of ten spindles, 600 throstle spindles, 672 mule spindles, one warper and dresser, and fourteen power looms. Since 1827 John Bancroft had been in charge of the machinery and on July 18, 1829, James Ronaldson sold the property to him. He operated it until 1842, when William T. Crook, of New

York, purchased it and conducted it until 1857. Samuel Bancroft was the next owner, and after he had operated it for a few years it was utterly destroyed by fire.

Allen Robinett, about 1685, established a mill on land owned by him on Ridley creek, just above Concord road, and in a deed dated 7th mo. 29, 1687, recorded in Philadelphia, Allen Robinett, of Upper Providence, conveyed to Richard Crosby, of Middletown, a "water mill" in Upper Providence, and about two acres of land, on the southwest side of Ridley creek, and "a little bottom on the northeast side." At the time of the transaction, John and Richard Crosby were operators of a grist-mill and saw mill a short distance down the stream, which they acquired in 1705. There is no mention of the Robinett mill on any assessment roll now on file in Chester county, therefore it must have been abandoned before 1766.

On the west side of Ridley creek, near the junction of the Edgemont and Springfield roads, Stephen Malin, a direct descendant of the settler, Randal Malin, to whom the tract was surveyed, erected a grist mill. In 1770 David Malin & Company were assessed on a saw-mill, after which date the name, in connection with mills, disappears from the assessment roll.

John Edge, Jr., Jacob Edge, and Henry Miller, in 1717 entered into partnership to erect a "water corn-mill" on a twenty-acre tract on Ridley creek, land which had become the property of John Edge Sr., June 14, 1696. In 1718 they built the mill, naming it Providence mills, which later became part of the Scyamore mills. Just before the building of this mill, the firm purchased about three acres of land in Edgemont to obtain the race and dam privileges, each partner contributing £5 2s. 8d. On December 17, 1719, Henry Miller purchased John Edge's third interest in these mills, thus obtaining a two-thirds interest, which he devised to his son George by will dated December 17, 1719. George Miller, December 10, 1740, conveyed to Roger Pugh a one-third interest in the mill property, who, 5 mo. 8, 1746, deeded it to Lawrence Cox. The following is an extract from the "Sketch of Bishop's Mill," by Wilmer W. James, published in the Delaware county paper, June 27, 1877:

"Between May 5, 1746, and April 25, 1752, while Lawrence Cox was the owner of Miller's share, the saw mill was erected, doubtless in 1747, or thirty years after the grist mill, for in the latter part of that year he leased it, excepting one-tenth part, for a term of fourteen years, and at the rate of £2 annually, for a term of fourteen years, to Thomas and John Minshall, of Middletown, both of them at the same time coming in for a fifth share each in the grist mill. They sent their flour to the Barbadoes in 1746, and to Jamaica by the brig "Dolphin" in 1748, in charge of their brother Moses, who was a sea captain, and received sugar in part return. Lawrence Cox was then also part owner of the mills. Thomas Yarnall and John Cox were likewise in partnership with the Minshalls in the saw mill business. There was a curious arrangement made that 'when the grist mill wanted water from the dam, and there was not enough for both, the saw mill was to stand idle,' an excellent contrivance to promote a feud. Cox seemed to have had unlimited faith in his tenants, for in the same year, 1746, he obtained partial possession of the property; he leased one-third of his share to William Hammans for twenty-one years, at an annual rental of £12. In 1757 all the possessions went to his son George."

John Cox, 1 mo. 25, 1752, conveyed the property to his son, John Cox, who February 17, 1753, leased the grist and merchant mill with two pairs of stones and three bottling sheets, to the following: John Williamson, Henry Howard, Henry Caldwell, Lawrence Cox, Edward Farr, James Sill, Nehemiah Baker, Philip Dunn, Robert Register, James Scott, Aaron Baker, Abel Green, Thomas Minshall, John Scott, Jesse Woodward, James Massey, John Baker, Joseph Black, Nathan Lewis, and William Wall. Tradition states that during the seven years that the lease ran, there was no miller in charge of the mill, but that each of the lessees carted his grain thither whenever the opportunity presented itself, and did his own grinding, independent entirely of the others. John Cox, on February 22, 1755, sold to Thomas Bishop his one-third share in the mill, Bishop also leasing the shares of the other owners for a term of ten years. On November 29, 1785, proceedings in partition of the mill property having been completed, the mills were awarded to Thomas Bishop, who after acquiring it built a frame third-story and added an overshot, the eastern end resting on three stone piers. He operated the grist and saw mills until 1802, when Francis Bishop was in charge, although in 1807 Thomas Bishop was once more manager of the grist mill and in 1811 conducted the saw mill, while Amor Bishop had the grist mill. The rolling mill was erected in 1810-1811, a structure 70 feet in length, 50 in width, and one story high. It was four times as large as the building which had previously stood on the site —a plaster mill, torn down in 1810. The product of the rolling mill was boiler plates and sheet iron. The mill was conducted in 1812 by Malin & Bishop. The fuel used in smelting was bituminous Virginia coal, but during the war it was exceedingly difficult to obtain, for vessels loaded therewith were an easy prey for the fast sailing English blockaders, which kept the American ports under strict surveillance. Charcoal was first used to keep the mills running, but its cost was too great, and a sufficient quantity not to be had. The introduction of anthracite coal came to the rescue of the firm, revolutionizing the coal industry and freeing the manufacturers of Pennsylvania from their dependence upon the Virginia coal fields. The first report of the Pottsville Board of Trade notices the incident connected with the introduction of anthracite coal in the following manner:

"In the year 1812, our fellow citizen, Col. George Shoemaker, procured a quantity of coal from a shaft sunk on a tract he had recently purchased on the Norwegian, and now owned by the North American Coal Company, and known as the Centreville mines. With this he loaded nine wagons and proceeded to Philadelphia; much time was spent by him in endeavoring to introduce it to notice, but all his efforts proved unavailing. Those who designed to try it, declared Col. Shoemaker to be an imposter for attempting to impose stone upon them for coal, and were clamorous against him. Not discouraged by the sneers and sarcasms cast upon him, he persisted in the undertaking, and at last succeeded in disposing of two loads of it for the cost of transportation; and the remaining seven he gave to persons who promised to try to use it, and lost all the coal and charges. Messrs. Mellon (Malin) and Bishop, at the earnest solicitation of Col. Shoemaker, were induced to make trial of it in their rolling mill in Delaware county, and finding it to answer fully the character given it by Col. Shoemaker, noticed its usefulness

in the Philadelphia papers, and from that period we may date the triumph of reason, aided by perseverance, over prejudice."

The coal purchased by Malin & Bishop cost $2 a ton. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the employees at the mill, who were confident that stones would burn quite as well as the black material they had been ordered to use. Great was the surprise of the fireman at the intense heat created by the "stones" which he had almost despaired of ever igniting. Thomas Bishop in 1826 owned the entire property, and his son Amor was manager and operator of all the works. The grist mill ground from nearly 10,000 bushels of grain, and about 100 tons of iron were rolled and split in that year. Besides this, the saw mill was in operation frequently, although not continuously. Upon the assessment rolls of 1829 the rolling and slitting mill is recorded as not occupied. In 1856 Amor Bishop conveyed the grist and saw mill to his son, Washington, who sold them to Joseph Velotle, the latter passed the title to William F. Lewis, who operated them as the Sycamore Mills. An interesting fact, in connection with the Sycamore mills is that four times in its existence its dam has been washed away, once in the great flood of 1793, again February 22, 1822, the third time in the ice flood of January 26, 1839, and last in the flood of August 5, 1843.

Just across Ridley creek, above the bridge at Bishop's Mills, was a nail factory, an outgrowth of the rolling mill. The factory was a frame building owned by Jesse Reece, and was rented to David Register, who during 1812-1813 employed several men and made iron-wrought nails by hand. The building was carried away in the flood of August 5, 1843, but had not been used as a factory for many years previous.

There is a tradition in Upper Providence township, to the effect that Jeremiah Collett owned a mill in that township, on the east side of Ridley creek. There is one legal transaction on record which gives weight to this belief, for at the court held October 2, 1685, the grand jury, because "the county treasurer is out of purse," levied a tax to defray pressing obligations, in which document, signed by the grand inquest, the following appears: "Jeremiah Collett, for his estate and calling, £30." In the same paper several persons are named and taxed for their "calling," all of whom were millers, thus giving rise to the conclusion that the calling of Jeremiah Collett was that of a miller.

In 1799 there were only two grist mills in the township, Thomas Bishop's and Jacob Siter's, who that year was assessed for twenty-seven acres of land, a grist-mill, plaster-mill, and a frame smith shop. The exact location of the mill is not known, for on the assessment roll of 1802 his name does not appear in connection with a mill, but it is evident from the fact that he owned forty-seven acres of land in Marple township, that he lived on Crum creek. Abram Jones, March 23, 1801, purchased a dower right in property on Crum creek, and the following year was assessed as owner of a grist-mill in Marple. The remaining right in the mill property he purchased of the executors of William Hunter, January 25, 1812. The report of Delaware county manufacturers,

published 1826, states "On Crum Creek in Upper Providence and Marple, a grist and saw-mill head and fall twelve feet owned and occupied by Abram Jones, capable of grinding 25,000 bushels of grain and sawing 100,000 feet of lumber per annum, but not employed to that extent." In 1834, after continuous ownership and operation, Mr. Jones sold the mills to T. Chalkley Palmer, who devised them to his son, Lewis.

The folowing mills have been mentioned in the old records of the township, but their location has not been ascertained: From 1764 to 1774, Charles Lynn owned a grist-mill; John Hunter and John Williamson each owned a quarter interest in a saw mill. In 1770, John Calvert owned a saw mill on Crum creek, and in 1788 Samuel Vernon owned a grist mill and a saw mill, and Edward Woodward a grist mill.

Radnor Township Mills.—It is believed that the first mill erected in Radnor township was a grist mill built in 1710, on the site later occupied by the mills owned by Tryon Lewis, by William Davis, and in 1712 by Hugh Williams.

The only authentic means of information, regarding the Radnor mills are the assessment rolls of the various years, many of which are missing, others imperfect and incomplete. The best available record follows:

For the year 1766, Thomas Thomas, grist-mill; Joseph Miles, grist and saw-mills; Adam Siter, tan yard. For 1779, George Fetterman, grist-mill; John Evans, saw-mill; Levi Lewis, grist mill; Adam Siter, tan yard. For 1782, William Bailey, fulling-mill; Abram Evans, grist-mill. For 1788, Benjamin Davis, grist-mill; Adam Siter, tan yard; Levi Lewis, grist-mill. For 1790, Benjamin Davis, grist-mill; John Evans, saw-mill; Levi Lewis, grist-mill; Daniel Maule, tan yard; Simeon Matlock, tan yard. For 1802-1803-1804, Jesse Brooke, grist, saw and plaster-mills; David Evans, grist and saw mills; Levi Lewis, saw mill; Daniel Maule, tan yard; John and William Siter, tan-yard, bark and saw mills. For 1807, Jesse Brooke, grist and plaster mills; Levi Lewis, grist and saw-mills; George and Simeon Matlock, tan yard; Daniel Maule, bark and tan yard; John Pugh, bark and tan yard; Edward Siter, tan yard and bark mill; William Siter, saw-mill. For 1809, Samuel Colef, saw-mill; Evan Roberts, grist and saw mills. For 1811-12, Samuel Colef, saw mill; Levi Lewis, grist mill; Evan Roberts, grist mill; Jesse Brooke, grist mill; William Siter, saw-mill. Edward Siter, stone, saw-mill, tan-yard and currying-shop. For 1817-18, Jesse Brooke, grist and saw mill; John and David Evans, grist and saw mill; Hannah Lewis, grist and saw mill; Joseph Pugh, tan yard; Edward Siter, tan yard and currying-shop; William Siter, saw mill. For 1820-21, Jesse Brooke, grist, saw and plaster mills; John and David Evans, grist and saw-mills; Edward Siter and Yocum, tan-yard; William Siter, saw mill.

The official report of 1826, regarding the mills and mill seats of Delaware county, mentions Radnor township as follows:

On Ithan creek in Radnor, a mill seat, on land of the heirs of Andrew Steel, deceased. On Ithan creek, in Radnor, a grist-mill and saw-mill, head and fall about twenty-three feet, owned and occupied by John and David Evans. Near the head of Ithan creek, in Radnor, a grist mill and saw-mill, head and fall about sixteen feet, grinds from eight to ten thousand bushels of grain per annum, and about fifty tons gypsum per annum, saw-mill employed occasionally, owned and occupied by Jesse Brooke. On Darby creek, above Ithan creek, in Radnor, a mill seat, head and fall fourteen or sixteen feet,

owned by Samuel Kelly and others. On a westerly branch of Darby creek, in Radnor, a saw mill, head and fall about eighteen feet, owned and occupied by Levi Lewis. On Darby creek, in Radnor, an old grist mill, head and fall about ten feet, owned by Levi Lewis, occupied by John Weaver, grinds from ten to twelve thousand bushels of grain per annum. On easterly branch of Darby creek, in Radnor, a mill seat, on lands of Levi Lewis. On the same branch, in Radnor, a mill seat, on lands of Elizabeth Matlock and others. On the same branch a clover-mill and a saw mill owned by William Siter, and occupied by William Wilfong, junior.

In 1829-30, the mills and owners were mentioned: Brooke's grist and saw mills; John and David Evans' grist and saw mills; Edward Siter and Yocum's tanyard, and William Siter's saw mill. In 1829 Eber James erected an earthenware pottery kiln on the old Lancaster road, near the 15th mile-stone, operating the same until his death in 1845, when Benjamin Jones became manager of the works, being succeeded by L. G. James, a son of Eber. Isaac Hoopes subsequently conducted the business for several years.

Thornbury Township Mills.—Early in 1850 the English Parliament enacted a law "to encourage the importation of pig and bar-iron from his Majesty's Colonies in America, and to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for the slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any of the said Colonies" and instructed the governors in the American colonies to certify the number, as well as "a particular account" of such establishments in the territory under their jurisdiction. In compliance with this act of Parliament, Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton, in his proclamation of August 16, 1750, required the sheriff of the Pennsylvania counties to report by September 25 of that year upon all such places of business "within their several and respective counties." The report of John Owen, sheriff of Chester county, taken from the Pennsylvania Archives, 1st series, volumes 2, page 57:

To the Hon. James Hamilton, Esqr., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pensilvania and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.

I, John Owen, sheriff of the County of Chester, in the said Province, do Certify and make known, That, there is but one mill or engine for slitting and rolling Iron within the County aforesaid, which is situate in Thornbury Township, and was Erected in the Year One thousand Seven Hundred and forty-Six, by John Taylor, the present Proprietor thereof, who, with his Servants and workmen, has ever since, untill the twenty-fourth day of June last, Used and Occupied the Same. And I do hereby further certify that there is not any Platering fforge to work with a Tilt-Hammer, nor any ffurnace for making of Steel within the said County of Chester. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal, this Eighteenth day of September, in the Year of our Lord, one thousand Seven Hundred and fifty.

JOHN OWEN, Sheriff (L. S.)

It is probable that there is an error in this report of the sheriff, for there are almost certain indications that the forge was erected at least three years and probably more prior to 1746. In 1742, John Taylor owned a store on Chester creek, and the following order, found among his business papers, points to the fact that he was using iron at that time:

Son Isaac: Let Sister Mary (Brogdon) have goods to the value of three pounds five shillings being for half a tun of Pig Iron. Charge it to account.

JOHN TAYLOR, July 22, 1742.

The first absolute proof that the forge was erected is the petition of Obadiah Bonsall for license to keep a tavern in Thornbury, dated August 31, 1743, on "the road leading from the French Creek Iron Works to Thornbury Forge," in which he uses as his argument for the erection of the inn at that place the fact that there were "many people resorting to and working at and near to the sd Forge." Another indication that the forge was erected previous to 1746 is that on January 18, 1745, John Taylor made an agreement with Thomas Wills, forgeman and finer, to work in the forge for two years in making anconits at 22s. 6d. per ton. The only way to effect a partial agreement between the statements that John Taylor was an iron worker in 1742 and that the sheriff of Chester county reported that he built the rolling and slitting-mill in 1746, is to assert that his forge was his means of livelihood in 1742 and at that time designated by the sheriff the rolling and slitting mill was erected. James M. Swank, in his volume, "The Manufacture of Iron in all Ages," states that the enterprises conducted by John Taylor

"were upon an extensive and varied scale, and included the manufacture of nails as well as nail rods. The tradition is preserved by his descendants that soon after the erection of the slitting mill, his store-keeper, in making one of his periodical visits to England to replenish his stock, surprised the Liverpool merchants by telling them that he could buy nails at Taylor's mill at lower prices than they quoted,—a revelation which added weight to the clamor then prevailing in England for the suppression of slitting-mills and similar iron establishments in America, and which agitation resulted in the passage in 1750, of an act of Parliament, which prohibited the further erection of such works."

Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, in the fall of 1748 visited Marcus Hook, and stated that "from an iron works, which lies higher up in the county, they carry iron bars to this place (Marcus Hook) and ship them." Acrelius, in his "History of New Sweden," writing of the period 1756, refers to the works as follows: "Sarum belongs to Taylor's heirs, has three stacks, and is in full blast." In that year John Taylor's death occurred, and his son John conducted the business of the plant for some time. It is recorded that in 1766 John Chamberlain operated Sarum Forge, also owning the four acres of land upon which the mill stood. John Thomson succeeded Chamberlain in ownership of the plant, becoming possessor thereof in 1770. Five years later, Anthony Wayne, who had not yet earned his title of "Mad Anthony," but was following his profession of civil engineer, surveyed the property preparatory to a partition among the heirs of John Taylor. On March 13, 1775, a partition deed was given in which Joseph Potts and Ann, his wife, of the first part, James Thomson and Sarah, his wife, Persifor Frazer and Mary, his wife, of the second part, and Thomas Bull, of East Nantmeal, Chester county, of the third part, divided 169 acres and 34 perches, "on which are erected an iron Forge, slitting mill, grist-mill, and saw-mill, with other valuable improvements."

When the survey was made, the slitting mill, grist-mill, saw mill, and forge were on land in Aston township, but by the act of July 30, 1842, annexing part of Aston to Thornbury, it came into Thornbury township. The deed to Joseph Potts shows that the slitting mill was then unused and out of repair, but he was careful to have an insertion giving him the right to rebuild the old slitting mill-dam, a permission of which he later took advantage, as well as repairing the works. From 1770 to 1775 it is probable that Persifer Frazer was in charge, but in the latter year his connection therewith ceased, for he became a soldier in the Revolution, was raised to the rank of colonel, and after the war held political positions until his death. In 1779 the old slitting mill was rebuilt, and that year Morris Jones became its operator, a position he held two years in partnership with Abraham Sharpless. In 1784 Morris Jones had withdrawn from the firm, which continued business as Sharpless & Lloyd, controlling the slitting mill, grist mill and saw-mill, as well as the forge. In 1780 Lloyd and Hill rented the slitting-mill, and ten years later Sharpless & Lloyd operated all the mills at Sarum. On February 14, 1794, Abraham Sharpless purchased of Josiah Potts the slitting-mill, grist, and saw-mill property, and about 1805 the forge and four acres of land. In 1807 Sharpless, in partnership with Francis Wisely, conducted the mill business at the upper seat, from which date the forge disappears from the records, probably being abandoned and falling into decay. From 1810 to April 2, 1836, Abraham Sharpless conducted the rolling and slitting mill, and nearly all that time the grist and saw mills also. On the latter date the mills were sold to Wilcox, changed to paper mills, and became known as the Glen Mills.

Another forge in Thornbury was that of John Edwards, who in 1788 was assessed for 190 acres of land and a forge. It is mentioned in the report of the road commissioner in 1791, when "the road from Edgemont road to the slitting mills on Chester creek was laid out, the road passing between John Edwards' forge and dwelling house." After this, but prior to 1799, John Lewis and Wills Hemphill operated the forge, but Lewis retired from the firm, and in 1807 Wills Hemphill, ——— Pennock and Nathan Edwards, were conducting the business. From 1811 to 1816, Nathan Edwards appears to have operated the forge, and at the latter date he owned a saw mill on the premises. The same year he built a slitting mill, and in 1826 his son, John Edwards, a lawyer and politician, owned the works, conducting the business under the name of Edwards & Kelton, at which time the annual product was from eighty to one hundred tons of sheet iron. Until 1829, both the forge and saw mill were in use, but that year the former was changed to a nail factory and the property is mentioned in the assessment roll as a rolling-mill and "one building said to be intended for a nail mill." The manufacture of nails was continued several years, and about 1835 the rolling mill was abandoned and the building entirely demolished in the flood of 1843.

Richard Cheyney in 1766 owned a saw mill on Chester creek, which he operated until he sold it, with eighty acres of adjoining land, to Henry Meyers, May 27, 1794. Meyers later purchased of Eli D. Peirce, agent for the estate of

Col. Persifor Frazer, a large tract of adjoining land where Mrs. Mary Frazer had operated a saw mill during the Revolutionary war, while her husband, Colonel Frazer, was at the front. About 1867 Daniel James purchased the property.

The Brinton family of Thornbury township owned a mill on the west branch of Chester creek, a short distance above the Concord township line, as early as 1770, when William Brinton was owner of the land upon which in 1788 Joseph Brinton had a saw-mill, malt-house, and brewery. In 1802 his son John and his grandson Joseph were operating a grist mill built five years before. In 1815 the grist mill was converted into a woolen factory, and was operated by the same two. William Marshall was operator of the mill in 1826, later purchasing the business and continuing until 1835, when the building was destroyed by fire. The ground upon which it had stood was bought by Caleb Brinton, who erected thereon a stone grist mill. In 1826, under the management of William Marshall, the report of the mill was as follows: one pair of stocks, two carding engines, twenty-four and thirty-six inches, one billy of forty spindles, two jennies, of sixty and seventy spindles, with an output of from four to five hundred yards of satinets per week.

Springfield Township Mills.—The connection of the Lewis family with mills in Springfield township begins in 1779, when John Lewis' name appears on the assessment roll as being taxed for a grist mill. Nine years later a saw mill was added to his possessions, and from then until 1817 he was owner of the two. The rolls of 1811 name John Lewis, Jr., as the owner of a paper mill, and in 1817 George Lewis was interested with him in the same business. In 1835 James Ogden rented the establishment, which had that year been changed from a grist mill into a cotton factory, and was succeeded by John Reese and Mordecai Lewis, sons of George Lewis, who operated the mill, likewise changing the old paper mill into a cotton factory. About 1854, John Reese Lewis died, the victim of a dreadful accident in which two children were drowned and his own health severely impaired. The mills were conducted by Mordecai Lewis until his death, October 14, 1870, when the business was continued by his three sons, Isaac, Albert and Reese.

George Lownes in 1779 was operator of a blade mill for the manufacture of small cutlery on Lownes run, a small stream tributary to Crum creek on the Springfield road. Twenty years afterward Curtis Lownes was the possessor of the above property, as well as owner of a stone tilt-mill. The former he discontinued before 1807, operating the latter until after 1812. In 1816 it was changed into a carding-mill, a building 17 feet by 26 feet, and three stories high. Soon after this change, George Bolton Lownes became proprietor, operating it until 1827, when Samuel Riddle rented it, continuing for two years, when he moved to a site on Chester creek, building the Parkmount Mills. In 1835 the property was in the possession of the heirs of George B. Lownes, having been previously converted into a cotton factory. It was disposed of at public sale May 5, 1835, its equipment being advertised as one

picker, two carding-engines, one drawing frame, one ellipse speeder, 700 spindles, two mules of 228 spindles each, and other machinery. In 1849 and later, Edward Lane & Company, Philadelphia carriage makers, occupied the property, and subsequently a Mr. Pilkerton conducted a weaving mill there. After the destruction of the mill by fire, conveyance of the real estate was made to Thomas and Oliver Holt, who erected a three story stone factory. In 1853 an addition was made to the mill, machinery installed, and about fifty persons employed. After the retirement of Oliver Holt from the firm, Thomas Holt continued the business until May 18, 1882, when fire again destroyed the mill. The property passed to Thomas Holt's estate after his death.

Below the Lownes mill, on Lownes or Whiskey run, in 1832, Joseph Gibbons erected on his farm a three-story cotton factory, 45 by 60 feet. Simeon Lord and William Faulkner leased it until 1847, when the former moved to Avondale, dissolving the partnership. Previous to its destruction by fire in 1865, the mill was rented to Thomas and Oliver Holtz, and afterward to George Wood and Joseph Barker.

What came to be known as Fell's mills were situated at the junction of Crum creek and Providence road, where in 1766 William Fell was assessed as half owner of a saw mill, and where in 1799 Edward Fell conducted a "pot-house" (pottery), with William Marshall as potter. Samuel Pancoast purchased the property December 12, 1805, and between 1815 and 1817 erected a grist mill, continuing the operation of the saw mill. These he operated until March 15, 1828, when William Beatty, of Lower Providence, bought four acres of land, the grist and saw mill, and built on the property a blade mill and forge, commencing the manufacture of edge-tools. John C. Beatty, his son, later came into partnership with him. The mill was washed away in the flood of the summer of 1843, was rebuilt, and in 1850 John C. Beatty sold his interest to William P. Beatty and Samuel Ogden, who continued in the business a number of years, William Beatty finally disposing of his interest to the Ogden Brothers. They shortly after conveyed the property to J. Howard Lewis.

Samuel Levis in 1766 was assessed for a grist-mill in Springfield, on Darby creek. By 1790 this mill had disappeared from the assessment rolls, but in 1799 the name again appears, when Thomas Levis owned a saw mill, and John Levis and Thomas Levis Jr., were each assessed as having half interest in a paper mill owned by Thomas Levis Sr. Samuel Levis was operator of the saw mill soon after 1799, conducting the same until April 15, 1825, when Osborn Levis purchased them, placing them under the management of Stephen Pancoast. The mill contained two vats, manufacturing about thirty-three reams of medium and forty-eight reams of printing demy paper a week. It employed twenty-three hands, and accommodations for eight families had been erected. In 1838, Moses Hey, of Haddington, rented the property, displacing Stephen Pancoast and changing the product of the mill from paper to wool. Seven years later he purchased the property, erecting two more mills, as well as other smaller buildings. Upon the retirement of Moses Hey from active business, on April 1, 1857, his son Emanuel succeeded him. The mills

had twelve sets of cords, 100 looms and 4000 spindles, with an annual maximum of production of 500,000 pounds of wool and 100,000 pounds of cotton yarn.

There were three mills in Springfield township which never survived the eighteenth century. One was a saw mill owned by Jacob Dicks, another, Elisha Jones' grist-mill, neither of which were in operation after 1780. John Heacock also owned a grist-mill from 1780 to 1799, but in the latter year it was abandoned and fell into decay.

Ridley Township Mills.—A grist-mill had been erected on Crum creek in 1764, near the site upon which the locks of the Leiper canal were subsequently located, and was owned and operated by John McIlvain. This continued in active use until 1794, when a saw-mill was built, and sold in 1827 to George G. Leiper. Jeremiah McIlvain established a tanyard in 1794, which was continued by him until his death, and thereafter by his sons John and Jeremiah until subsequent to 1835. In this year the property and a bark mill which they had erected was purchased by George G. Leiper, who enlarged the bark mill by adding one and a half stories to the old structure, and leased it to James Campbell in 1837. He was very successful in its operation, and in the fall of 1826 the pressing need for room to accommodate the increasing demand for his product compelled him to erect a three-story stone factory, extending along the canal. Thomas M. Smith was at this time operating the saw mill, and was employed in cutting ship timbers under contract with the United States government. On December 8, 1848, the dry-house at Campbell's mill was destroyed by fire, and, after being rebuilt was again destroyed by the same agency, October 23, 1850. James Campbell purchased the old jail in Chester and used it as a cotton mill, continuing to operate it until 1855, when the machinery was removed. In 1848 George G. Leiper erected an axe factory below the saw mill, which William Beatty operated for some time, the canal supplying the tilt mill with power. This was finally sold and the power it used being placed to better advantage at the cotton-mill. Michael Buggy rented the mill after Campbell moved to Chester, and until it was purchased by Daniel Lees, August 2, 1869, from the executors of George G. Leiper, operated it. Daniel Lees conducted it until July 21, 1883, when Frank J. Taylor and Oliver Holt purchased a two-thirds interest. On February 19, 1878, the mill was destroyed by fire, with a loss of $35,000, and was rebuilt in 1880. The new mill, a stone structure 104 by 50 feet, was once more burned to the ground in 1881, and a third time rebuilt.

Near the Springfield road and Little Crum creek, about a mile to the northward from Leiperville, Isaac Davis had a grist mill in 1774, which became the property of Peter Hill, the flour at the mill and the teams of the miller being impressed for the use of the colonial army, the United States government making full payment after the war by granting a patent for 5000 acres of land in Lee county, Virginia. The mill must have been destroyed by some of the foraging parties which swept Ridley township with much disastrous results, for in 1795 Peter Hill was only taxed for a saw mill, and four years

later was assessed for 330 acres of land, a grist and saw mill. In 1808 the latter was abandoned and fell into decay. The stone grist mill was 48 by 36 feet, and in 1826 was changed into a cotton factory, but was not immediately used as such. In 1842 Henry Burt occupied it as he had done prior to 1826, at which later date the building had been added to, its size being 50 by 38 feet, three and a half stories high. It contained seven carding engines, one drawing frame, 480 wadding frames, 90 cards, 21 Patterson speeder, and other smaller machinery. Henry Effinger was owner in 1844, and rented it to James Campbell, who conducted it as a spinning mill until 1846, when Charles F. and Joseph W. Kenworthy rented it, installing steam power. In 1847 the mill operated 468 throstle spindles, 300 mule spindles, and thirty looms. Thirty hands were employed, manufacturing 4500 yards per week, with ten looms employed on Canton flannel and the remaining twenty on bagging. The engine house was burned December 19, 1848, and the mill narrowly escaped. After the Kenworthy Brothers moved to Bridgewater, the mill was idle for a short time, Samuel Hickman purchasing it and converting it into a grist mill.

The Eddystone Manufacturing Company, limited, was founded in 1844 by William Simpson, at the Falls of the Schuylkill, Philadelphia, and in 1860 the sons of the founder were admitted to the firm, which then took the name William Simpson & Sons. In 1774 the works were moved to Eddystone, and three years later the Eddystone Manufacturing Company, (limited) was incorporated, in which company the members of the old firm were the chief owners of stock. At this latter date the plant was enlarged and the finest machinery obtainable for making colored prints, was obtained. The works included fifteen buildings, consisting of engraving and color-rooms, 202 by 82 feet, one-story high; bleaching-room, 244 by 90 feet, one-story; boiler-house, 112 by 72 feet, one-story; cloth store-house, 112 by 50 feet, one-story; white-rooms, 107 by 84 feet, one-story, with boiler house, 202 by 72 feet, one-story; south dye-house, 202 by 92 feet, one-story; north dye-house, 223 by 93 feet, one-story; finishing-house, 300 by 60 feet, two stories; print works, 300 by 85 feet, three stories; retort-house, 90 feet square, one-story; machine shop, 150 by 60 feet, one-story, planning-mill, 100 by 90 feet, one-story; pumping-house, 60 by 35 feet, one-story; stable, 114 by 92 feet, one-story. The buildings covered nearly five acres of ground, and contained fifty-four engines, with thirty-seven boilers, consuming 25,000 tons of coal per annum. About 500 men, 60 women and girls, and 160 boys were employed, with a weekly production of 30,000 pieces of cloth of forty-eight yards each. About this manufactory as a center, quite a thriving village grew up. Eighty-five brick tenant houses were erected on the property, and many improvements made for the comfort and convenience of the employees. In 1880 the company erected a library building known as the "Eddystone Light-house," with a view to fostering the intellectual welfare of its people, as well as providing physical comfort. There was a play-ground for the use of the children of the little community, and great was its popularity among the little ones. The ideal conditions existing at Eddystone at the time made it a most desirable place to be employed, and

contentment and satisfaction were the keynotes among the workingmen. This company has continued in successful operation until the present, and in its enlarged form has been and is the principal industry of the now borough of Eddystone.

Another large and important addition is the immense works of the Baldwin Locomotive Company, who in recent years have erected works, and now do a great deal of their business at the new plant.

The mills in Ridley township whose location is uncertain, are the saw mill for which John Lewis was assessed in 1766; James Hannum's grist-mill. appearing on the assessment roll of 1779, and the saw mill of Caleb Churchman, taxed in 1817.

Haverford Township Mills.—On Cobb's creek, near where the road passes Haverford meeting house, there was a small grist mill as early as 1688, although its original owner is unknown. It is mentioned in the records of 1700 as follows: On 4 mo. 12th, 1700, Richard Hayes, attorney for William Howell, acknowledged a deed to David Lloyd, attorney for Rowland Powell, for 97 acres of land, with a mill called Haverford mill, and all other appurtenances and improvements thereunto belonging. In October, 1703, Daniel Humphrey acquired 241 acres of land, including the mill property, and subsequently his son Charles, a member of the Continental Congress at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, together with his brothers, became owners of the property, which included grist, fulling, and saw-mills. In 1766 Edward Humphrey was recorded as owner of the full-mill, and Charles Humphrey of the grist and saw-mills, the latter in 1782 owning the grist and fulling mills. The property remained in the Humphrey family until 1826, when it was purchased by Dennis Kelly and changed into a cotton and woolen manufactory, named Castle Hill mills.

On 4th mo. 14, 1698, Richard Hayes, the attorney previously mentioned, acquired 160 acres of land on the east side of Darby creek. Here in 1707, he, in partnership with David Morris, and Samuel Lewis, erected a grist-mill which he conducted until his death in 1738. In 1802 this property, as well as a saw mill thereon, was possessed by Maris Worrell, and was owned by him for eighteen years. Elisha Worrell had it in 1826, but it was operated by Thomas Steel. Four years later it had once more changed tenants—Joseph Leedom. In 1875 Maris W. Leedom was its proprietor, and upon his death it passed to his widow. Humphrey Ellis, 10 mo. 2, 1694, purchased 220 acres on the east bank of Darby creek, thereon erecting a fulling mill, which he successfully operated, conveying it to his son Humphrey in 1790. Peter Brown about 1800 became owner and operator of grist and saw mills on the head waters of Cobb's creek. On February 11, 1802, the property consisted of 130 acres, with a grist and saw-mill, and this he sold to William Hill, William White and Miers Fisher, who, July 1, 1807, conveyed the same to Samuel Garriques, house carpenter. He operated them several years, but lack of power caused their abandonment, and they are mentioned in the report of a Delaware county committee on manufactories, submitted in 1826, as "an old

stone grist-mill which has been out of use for several years past." Part of this tract was sold July 26, 1834, to the Haverford School Association, and is now embraced in the Haverford College property.

A saw mill was built about the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the spot probably once occupied by Humphrey Ellis in 1790, and at different times was a possession of Henry Lawrence and his sons, Thomas, Mordecai and William. In 1832 William Lawrence erected a stone grist-mill on Darby creek, a little down stream from the saw-mill, which for many years was a possession of the Lawrence family.

About 1810, Jonathan Miller erected grist and saw mills on Cobb's creek, soon after devoted to the manufacture of gunpowder. In 1827 Samuel Leedom was engaged as manager, and in 1844 purchased the mills and remained until his death, about 1870. Augustus Leedom was the next owner, succeeded by a Mr. Lombert, who, was followed by George Dickinson, who purchased the property in February, 1879.

Mills known as the Nitre Hall mills, devoted to the manufacture of gunpowder, were established in Haverford township just prior to the war of 1812, and were owned and operated by Israel Wheeler and William Rogers Jr., until 1825. From this time until his death in 1840, Rogers conducted the business alone. At this later date Dennis Kelly purchased the property, using the principal building as a woolen and cotton-factory. For the next forty years it was the property of Kelly and his heirs, George Callahan then becoming its owner, employing John and Thomas Burns as managers. About 1814, Dennis Kelly, with borrowed capital, purchased Isaac Ellis' mill-seat on Cobb's creek, erecting a small stone woolen factory named the Clinton mills. The speculation was a great success, and soon after, in partnership with George Wiest, the remainder of Ellis' property was bought and Clinton mills considerably enlarged. Mr. Kelly, however, was soon alone in the business, and under his skillful management it developed rapidly, large quantities of goods being furnished to the United States government for use in the making of army and navy uniforms. In 1826 Joshua Humphrey's grist-mill was purchased and its manufactures changed to cotton and woolen goods, being named Castle Hill Mills. Samuel Rhoads occupied the latter mills for several years, and February 20, 1834, it was utterly destroyed by catching fire from the picker, the $10,000 insurance being entirely inadequate to cover the loss. After its rebuilding, John Hazlitt, George Burnley, James Howorth, Boyle and Calleghan, were among its leases and operators. John Boyle about 1865 erected a large four-story building above Castle Hill mills, intended for the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods, but the venture was not successful.

Names identified with the milling interests of Haverford township, in connection with fulling-mills, grist-mills, saw-mills, powder-mills, tanneries and paper mills, between 1766 and 1830, and not previously mentioned with a detailed account of the mills, are as follows: Isaac Davis, Elisha Worrall, Francis Lee, John Moore, Philip Sheaff, Thomas Brooke, Joseph Davis, James

Tyson, Enoch Watkins, John Dolen, Joseph Mathews, Francis Goucher, Manuel Eyre, Clermont Lawrence.

INDUSTRIES.

Chester.—Much of the territory embraced within the present city of Chester was included in the township area of Delaware county, and not until 1866 did it take on the form of a city government, although created a borough in 1703. Many great industries have existed here, and the city is the present seat of many plants of great importance. The census of 1910 gives the number of manufacturing plants as 128, engaging the service of 7867 persons. The metal working industries are the most important. As combined, they reported (census of 1910), one-third of the total value of the city products. Next in importance are the textile industries, particularly cotton, woolen and worsted goods, the total output for the two classes of goods being more than one-fourth of the total value of all manufactured products reported for the city. The slaughtering and meat packing, pottery, terra cotta and fire clay, and leather (tanned, curried and finished) industries, rank in the order named. An abstract from the census report of 1910 shows: Plants, 128; persons engaged, 7867; proprietors and firm members, 102; salaried officers, superintendents and managers, 243; male clerks, 436; female clerks, 100; operatives, 6986, of whom 5262 were males, 1488 females, and of these 236 were under sixteen years of age. The value of the manufactured products was $19,373,314, of which about $7,000,000 was in excess of cost of raw materials and expense of manufacturing.

Among the great industries of Chester, now past and gone, was that of shipbuilding, and the greatest of these, The Delaware River Iron Ship Building and Engine Company, commonly known as Roach's Ship Yard. Shipbuilding was begun at that yard in 1859 by Thomas Reaney, a former member of the firm of Reaney & Neafie, of Philadelphia. He established an extensive shipyard in connection with William B. Reaney and Samuel Archbold, the firm name being Reaney, Son & Archbold, the plant being known as the Pennsylvania Iron Works. The first did a large business, erected costly buildings, filled in a large area of river front, and put in a great deal of valuable machinery. During the Civil War they did a great deal of work for the government, building the war vessels "Wateree," "Suwanee" and "Shamokin," double enders; the monitors "Sagamore" and "Lehigh;" the light draught monitor "Tunxis;" and other boats for various purposes, including the river steamboat "Samuel M. Felton." In 1871 the firm made an assignment and the yard was purchased by John Roach. Under the firm name, The Delaware River Iron Ship Building and Engine Company, there was constructed at these yards, many vessels of size and speed, including the first vessels for the new navy begun by the government after the wooden type of war vessel passed away. The steamers for the merchant service included "The City of Peking" and "City of Tokio," the largest vessels ever built in this country up to that date, 1873-1874; the "City of Para," launched April 6, 1878, in the presence of the

President of the United States, hundreds of invited guests from all over the country and thousands of spectators; the "City of San Francisco," "City of New York," "City of Sydney," "San Jose," "San Juan," "San Blas," "City of Panama," and "City of Guatemala." In 1873 the iron-clad sloops-of-war "Alert" and "Alliance" were built for the government; in 1875, the monitor "Miantinomah," and there was begun the then new type of war vessels the cruisers "Boston," "Atlanta," "Chicago," the monitor "Puritan," and the dispatch boat "Dolphin." On May 22, 1877, the steamship "Saratoga" was ready for launching, but before reaching the water, caught several workmen in the timbers underneath, killing seven and wounding others. In 1877 a sectional dry dock was built at the yards for the government, in four sections, this was shipped to Pensacola, Florida, and placed in service there. Great activity existed at the yards under the Roaches, father and son, but its glory has departed, and but little remains to speak of the former greatness.

William Frick and William Wilson, came to Chester in 1860 and established a yard for the building of canal boats. They expended a great deal of money in erecting piers and filling in the low and marshy ground, and did a large business, but eventually failed.

Charles A. Weidner, at the Chester Iron Works, also built several steamboats and other vessels, including the United States revenue steamer "Manhattan," pronounced by government inspectors the best vessel in the revenue service. Other builders conducted marine building, but nothing beyond the building of pleasure yachts, launches and small crafts is now carried on.

Chester Mills.—The Broad Street Mills, at Broad and Crosby streets, for the making of bedticking, warps and copse, was originally a sash and blind factory, but in 1856 were used by James Campbell for the manufacture of cotton goods. He died in 1862, the mills passing into the hands of Gen. Patterson and were purchased by James Stevens in 1882. The Keokuk Mills were established in 1852 by Benjamin Gartside, who later admitted his sons, James and Amos to partnership. The Arasapha Mills were established in 1854 by Abraham Blakeley for the manufacture of tickings, denims and stripes. The mills after a successful career, are now consolidated with the Aberfoyle Manufacturing Company. The Phoenix Cotton and Woolen Mills were built by Spencer McIlvaine and operated by John Green as the Continental Mills, later passing to the ownership of Ashforth and Downey of Philadelphia. The Mohawk Mills, operated by Robert Hall in 1872, was originally a machine shop built by John M. Broomall, and passed through various hands and experiences before becoming a cotton and woolen mill.

The Irving and Leiper Manufacturing Company, still an important Chester enterprise, was founded in 1859 by James and David Irving, in partnership with Thomas I. Leiper, trading as Irving & Leiper. In 1878 the Irving and Leiper Manufacturing Company was incorporated. The Victoria Mill was established by John Gartside in 1860, when the building was erected, four stories in height, and in 1873 was enlarged and later other buildings erected, devoted to the manufacture of woolen cassimers and cloakings. These

mills are now known as the Lenni Mills, manufacturing plush goods. The Chester Dock Mills was founded in 1853 by Phineas Lownes and J. William Lewis, at Knowlton, Middletown township, who continued there until 1864, when they moved to Third and Garfield streets, Chester, to a three-story stone building, they there erected. Later the firm consisted of J. William Lewis and Albert A. Roop, engaged in the manufacture of cloth and yarn. The Patterson Mills were erected in 1866 by Gen. Robert Patterson, and devoted to the manufacture of cotton goods. After the General's death the mills were operated for his estate until sold. The Sunnyside Mills, at the corner of Morton avenue and Ledyard street, were erected in 1865 by Henry McIlvaine and John Hinkson, sold to John Ledyard, who operated them until 1882, when the plant was totally destroyed by fire, but were rebuilt and have passed to other hands. The Algodon Mills were established in 1866 by James Barton Jr., and Simeon Cotton, the latter retiring in 1876, Barton continuing until 1881.

The Yeadon Mills were erected in 1867 by McCrea & Company, of Philadelphia, for the manufacture of denims and tickings, and were known as the Fulton Mills. They were operated by John Brewster, who in May, 1870, saw his mills consumed by fire. The ground was purchased and the mills rebuilt by William Bullock, who changed their name to the Yeadon Mills. In 1870 they were purchased by G. P. Denis and operated for the manufacture of fancy cassimere. The Lilley Manufacturing Company, incorporated January 3, 1880, was founded August 1, 1873, as John Lilley & Son, on Front street, for the manufacture of cotton and woolen cloth and cotton yarn. The Chester City Mills were established in 1877 by Branagan & Lamb, at the corner of Front and Parker streets, for the manufacture of woolen yarn and jeans.

The S. A. Crozer & Son cotton mills, erected in 1880, stand on ground on Edgemont avenue, on which in 1837 Jacob G. Kilts established the first foundry in Delaware county. In his advertisement in the Delaware County Republican of September 29, 1837, he states: "The subscriber having established an iron foundry at Chester, is now ready and prepared to receive orders for iron castings of all kinds and descriptions, such as mill gearing and machinery for flour and paper mills—mills' horse-power for thrashing machines, wheels for railroad cars, axles, etc. All of which will be made and fitted to order." In 1837 Kilts & Kerlin carried on the business and erected the first stationary engine and steam boiler ever erected in Chester. In 1840 they made the second engine and boiler used in Chester, for the William Brobson tannery. In 1841 "Brass and Bell Foundry" was added to their title. Kilts failed in 1844, and the business was carried on by others, and work turned out by the plant was regarded as wonderful and marvelous in that day. In 1880, S. A. Crozer & Son erected their cotton mill, which still continues under the same name as does their plant at Upland.

The Lincoln Manufacturing Company was organized in Chester in 1881, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton yarns in the mill erected for that purpose on Morton avenue. The Stotesbury Mill at Fourteenth street and Edgemont avenue was built in 1874, by J. Lewis Crozer, and the manufacture

of cotton yarn there begun in that year by James M. Stotesbury, who continued until 1883.

In 1873, James Bowers & Son began business in Waterville as manufacturers of shoddy. In 1877 they moved their machinery to a building at the corner of Sixth and Madison streets, Chester, where in 1884 they erected a new building of brick and stone devoted to the manufacture of assorted waste. This business is continued as James Bowers & Sons, limited.

Morton & Black's saw mill and sash factory was established in 1865 at the foot of Morton avenue, by Crosly P. Morton and J. Frank Black.

The Chester Edge Tool Works, operated for the estate of John B. Black, was established in Chester in 1871, by John C., son of William Beatty, and passed into the Black family in April 1875.

The Riverside Dye Wood Mills, now the American Dye Wood Company, is the outgrowth of a business started in 1835 in Waterville by Smith & Hartshorne. In 1878 John M. Sharpless & Company purchased the site of Frick's old shipyard on the Delaware river, adjoining Roach's shipyard, and erected suitable buildings to carry on the business.

The Combination Steel and Iron Company was founded in 1880, with John Roach, president, for the production of bar and angle iron.

The Eureka Cast Steel Company erected buildings and commenced business in 1877, doing a large business in their ample buildings, the first president of the company being John A. Emick.

The firm of Robert Wetherill & Company began in a partnership January 1, 1872, between Robert and Richard Wetherill. Their plant, consisting of foundry machine shops, boiler rooms, located at Sixth, Upland and Seventh streets, is devoted to the manufacture of Corliss engines, boilers, shafting, gearing, etc. The business is large, and conducted under the firm name of Robert Wetherill & Company, (incorporated).

The Chester Steel Casting Company, another of the important industries of Chester, was organized in 1870 and in 1871 erected a foundry at Sixth and Norris streets. Their business, as manufacturers of steel castings, is conducted at Seventh and Broomall.

Ocheltree's Carriage Works were established on Edgemont avenue in 1877. As busiess increased, new buildings were erected on a site not far removed, where the business is now conducted.

Price's Brick Yard was established in 1854 on the site of the Yeadon Mills, at the corner of Tenth and Upland streets. About 1864 seven acres were purchased on Fifth and Parker streets, and business continued.

The manufacture of paper from straw was carried on in Chester as early as 1829, the mill being one of the first in this country where straw paper was made.

In South Chester borough, now part of the city of Chester, many important industries existed. The Auvergne Mills began business at the foot of Flower street in 1868, but October 3, 1873, was destroyed by fire. The plant was rebuilt, and the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods resumed in 1874.

D. Trainer and Sons began the manufacture of fine yarns in 1872. The Wyoming Mill, devoted to the manufacture of cotton cloth, began business in 1873, being operated for several years by Samuel Montgomery and his sons, finally passing to Joseph Byram. The Continental Mill, established by Simeon Cotton in 1876, was devoted to the manufacture of cotton warp. Cotton yarn was manufactured at the Garfield Mill and oil-cloth at the works on Telgham street.

The Chester Rolling Mills were incorporated March 10, 1875, with John Roach, as president; a large business was transacted for several years. The Chester Pipe and Tube Company, was incorporated in 1877. The Standard Steel Casting Company, was incorporated June 22, 1883. The Chester Oil Company was organized in 1880, and began the refining of oil, shipping their product to all parts of the world. The Seaboard Oil Company (now the Crew Levick Company) was organized in 1881, and became refiners of oil and manufacturers of lubricating oils, parafine oils and wax, gasoline and naptha. They have won a commanding position in the market, and are one of Chester's strong institutions.

The Irvington Mills, at Irvington, are located on an old mill property on which saw and grist mills existed from an early date. In 1843 James Riddle and Henry Lawrence changed them to cotton mills, which they operated until 1845. In that year James and David Irving leased the mills of Pierce Crosby until 1857, when they purchased the property. In 1860 an additional mill was erected; in 1862 David Irving continued business, Washington Irving being admitted January 1, 1866, the firm name becoming James Irving & Son. The latter died the following September, the firm name remaining unchanged. In 1879 another son, William A. Irving, was admitted to an interest. In 1880 the old grist mill was removed and Mill No. 3 erected. The business, wonderfully enlarged, is continued under the firm name James Irving & Son (limited).

The Powhattan Mills in North Chester (Irvington), formerly known as the Pennellton Mills at Bridgewater, were purchased from Patrick Kelly in 1863 by Hugh Shaw and D. Reese Esrey, operating as Shaw & Esrey. They purchased the personal property and machinery of the Pennellton Mills, together with Kelly's interest in the brand of goods known as "Powhattan." In the spring of 1866 they bought lands at Powhattan, near Chester, and erected Powhattan Mill No. 1, fitting it with machinery from the Pennellton Mill and with new woolen cloth manufacturing machinery; Mill No. 2 was erected in 1871, and much additional machinery installed. In 1877 a third mill was erected, devoted to the manufacture of a finer grade of goods. In January, 1878, the firm of Shaw & Esrey was changed under an act of assembly to a limited company, and the firm members then being Hugh Shaw, D. Reese Esrey, John Shaw, H. C. Esrey and William Shaw.

Many other firms and companies have operated in Chester and vicinity, their lines of manufacture covering a wide range. Some have passed away forever, others exist under new names, but all in their day contributed to the upbuilding of what is now a most healthy, prosperous manufacturing city. The

following are the leading present-day manufacturers of Chester: Aberfoyle Manufacturing Company, textile fabrics; American Dyewood Company; American Steel Foundries; Arasapha Manufacturing Company, cotton goods; Atlantic Refining Company, refining; Beacon Light Company; W. M. Boulden and Sons, iron rails; Chessauqua Silk Company; Chester Lace Mills; Chester Milling Company; Chester Paper Company, toilet paper; Chester Spinning Mills, cotton yarns; Chester Steel Casting Company, steel castings; Robert E. Clark, thread; Columbia Worsted Company; Consumers Ice Manufacturing Company; George Coyne, chemical works; Levick Crew Company, oils; Crown Smelting Company, brass castings; S. A. Crozer and Sons, cotton goods; Delaware River Steel Company; Duplex Metal Company; Economy Iron Works; Emmott Worsted Spinning Company; Empire Grate Company, foundry castings; Federal Steel Foundry Company; E. Garrett, paper; General Chemical Company; Stacy G. Glauser and Son, lumber and mill-work; Grove Worsted Mills; James M. Hamilton, planing-mill; Harbison-Walker Refractories Company; Harper Manufacturing Company, metallic packings and machinists; George C. Hetzel and Company, worsted goods; Huston Manufacturing Company, comfortables; James Irving and Son (Limited), woolen goods; Irving and Leiper Manufacturing Company, cotton goods; D. B. Kennedy, pattern-maker; Keystern Bitumen Enamel Company; Keystone Cabinet Company, furniture; Keystone Drop Forge Works; Keystone Fibre Company; Keystone Plaster Company; Keystone Steel Castings Company; Keystone Type Foundry; J. B. King and Company, plaster and cement; A. Knabb and Company, barrels; J. K. Lamb Textile Machinery Company; Manufacturers Paraffine Company; William J. Morgan, wall paper and paints; Charles L. Moser, oils and cooperage; Nelson Spinning Company, yarns; New Farson Manufacturing Company, furniture and refrigerators; M. Ochetree, carriages; Paraffine Manufacturing Company; Penn Ice Works, incorporated; Penn Pattern Company; Penn Steel Casting and Machinery Company; Philadelphia Quartz Company, Philadelphia Suburban Gas and Electric Company; Plitt and Company, iron and steel; Rawleigh Medical Company; Riverside Machine Company; S. and L. Rubber Company; Scott Paper Company, toilet paper; Seaboard Steel Castings Company; W. T. Seth, paper and twine; Smedley Brothers, paper and metals; Solid Steel Casting Company; South Chester Tube Company; Thompson Worsted Company; Trainer Spinning Company, cotton yarn; A. P. Whitman Company, forgings; Daniel Lees Estate, plushes; Lenni Quarry Company, stone.

Other mills and industries of the county worthy of especial mention: The Pennsylvania Iron Works Company, Eddystone; The Columbia Worsted Company of Wallingford, Wallingford; The Eagan-Rogers Steel & Iron Company, Crum Lynne; O. W. Ketcham Architectural Terra Cotta Company, Crum Lynne; The Providence Worsted Company, Irvington; Protoxide Manufacturing Company, Marcus Hook; Ridley Park Brick Company, Crum Creek; The Sun Oil Company, Marcus Hook; United Roofing and Manufacturing Company, Marcus Hook; I. Wallworth & Sons, cotton and wool manufac-

turers, Upland; The Penn Tapestry Company, Glen Riddle; The Lenni Quarry Company, Lenni; Yorkshire Worsted Mills, Lenni; The Brandywine Summit Kaolin & Feldspar Works, Brandywine Summit; The Griswold Worsted Mills, Darby; Caledonia Woolen Mills, Clifton Heights; Colonial Manufacturing Company, Turkish towels, Clifton Heights; Columbia Worsted Company, Scottdale Road; Crucible Steel Casting Company, South Union avenue and Pennsylvania railroad, Lansdowne; Nelson Kershaw Mills, Turkish toweling, Clifton Heights; Primos Chemical Company, Primos; Media Cold Storage and Ice Company, Media; Schoen-Jackson Company, Rose Valley Road, Moylan; Victoria Plush Mills, Swarthmore; Delaware County Electric Company, Power House, Morton; Essington Machinery and Brass Works, Essington; Essington Ship Building Company (Limited), Essington; Ridley Park Brick Company; H. K. Mulford Company, vaccine and anti-toxine (laboratories South Avenue and Chester Pike), Glen Olden; Roberts Filter Manufacturing Company, Darby; The Dairymen's Supply Company, manufacturers of dairy machinery and supplies, Baltimore Avenue and Pennsylvania railroad, Lansdowne.

EARLY TRANSPORTATION AND RAILROADS.

In these days of the twentieth century, when the first requirement of any innovation or invention is that of time saving; when man is progressive along scientific lines at such a rate that his power seems to be almost limitless; when automobiles, steam and electric trains and power driven bicycles think nothing of sixty miles an hour; when steamships breast the mighty Atlantic in four days; when rivers are tunneled under instead of crossed over; when railroads travel for miles under ground to avoid the delay incident to congestion above; and when aeroplanes dip, swerve, and outfly the bird thousands of feet above us, it is almost appalling to think of the methods of travel employed by those hardy pioneers, the John the Baptists of our modern civilization. For then no express train panted and puffed in a magnificent and spacious terminal; it was their lot to saddle the horse, pack food for man and beast, traverse the country road and forest trail, and endure the rigors and hardships of that mode of travel for two or three full days. It was not for them, if a wife or daughter wished to visit a relative, sixty or seventy miles away, to place her in a velvet upholstered parlor car and to commend her to the courteous care of an immaculate conductor for an hour and a half, but a pillion must be strapped behind the husband's or father's saddle, a mounting block placed, and the maid or matron seated behind her escort, there to have her less hardened frame racked for several days by the ceaseless lurching and swaying of the faithful animal as it climbed the hills, descended into the valleys and traversed the plains. To cross an intervening river was not the unimportant feature of the journey it has now become. Then, a ford must needs be found where the horse could wade; or, if he were well trained and capable, and the current not too swift, horse and rider might swim the stream. At best it was an uncomfortable proceeding.

The use of carriages at once presents itself to our later day minds, but the fact is that, in the early days, carriages were remarkably few in number, and as late as 1720 there were none in the Province of Pennsylvania, save that of William Penn's family. If a carriage were to pass through a town and the news were received in advance, the road would be lined with the village people, and the simple farming folk from the country round about, all as delighted and as excited as children. One of the great events of the time was when General Washington would pass through the country with his family in his coach and four, with his postilions in their showy livery, while he followed mounted on a handsome horse which he rode with splendid ease and grace.

In 1725 there were seven gentlemen of the province who owned carriages, one of whom was the governor. Yet their equipages would cause no envy to-day, for the humblest rig in our livery stables would excel them in appearance and usefulness, as they were little more than arm-chairs suspended from two axles by leather straps. They were very light in weight, for the roads were such that a heavy rain made them almost impassable, and the lighter the conveyance the greater the probability of reaching one's destination in safety. The roads in many instances were simply paths made by the following of an Indian trail. Their chief virtue was their directness, for an Indian never believed in a circuitous route. Probably the road, if such it could be called, would lead for miles through a dense forest, and these gloomy recesses were the dread of every traveler, however stouthearted he might be, for desperadoes and highwaymen were common, and the order to "stand and deliver" might come from behind any stalwart oak.

In 1732, a mode of travel was inaugurated which showed great progress in means of passenger transportation,—the stage coach. By this means, by starting at three or four o'clock in the morning and traveling until late at night, one could traverse about forty miles a day. This was providing the roads were in good condition, since in bad weather any progress at all was exceedingly doubtful. On occasions when the coach wheels would become imbedded in a quagmire, the passengers would alight; the ladies were escorted to a safe distance; and the men would put their shoulders to the wheels, the most aristocratic side by side with the humblest, and, knee deep in mud, would push forward the lumbering vehicle. It is of record that on January 10, 1834, the mail coach from Washington, traveling via the Queen's Highway, stuck fast in the mud below Darby and had to be drawn to the village by oxen; and as late as January 9, 1836, a heavy sleigh, impressed into service as an omnibus between Darby and Philadelphia, stuck fast in a snow drift near the former village and was delayed for two days.

The physical discomforts and difficulties were not the only obstacles in the way of free intercourse between people living at a distance, but a statute in the Duke of York's Laws, in effect as early as September 22, 1676, said "that if hereafter any stranger or person unknown shall come to or Travill through any Towne or place within this Government without a Passport or Certificate from whence hee came and wither hee is bound, shall bee lyable to be seized

upon by any Officer of the Towne or Place into which hee comes, or through which hee shall travill, there too bee Licensed untill hee can Cleare himselfe to be a free Man, and shall defray the Charges of his Detention there, by his worke of Labour (if not otherwise able to give satesfaction) in the best way and Manner hee shall bee found capable." This law was so rigidly enforced that it was practically impossible to travel unless having complied with all such various formalities. Ferrymen were forbidden to transport anyone unknown to them, and were placed under bond not to do so, unless he could produce a travelling certificate signed by a magistrate; and hosts of inns and taverns were required to notify an officer immediately upon the arrival of a stranger.

It was as difficult, under the rule of William Penn, to leave the province as to enter it, as his fifty-fifth law required "that every person intending to depart or leave the Province & Territories thereof, shall publish his or her intention in writing, affixed to the door of the County Court, where hee or shee thirty days before his or her Departure, and shall have a pass under the County Seal." Like laws were enacted in 1700 and 1705, and captains of vessels were not only ordered not to carry any persons on their ships not provided with such a pass, but were held responsible for any damage done by the departure of the passengers, as, for instance, the assumption of the liabilities of an absconding bank cashier.

In reference to a stage line between Philadelphia and Baltimore, Martin, in his "History of Chester," gives the substance of an advertisement which appeared in the Independent Gazette or the Chronicle of Freedom, of Philadelphia, January 2, 1788. The firm of Greeshorn, Johnson and Co., proprietors of the "Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Eastern Shore Line of Post Coach Carriages," state that from Fourth street, nearly opposite the old Indian Queen Tavern, carriages will start on Mondays and Thursdays of every week during the winter, at ten o'clock in the morning, and arrive in Baltimore on Wednesdays and Saturdays "in good season for dining." The first stopping point south of Philadelphia was the Queen of France Inn, twenty-two miles south of the city. The line running in competition with the one above mentioned, was that of G. P. Vanhorne, Kerlin & Co., whose advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet for March 11, 1790:

"Public Stages—The well established Mail Stages between the City of Philadelphia and Baltimore continue their regular Tours respectively from each place by way of the Susquehannah, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Returning on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. To facilitate the dispatch and arrival of the Public Mails is an obligation indispensable, and every exertion to accommodate engages the duty and interest of the proprietors. The passengers are therefore requested to be early in their preparations for the stages starting, as the most assiduous efforts are requisite and will be practiced, to render general and complete satisfaction.

"G. P. Vanhorne, Kerlin & Co.

"N. B.—Regulations to be seen in the stage office at the George Inn."

Between 1800 and 1830 there were several rival lines of stages connecting Philadelphia and Baltimore, Reeside, Stockton and Stokes, Murdock and

Nasp, and Janviers. They made their stops and headquarters at the various hostelries along the way, where horses were changed, man and beast fed, and slight rest secured from the wearisome bumping and tossing.

After the completion of the Baltimore, Philadelphia & New London turnpike, lines of stages began operation thereon, and in 1807 there were several lines on the Lancaster road, passing through Haverford and Radnor, which Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, reported to the United States Senate as "the first extensive turnpike that was completed in the United States, the first link of the great western communication from Philadelphia." Chester in 1789 attained the prominence of having a line of Sunday coaches running between there and Philadelphia. The former place seems to have been somewhat of a favorite as Sunday resort. Week-day travel, however, between the two places was very uncertain. Persons living on the King's Highway, below Chester, and the Queen's Highway, above that town, were never certain of a seat, and often several stages would pass before the belated traveler was placed and carried to his destination. To remedy this, John Pucians started a line of stages between the two places, but the enterprise failed because of the excellent service being rendered at that time by the steamboat lines on the Delaware.

The Delaware river did its full share in providing a highway for transportation, and its broad surface was early marked by the transverse paths of ferries as early as the last decade of the seventeenth century. Some of the earliest boats were the "Perseverance," a passenger and freight steamer, between Philadelphia, Trenton, Chester and Wilmington, during the summer of 1790, seventeen years before Robert Fulton's famous New York to Albany voyage in the "Clermont;" the "Chester Planter," a shallop that carried flour from the Chester mills to Philadelphia, as well as a few passengers; the "John Wall," a passenger and freight boat between Chester and Philadelphia; the "Mary and Louisa," a Chester-Philadelphia packet; the "Jonas Preston;" the "Mary J.;" and William T. Crook's packets operating between Philadelphia and Chester. These were the vessels whose names were household words and whose every whim and crank was known the length of their run. In later days the larger lines ran more boats, and old-time steamers were relegated to the junk heap, carrying with them all the old traditions and well-known sailors' tales. In modern days, the Delaware is black with the many freighters, coasters and fruit boats that dock along her banks, and with the opening of the Panama canal it is possible that, with Philadelphia as the main port, the river will become the scene of the greatest shipping activity in the world, so vast will be the trade diverted to her bosom.

The first railroad in Delaware county was the Columbia railroad, laid at the expense of the state of Pennsylvania, and passing diagonally through Radnor township as well as through a part of Haverford. It was not completed until 1834, when a schedule went into effect between Columbia and Philadelphia, a distance of eighty-two miles. The cars resembled greatly the old stage coaches and were drawn by horses, requiring nine for the trip, horses chang-

ing every twelve miles. On Wednesday, February 28, 1834, the first steam drawn train of cars traversed the distance in eight and a half hours, drawn by an engine named the "Black Hawk." So successful was the experiment that the passing of the horse for that duty was an accomplished fact, and in 1837 forty engines were owned and used by the road.

When the Pennsylvania railroad, on December 25, 1833, opened an extension to West Chester, great rivalry in Chester and the desire for an extension from the city to intersect with the new road at West Chester, sprang into life. The law of April 11, 1835, incorporated the Delaware County Branch Railroad Company, which immediately began work. At a meeting held at the Black Horse Hotel in November, 1833, it was estimated that there was $1,000,000 capital invested in various mills and factories along the proposed route, and that the freight from these industries would justify the building of the spur, eighteen miles long, to cost $20,000 per mile, or, $360,000 as a total. After a survey was made and stakes driven, the project died out because of a lack of stock subscriptions, but was revived in 1848, only to fall into retirement until, in 1869, ably championed by Samuel M. Felton, the work was pushed to completion.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, on April 2, 1831, incorporated the Philadelphia & Delaware County Railroad Company, a charter which was unused until 1835, when the company was organized and an election of directors held; and on January 18, 1832, the legislature of Delaware chartered the Wilmington & Susquehanna Railroad Company, with rights to build a road from the Pennsylvania line to the Maryland state line, through Wilmington, towards the Susquehanna river. On March 5, 1832, the Maryland legislature incorporated the Baltimore & Port Deposit Railroad Company, with the same rights as the Wilmington & Susquehanna Railroad Company, and nine days later incorporated the Delaware & Maryland railroad to build a road from a point on the Maryland and Delaware state line to Port Deposit, or any other terminus on the Susquehanna. In January, 1836, after the organization of these companies, the Philadelphia & Delaware County railroad was granted the right to increase its capital, and changed its name to the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad. This company entered into successful negotiations with the Delaware & Maryland railroad, obtaining the right of way from the Delaware state line to Wilmington. On December 20, 1837, the road was completely laid from Wilmington to Chester, and on January 15 of the following year it was open for travel from Philadelphia to Wilmington. After the completion of the road, the company's first report showed that the cost of construction had been $2,000,000 more than the capital, and dividends were impossible for several years. Many of the subscribers were farmers of modest means who had believed that their opportunity for sudden wealth was at hand, and had invested their two or more hundred dollars in the stock, expecting immediate and rapid returns. Great was their chagrin when the looked-for heavy dividends did not materialize, and their uncertain faith could not stand the long wait, so block by block their stock appeared on the market, and was

purchased by eastern financiers. Samuel Felton was elected president of the road in 1851, and under his judicious administration the property was improved, rolling stock renewed, and track relaid. His management so increased the value of the stock that its appearance in the market was a rarity, and the large dividends it paid would have satisfied even the most avaricious first investor.

Isaac Hinkley was Mr. Felton's successor, and during his term an improved line of railway was laid from Gray's Ferry, passing through Darby, Sharon Hill, Prospect Park, Norwood, Ridley Park, and numerous other stations which had been located along the new road, on which ground was broken on November 11, 1870, and first used in 1873. Many wealthy Philadelphia business men have their homes along this line, commuting daily, and the region contains some of the handsomest estates in Pennsylvania. In 1881, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad was absorbed by the Pennsylvania railroad, H. F. Kenney, the superintendent of the former road, being retained in charge of the Delaware & Southern division of the Pennsylvania railroad, including the old Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, the Chester Creek, the Baltimore Central, and the Philadelphia & West Chester railroads, as well as other Delaware roads.

On January 17, 1852, the Pennsylvania legislature incorporated the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad, and on January 17, 1852, Gonder, Clark & Co., contracted for $500,000, to build the road complete, except laying the rails, $300,000 to be paid in cash, and road stock to be accepted for the remaining $200,000. In the autumn of 1855, trains were running as far as Media; in another year travel was extended from Rockdale to Lenni, and by January 1, 1857, to Grubb's bridge (Wawa). The work was completed in 1858, the first train reaching West Chester by the direct road, arriving November 11, 1859, and was granted a warm reception. In May, 1880, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company purchased the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad, and when the former was transferred to the Pennsylvania Central, the West Chester road was also. The Philadelphia & Baltimore Central railroad was incorporated March 17, 1853, and was authorized to unite with a Maryland chartered road by an act of April 6, 1854. Ground was broken therefor on January 3, 1855, in Birmingham, Delaware county, by Dr. Frank Taylor, president of the road, and on Monday, June 1, 1857, track laying began. In 1858 it was completed from Grubb's Bridge (Wawa) to Chadd's Ford, the road later becoming a part of the Pennsylvania Central railroad, after its amalgamation with the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore.

In 1872, the Chester & Delaware railroad was incorporated under the free railroad law of Pennsylvania, with terminal points at Thurlow and Ridley Creek, a distance of approximately four miles. The incorporators were John M. Broomall, William Ward, William A. Todd, Samuel Archibald, Amos Garlside, James A. Williamson, James Kirkman, William H. Green, and Samuel H. Stephenson. Prior to incorporation, Broomall and Ward had run

a spur from below Thurlow Station of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad to the bridge works in South Chester to facilitate the shipping from these factories, the rails and cross ties being furnished by the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad at an annual rental. Other firms were granted the same privilege until finally the company had a spur running up into South Chester and Chester City. In 1872 the Philadelphia & Reading railroad leased the old bed of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore from Gray's Ferry to Ridley Creek, and the company, being the owners of a large tract of river land near Marcus Hook, assumed control of the branch of the Chester & Delaware River railroad which had been run up Front street, connecting it with the branch purchased from the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company.

Another important railroad crossing Delaware county is the Baltimore & Ohio, which entered the county with its permanent survey in August, 1883. That line enters in South Chichester township, passes through Chester city, Ridley and Darby, entering Philadelphia, where in connection with the Philadelphia & Reading it forms part of a great highway joining Philadelphia, New York and New England with Baltimore, Washington and the South. The other lines mentioned form a part of the great Pennsylvania railroad system, and of another great means of communication between the Eastern cities and states with the national capital and the South.

The Trolleys.—With the introduction of electricity as a motive power came the trolley car to Delaware county. This brought the people of the county into closer relations. and has resulted in the upbuilding of many new communities, peopled by city workers. The lines were at first constructed along public highways, but, with the great increase in suburban population, better service was demanded. The last additions to the trolley lines—the Philadelphia & Western and the Media Short Line,—have been built over private rights of way, the tracts brought as nearly to a level as possible, curves also eliminated where feasible, streams crossed on substantial bridges, while over the smooth stone ballasted tracks, cars glide with almost express train speed making connection in a commodius terminal at 69th street, Philadelphia, with the elevated trains of the Philadelphia Transit Company. Many new villages and boroughs have sprung up along these lines, while the older centres of population in the county have greatly benefitted by the ease and speed with which they may be reached. The population of these towns are workers, mainly in Philadelphia establishments, who have bought suburban homes, but continue their regular city business. To no one thing can the increase of population during the last decade be so properly attributed, as to that now familiar mode of transit we know as the trolleys.

Chester is connected with Philadelphia by the lines of the Philadelphia Transit Company, passing through Darby, and by the lines of the Media, Middletown, Aston & Chester Electric railway, with cars between Darby and Chester every twenty minutes during the day and evening. Cars running every twenty minutes connect Darby and Media, Darby and Lansdowne, and every

thirty minutes cars leave Darby for Wilmington, Delaware, passing through Chester. Two lines connect Chester with Media, while the Chester Traction Company operate their service through the streets of Chester and to suburban points. The Philadelphia & West Chester Traction operate from 69th street, Philadelphia, fifteen minute cars on their Collingdale division, thirty-minute cars on the Media Short Line, thirty-minute cars to West Chester, and fifteen minute cars on their Ardmore division. The Philadelphia & Western railway operates a high speed electric service from 69th street, Philadelphia, to Norristown, at short intervals, passing through Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Rosemont and Villanova, with branches to Ardmore, Radnor, St. Davids, Wayne and Stratford. By these roads the greater part of the county is quickly connected with each other and with Philadelphia, making Delaware county a most desirable abode, joining as it does, all the beauties of country with the benefits of nearness to a great city.

With the improvement in inter-town transportation, the county public roads have kept pace. Few localities but what have macadam roads, turnpikes, or modernly built roads of some description, the value of such to any community having become slowly but surely impressed upon the farmer; good roads and well paved streets existing as a rule in all parts of the county, comparing favorably with the best of modern communities. In fact, in every mode or means of transportation, Delaware county is well supplied.

William Temple
Committee of Observation